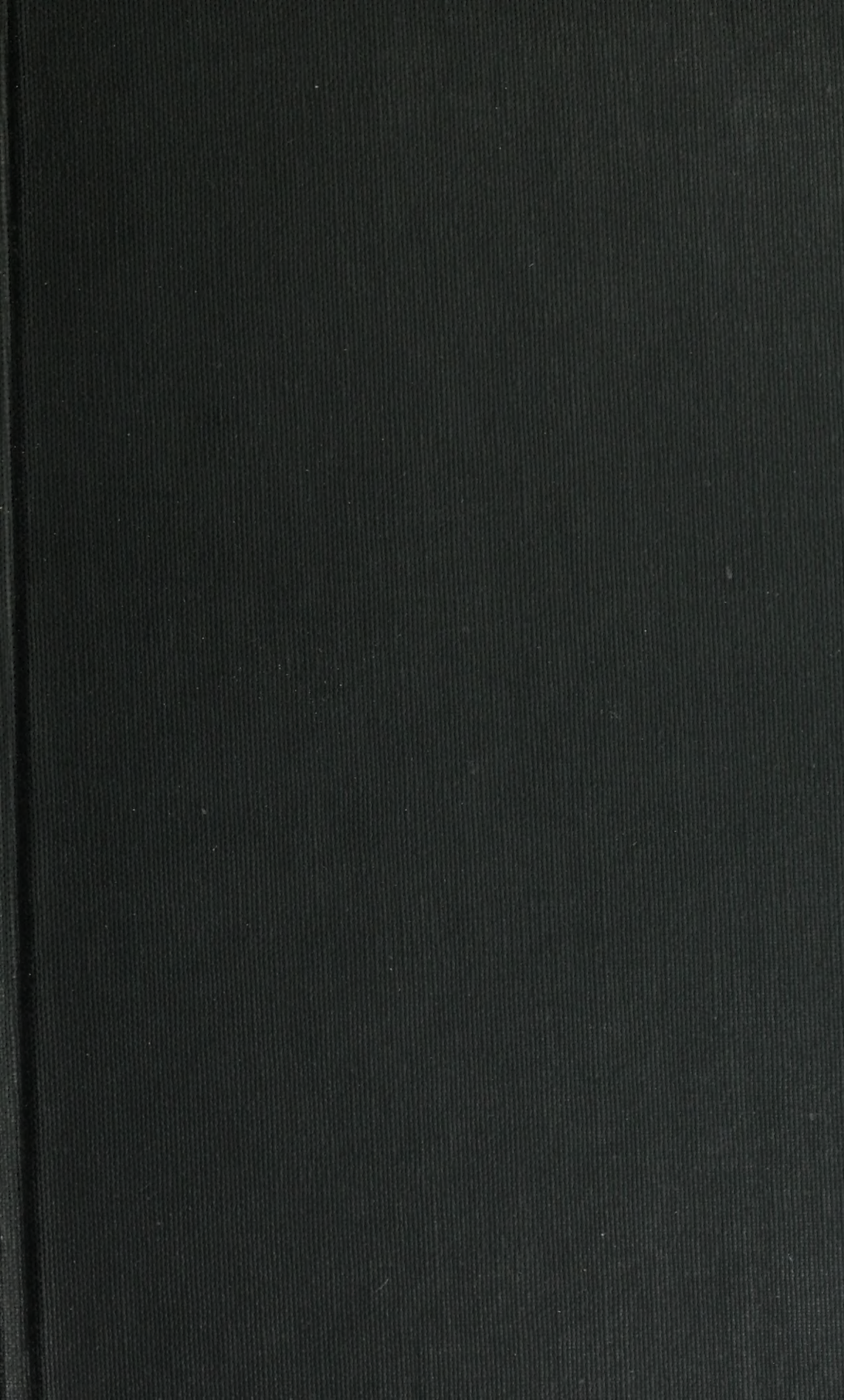




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THE

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The Classical Review

FEBRUARY 1900.

The Editor of the CLASSICAL REVIEW will be glad to receive short paragraphs (or materials for such paragraphs) upon classical topics of current interest. These should reach him as early as possible in the month preceding the publication of the REVIEW.

Prof. Andrew A. F. West whose statistics of the growth of classical studies in America appeared in our last issue reviews the general educational situation in the *Atlantic Monthly* of December. He believes that Greek will make accelerating progress in secondary schools. His words upon the relation of Greek and Latin may be quoted, as they present a familiar but not always remembered truth with the light of fresh experience.

‘Without Greek the demand of Latin for its full integrity cannot be met. Greek is in Latin as French is not in German, or German in French. But Latin is not in Greek. It may be taught with advantage, with great advantage, but without Greek it cannot be taught to the best advantage, because it is cut off from a large range of important illustration and support. This has been seen again and again in our schools. Classes studying Greek and Latin regularly surpass classes studying Latin alone.’

The restoration of Latin to its former position as a universal language has found a recent advocate in Dr. F. Tönnies of Hamburg. Dr. Tönnies thinks that in ‘the resurrection of neo-Latin’ may be found a remedy for the mischiefs arising out of the inconsistency and irrationality of ‘philosophical terminology,’ which all philo-

sophers deplore. His arguments, which will be found in the January number of *Mind*, are well worthy of attention. But Latin, it is not rash to predict, will not cease to be a dead language until it is taught as a living one.

The standing notice at the head of this page appears in the present issue for the last time. Its omission does not mean that the contributions which it invites will be less welcome than heretofore. On the contrary it is the hope of the editor that the future will furnish more of such contributions than the past.

The editor avails himself of the opportunity which the New Year presents to offer his warmest thanks to the scholars who have offered contributions to the *Classical Review* during the last eighteen months. He regrets that of some of these he has been able to make no use through the remediable omission of the names and addresses of the senders.

At the moment of going to press we hear from Mr. G. D. Kellogg of the discovery of a new fifteenth century manuscript of Catullus in the Vatican Library. Our next issue will contain further particulars.

THE RYLANDS LIBRARY, MANCHESTER.

THE Rylands Library, Manchester, formally opened on October 6th, became accessible to students on the first day of the new year. It may, therefore, be of interest to note what scholars may expect to find there. Mrs. Rylands, to whom this noble benefaction is due, started with the thought of honouring her husband's memory by founding a thoroughly good library of reference, mainly for students of theology. But while she was engaged in securing a site, and collecting books, it came to be known that the Spencer Library at Althorp was in the market. Mrs. Rylands secured this at a cost, it is said, of £200,000: and thereupon enlarged her plans. The original design was not abandoned, but it was extended. The acquisition of this unrivalled collection at once raised the Rylands Library to a place not of local, but of national importance. The distinctive characteristics of the Spencer Library are of course known to all book-lovers. It contains a unique collection of early editions of the classics, of the incunabula of printing, of first editions both of English and of Italian authors, a very valuable series of Aldines, and of pseudo-Aldines, and the best editions of seventeenth and eighteenth century classics. There are excellent specimens of block-books: the first edition of *Il Decamerone* (and seven other editions dating from the fifteenth century); the first four folios of Shakespeare; in fact treasures of all kinds abound on every hand. To the Spencer Library Mrs. Rylands made very large additions, especially in the direction of theology, philosophy and modern

history; but no department has been neglected, which is requisite to make it a scholar's working library of reference. An excellent catalogue, in three quarto volumes, has been prepared by the accomplished bibliographer Mr. E. Gordon Duff, who is the senior librarian. In the housing of the library nothing has been left undone, which thought, judgment and an apparently unlimited generosity could provide to add to its beauty and dignity. A trifling sign of this is to be found in the fact that no iron is to be seen in the building: all metal-work is of gun-metal, even the casings of the heating apparatus. Mrs. Rylands will be President of the Library during her life-time, but she will be aided in the administration by a council of eighteen governors, ten representative, eight co-opted, two of the former being nominated by the Victoria University, two by the Owens College. A considerable proportion are to be Protestant ministers of religion, but there is abundant provision for the representation of laymen.

Manchester has long been fortunate above most cities in the matter of libraries. It has had collections, each with their own strong points, at the Chetham College, the Literary and Philosophical Society, the Owens College, the Lancashire College and the Whitworth Institute, as well as an admirable Free Library with its branches. But the creation of the Rylands Library raises it to a position which in some respects even Oxford and Cambridge can only look upon with envy.

A. S. W.

HOMERICA (VI).

ON THE TERMINATION $-\epsilon\tilde{\iota}$ (FROM VERBS IN $-\epsilon\omega$) BEFORE VOWELS IN HOMERIC VERSE.

It is often difficult to feel sure in dealing with a question of Homeric usage that the point has not already been the subject of discussion elsewhere in one or other of the innumerable articles which the study of Homer has evoked. Nothing short of the comprehensive erudition of the Provost of Oriel in this sphere could remove the misgiving. Subject then to this reservation I venture to think I am not

trespassing on occupied ground in suggesting that the accepted ideas with regard to the contraction of verbs in $-\epsilon\omega$ may in one, perhaps not unimportant, detail be expanded and improved.

We may take it as ascertained and admitted that in the third pers. sing. pres. indic. of these verbs, except where an original f or σ interposed, $-\epsilon\tilde{\iota}$ is freely contracted into $-\epsilon\tilde{\iota}$. On this point it will suffice

for the sake of brevity to refer to the statement of the case in Mr. Monro's Homeric Grammar § 56. From the facts there set forth it would seem that this contracted syllable -εῖ, which is of tolerably frequent occurrence before a word beginning with a consonant (A 521, B 197, K 245, Π 94, 689), may be used also either with a long or a short quantity before a vowel. It is these two latter licences or conveniences that I propose now to call in question and, if possible, to refute, as ill-founded.

With regard to the former of the two it is curious to find that there is no example of it with -εῖ in arsis, though we might surely have expected at least one, if not more. On the contrary all the instances have this syllable in thesis. They are these so far as I have ascertained :—

Λ 554 καίόμεναι τε δαταί, τὰς τε τ ρ ε ῖ ἐσσύμμενος περ· = P 663.

Φ 362 ὥς δὲ λέβητος ζεῖ ἔνδον ἐπειγόμενος πυρὶ πολλῷ.

Φ 575 τ α ρ β ε ῖ οὐδὲ φοβεῖται, ἐπεὶ κεν ὕλα γ μὸν ἀκούσῃ.

Of course it is obvious enough—I shall waste no time in arguing the point—that in these passages we ought to have, not the contracted, but the resolved forms, that the original readings must have been respectively τρέει, ζέει and ταρβέει, making dactylic and not spondaic feet. Hence, I think, we may safely conclude that the contracted -εῖ never stands as a long syllable in Homer before a vowel either in arsis or in thesis.

Next we come to the case of -εῖ forming a short syllable, of course before a vowel. The instances of this in the vulgate are a little more numerous :—

Ξ 140 γ η θ ε ῖ ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φόνον καὶ φύζαν Ἀχαιῶν—

N 285 τ α ρ β ε ῖ, ἐπειδὰν πρῶτον ἐσίζηται λόχον ἀνδρῶν,

ρ 382 τίς γὰρ δὴ ξείνον κα λ ε ῖ ἄλλοθεν αὐτὸς ἐπελθών—

α 192 π α ρ τ ι θ ε ῖ, εἴτ' ἂν μιν κάματος κατὰ γυῖα λάβῃσιν—

β 33 ἐσθλὸς μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ὀνήμενος.

N 735 ὅς μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἄριστα.

(Six times repeated.)

Now in all other instances of the shortening of contracted long syllables before initial vowels the principle seems to be that the uncontracted form is the one really considered as under treatment, and the treatment it receives is merely the elision in the

usual and ordinary way of the last syllable. For example ᾗδῃ in γ 146

νήπιος, οὐδὲ τὸ ᾗδῃ, ὃ οὐ πείσεσθαι ἔμελλεν·

should be written ᾗδε' (ᾗδεε), as we have in B 409 ᾗδεε γὰρ κατὰ θυμόν. So again A 160 τῶν οὗ τι μετατρέπη οὐδ' ἀλεγίζεις it is clear enough that μετατρέπη represents μετατρέπει with αι elided.

This principle is, however, inapplicable to the case we are now discussing, because the diphthong -εῖ is not subject to elision. Accordingly on this *a priori* ground I argue that none of the shortenings of -εῖ are permissible or even possible.

Let us now examine the passages in detail and see if it is practicable to indicate in each case a solution, which will obviate the necessity of recognising this antecedently improbable license.

Ξ 140 presents no real difficulty; we must write with Barnes and others :—

γ η θ ε ῖ ἐν στήθεσσι.

N 285 is a little more difficult. Menrad would read ταρβέει, αἱ κε πρῶτον, but the temporal conjunction really seems to be essential here. I do not hesitate to suggest that the original was :—

τ α ρ β ε ῖ ἐπὶ πρῶτον.

The later Greeks would be glad to get rid of both ταρβέει and ἐπὶ πρῶτον, and the supersession of the latter by its more up-to-date synonym ἐπειδὰν would be a very ready way to achieve both objects.

In ρ 382 καλεῖ is probably merely an indifferent and heedless substitution for an aorist, κάλσ'. The propriety of the gnomic tense here can hardly be questioned.

In α 192 παρτιθεῖ looks awkward at first sight, until we remember that the middle form of this verb is in usage almost equally admissible, conf.

ο 506 ᾗδῃθεν δέ κεν ὕμνιν ὁδοιπόριον παραθέμην δαῖτ' ἀγαθὴν κρείων τε καὶ οἶνου ἡδυπότοιο.

α 132 πὰρ δ' αὐτὸς κλισμὸν θέτο ποικίλον.

β 105 παραθεῖτο (τ 150, ω 140). Ψ 810 παραθήσομαι (L S Lips) is probably to be preferred to the vulgate παραθήσομεν. Accordingly there can be no serious objection to the restoration in α 192 of παρτίθετ' (παρτίθεται). It is just such a form as would be sacrificed readily enough in later times.

Δοκεῖ is perhaps the most difficult to deal

ON THE MEANING OF σφειδόνη IN AESCH. AG. 997.

καὶ τὸ μὲν πρὸ χρημάτων
κτησίῳ ὄκνος βαλὼν
σφειδόνας ἀπ' εὐμέτρον
οὐκ' ἔδν πρόπας δόμος
πημονᾶς γέμων ἄγαν,
οὐδ' ἐπόντισε σκάφος.

Aesch. Ag. 995-1000.

Hermann followed by most modern editors and translators interprets σφειδόνας ἀπ' εὐμέτρον by '*bene attemperato iactu*,' '*a well measured throw*.' This explanation, if explanation it can be called, has been sufficiently refuted by Prof. Housman (*Journal of Philology*, 16, 1888. p. 272) and by Dr. Verrall in his commentary *ad. loc.* and in Appendix T p. 213 *sqq.* Prof. Housman renders '*from a capacious sling*,' in English metaphor *with unstinting hand*.' Dr. Verrall's translation is '*discharging the measured scale*,' with a note of interrogation appended. He suggests that some kind of instrument for suspending and weighing heavy goods was called a *sling*, but finally decides that, until the meaning of σφειδόνη in connexion with cargo can be positively ascertained, the whole passage must remain uncertain, and will scarcely repay further discussion. One of the inscriptions discovered by the French at Delphi proves that a σφειδόνη was part of an 'elevator' (*tolleno*) used in unloading vessels. The document, which is of great historical interest, was first published by Bourguet (*Bull. de Corr. Hell.* 20 1896. p. 197 *sqq.*), and is now to be found in Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions Grecques*. n. 591, Dittenberger, S.I.G.² n. 140, Baunack, *Sammlung d. Griech. Dialekt-Inscripfen*. Bd. II Hft. 6. n. 2502 p. 652. It contains a record of sums of

money paid by the Council of Delphi between the years 351 B.C. and 328 B.C. (or 326 B.C.) to the commissioners for building the temple (οἱ ναοποιοὶ) and disbursed by these latter to contractors, workmen, and servants of various kinds. In the autumn of 348 B.C. the commissioners received 27 minae 25 staters: τούτου ἐδόθη Νικοδάμῳ ποτὶ τὸ ἐγ Κίρραι μαχάνωμα καὶ τοῦ χώματος μναὶ τρεῖς, στατήρες τριάκοντα δύο, ὀβολοὶ ἑπτὰ, ἡμιωβέλιον· Νικοδάμῳ σφειδόνας τιμὰν ποτὶ τὸ ἐγ Κίρραι μαχάνωμα στατήρες πεντήκοντα εἰς, ὀβολοὶ τέτορες· Οἰνασίμῳ λιθαγωγῷ κατὰ θάλασσαν μναὶ ἑκατὶ μία, στατήρες ἑκατὶ πέντε (ll. 45-47). The accounts show that stone, some of it carved and ready for its place in the temple, was being brought by sea from Corinth to Cirrha, the port of Delphi. 'The engine at Cirrha' was something corresponding to a crane; it was made of wood (l. 12), coated with pitch (ll. 55-6) and sometimes broke down (l. 62). The pier (χῶμα) may have been an addition to the harbour made necessary by the deep draught of heavily loaded vessels. The 'sling' is thus explained by Bourguet, *op. cit.* p. 218: *c'est sans doute la pièce de la machine où l'on place les fardeaux à soulever: comme elle était suspendue à des cordes (τοπίον), la forme générale en pouvait être comparée à celle d'une fronde. Mais le mot ne se rencontre avec ce sens dans aucun texte.* It is not clear that the cordage (τοπίον l. 29, apparently a collective) for which 3 minae 22 staters were paid to Xenon was bought for an 'elevator,' but there can be no doubt that the stones were somehow attached to ropes and then swung up out of the hold, and on to the quay.

W. WYSE.

NOTES ON THE GREEK LYRIC POETS.

POETAE LYRICI, ed. 4 Bergk (with Hiller-Crusius, 1897).

P. 39, Aleman 23, 11:

ἐκπρεπὴς τὼς ὥπερ αἶ τις
ἐν βοτοῖς στάσειεν ἵππον
παγὸν ἀεθλοφόρον καναχάποδα
15 τῶν ὑποπετριδίων ὀνείρων.

Blass read τῶν at the beginning of v. 15, so that the reading of our MS. is the same tradition that Herodian followed. If only I could translate the words, I should feel less right to doubt; but I am at a loss to see what is the construction of the genitive; and knowing how common is the confusion of πτερ- and πετρ-, I cannot feel confident

that this strange form is genuine. *θάσσον' ὑποπεριδιὼν ὀνείρων*, for example, is what I should have looked for.

p. 45, Aleman 24:

οὐκ εἷς ἀνὴρ ἄγροικος οὐδὲ
σκαίος οὐδὲ παρὰ σοφοῖσιν.

Bergk calls *παρὰ σοφοῖσιν* '*manifestum mendum*' and adds to the conjectures of Jacobs, Hartung, Welcker, Meineke, which are further multiplied by Crusius, p. xlvii. It appears to me perfectly sound and simple, 'you are not a boor or stupid even in wise men's judgment' or 'company': οὐδέ is merely the negative of καί.

p. 135 *fr.* 147 Himer. *Or.* xiii. 7 τὸν Βακχ[ε]ιώτην, οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὸν ἡ λύρα καλεῖ. Soph. *O.C.* 678 ὁ Βακχ[ε]ιώτας with the same mis-spelling, which is habitual. See Ellendt *s.v.*, and Lobeck *Phryg.* p. 700.

p. 143, Erinna 4, *A.P.* vi. 352 δοξαπατᾶν χειρῶν may be further illustrated by Gorgias *Helen* 10 γοητείας δὲ καὶ μαγείας δισσαὶ τέχναι εὐρηνται, αἱ εἰσι ψυχῆς ἀμαρτήματα καὶ δόξης ἀπατήματα. Hesych. *s.v.* Λυδία λίθος... ἡ δὲ μαγνήτις διαπατᾶ τὴν ὄψιν, ὡς δοκεῖν ἀργύριον εἶναι. The list of compounds may be increased by *μειρακιεξαπάται* Hegesand. (*Ath.* 162a), *ψευδαπάτης*.

p. 76, Aleman 145: Et. Gud. p. 395, 52:

Μνήμη... Ἀλκμᾶν δέ, φασί, δόρκον αὐτὴν καλεῖ...

Rather, I should imagine, *δορκών*, the accusative of *Δορκώ*, as *Ἀγιδών fr.* 23, 58, pp. 41, 32. The Ionic accusative was -οῖν, the Aeolic also -ων, as *Λήτων*, *Ἥρων* Sappho *fr.* 71; therefore in *E. M.* 174, 38 (Sappho *fr.* 152) read *τὴν γὰρ ἥῳ οἱ Αἰολεῖς αὔων* φασί for *vv. ll. αὔον, αἶαν, αἶαν*. Ionic was ἡοῖν.

Personifications of this form were innumerable, as *φυσώ, κινώ* Emped. (which Hesych. calls Dorian, *κινώ: κίνησις. Δώριοι*), *Μελλώ, Μνημώ, Ὑμνώ, Δωρώ, Δεξώ*, etc. In the new fragment of Eur. *Antiope* I conjecture *Δενδρώ τε μητρὸς ἐκλιποῦσ'* ἐδώλια (εὐδένδροιο ματέρος Pind. *P.* iv. 74), as *Σπειώ, Κυμώ, Νησώ, Σιτώ, Ἰουλώ*, etc.

p. 85, Sappho 1, 7 πατρὸς δὲ δόμον λίποισα χρύσιον ἦλθες ἄρμ' ὑπαζεύξαισα.

Translators commonly take *χρύσιον* with *δόμον*, but Sappho meant the golden chariot of Aphrodite, which Appuleius, *Met.* vi. 113, says *Vulcanus aurifex* made for her *ipsius auri damno pretiosum*: p. 392 Ruhnken, with the note.

P. 115, Sappho 79:

ἐγὼ δὲ φίλημ' ἀβροσύναν, καὶ μοι ἔρος τὸ
λάμπρον

φάος <ποτόρην> ἀελίω καὶ τὸ κάλον λέλογχεν is practically Hartung's reading, and surely this or *ποτίδην* requires no confirmation. Yet it may seem perhaps to be confirmed by the following from Jacobs *A.P.* VI. p. 281 on Bacchyl. in Stob. *Flor.* 96, 25 'Plane contrario sensu *Ursinius* p. 205 ex Codice *Stobaei* edidit: *θνατοῖς μὲν φῶναι φέριστον, καὶ δ' ἀελίου φάος ἔρος προσιδεῖν.*

p. 118 *fr.* 90 γλύκη as *fr.* 55, *Κυπρογενίη fr.* 87.

p. 168, Alcaeus *fr.* 50:

δοκίμοι δ' ἄριστος ἔμμεναι
πῶνων· αἱ δέ κε.....φρένας οἶνος, ὅτλιώτα-
τος

κάτω γὰρ κεφάλαν κατίσχει, τὸν φὸν θάμα
θῆμον αἰτιάμενος,
πεδατρνόμενός τ' ἀχέ ύη, τὸ δ' οὐκέτι φανδά-
νει πῶ τάνδε, πῶ

ὅτλιώτατος (= *τλημονέστατος*) I suggest as the superlative of *ὅτλιος*, formed from *ὄτλος* as *ἄθλιος* from *ἄθλος*: cf. Hesych. iii. p. 230. Two readings given of the papyrus are *οσδιω- τοιοσ* and *οσδ...οσ*. ἀχεύει (or ἀκεύη *σιλε!*?) or ἀχεύη for *ακεη* or *ακει.η*. Cf. Theognis 487 σὺ δ' ἔρχε' τοῦτο μάταιον κωτίλλεις αἰεί. Ar. *fr.* 198. 4 τὸ 'καταπλιγῆσει' τοῦτο. Liban. iv. p. 140 τὸ δὲ 'σιώπα' τοῦτο.

p. 199, Chilo: Diog. Laert. i. 71:

τῶν δὲ ἀδομένων αὐτοῦ μάλιστα εὐδοκίμησεν
ἐκείνο·

ἐν <μὲν> λιθίναις ἀκόναϊς ὁ χρυσὸς ἐξετάζεται
διδούς βάσανον φανεράν·

ἐν δὲ χρυσῷ
ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν τε κακῶν τε νοῦς ἔδωκ' ἔλεγχον.

So Bergk prints the passage, which does not appear to have been challenged; and indeed it was only the rhythm which at first excited my suspicion. There is a plausible smartness about the antithesis, enough to win it credit at first sight; and of course there is a sense which can be found for it. But remember that these are the most celebrated verses by one of the Seven Sages, whose wisdom, as Plato says (*Protag.* 342 E *sqq.*), consisted in their power of putting general truths in a brief and memorable form. Each was the one epigrammatist whose wit condensed the wisdom of the many, and embodied the undefined opinions of the race. Therefore we find the sentiments of the apophthegms ascribed to them¹ expressed in countless passages throughout

¹ Stob. *Flor.* 3. 79, 80.

the literature. But where do we find the sentiment that gold is a *touchstone* to try whether a man's mind be good or bad? Nowhere that I know; it is not a Greek thought.

No, χρυσῶ is merely a slip for χρόνῳ. That is the proverb that appears again and again: Simonid. Οὐκ ἔστιν μείζων βᾶσανος χρύονου οὐδενὸς ἔργου, ὅς καὶ ὑπὸ στέρνοις ἀνδρὸς ἔδειξε νόον.¹ Eur. fr. 303 ending χρόνος δικάσιος ἐπάγων κᾶνονας δείκνυσιν ἀνθρώπων κακότητας. Theognis 119–128, 415–8, 449–52, 1105, Menand. Monost. 276 κρίνει φίλους ὁ καιρὸς ὡς χρυσὸν τὸ πῦρ. Isocrat. ad Demon. (a treasury of proverbial commonplaces²) p. 7b τὸ μὲν γὰρ χρυσίον ἐν τῷ πυρὶ βασανίζομεν, τοὺς δὲ φίλους ἐν ταῖς ἀτυχίαις διαγιγνώσκομεν. Trag. fr. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν χρόνος δείξει· μόνος γὰρ ἔστιν ἀνθρώπων κριτής.¹ Chaeremon χρόνος δίκαιον ἄνδρα μὲννυε ποτέ,¹ as Soph. O.T. 614, Pind. fr. 159; P. x. 67, O. x. 55, Lysias 157. 27 τῷ χρόνῳ ὃν ὑμεῖς σαφέστατον ἔλεγχον τοῦ ἀληθοῦς νομίζατε, which is attributed to Thales.³ The tests of truth and troth and character are time or trial, χρόνος, καιρὸς, πείρα (Pind. O. iv. 20, Eur. H.F. 59): but not χρυσός. You will have good rhythm at the same time by reading

διδοὺς βάσανον φανεράν, ἐν δὲ χρόνῳ.

p. 238 Ibycus 7 τᾶμος ἄυπνος κλυτὸς ὄρθρος ἐγείρησιν ἀηδόνας (v.l. αἰδονάς). In the *Journal of Philology*, xxi. p. 84, I suggested ἐγείρησι χελιδόνας, since the birds of dawn were the cock and swallow: Hes. Op. 568, A.P. v. 237, vi. 160, 247, Anacreont. 9, Nicet. Eugen. vi. 649, Appul. Flor. ii. 13. The nightingale being proverbially sleepless, would hardly need the dawn to wake her. Euripides, however, *Phaethon* fr. 773, 23, in a beautiful description of morning has μέλπει δ' ἐν δένδρεσι λεπτὰν ἀηδὼν ἁρμονίαν ὀρθρενομένα γόοις Ἴτυν Ἴτυν πολὺθρηνον.

p. 290 Anacr. 136 according to the statement of the *Et. Mag.* itself should be τῶκνάκη if 'written without the iota.'

p. 404 Simonid. 37 *Danae*: vv. 4, 5 would I think be correctly divided thus:—

ἀμφὶ τε Περσεΐ βάλλε φίλαν χέρ' εἶπέ τ'·
ὦ τέκος οἶον ἔχω πόνον· σὺ δ' αὐτεῖς.

In v. 8 the readings are κνώσσεις ἐν ἀτερπέϊ δούρατι χαλκεογόμφῳ δὲ νυκτιλαμπεῖ κνανέῳ τε δνόφῳ τάδ' εἰς αὐλίαν δ'... or τὰν δ' εἰς αὐλίαν δ'... or τὰδε εἰς αὐλίαν δ'... Here Blass con-

jectured ταθείς, which may be right; but I am inclined to see corruptions of τ' ἀδεής, for that is the most appropriate word conceivable. The whole purport of the passage is the contrast of her own emotions with the unconsciousness of her sleeping infant child. While she herself is in such deep distress and terror of the wind and sea, the babe, though cabined in this gloomy, perilous ark, still slumbers on in peace regardless of the rushing wave and roaring of the wind:

*Comme une algue morte, Tu vas, que t'importe ?
Le courant t'emporte, Mais tu dors toujours !
Sans soin, sans étude, Tu dors en chemin...*

The sentiment in Victor Hugo's poem is just the same. And to support this in Simonides, the next paragraph begins εἰ δέ τοι δεινὸν τό γε δεινὸν ἦν...

We have not the means of determining which τε should be ejected; but I should think the first more likely to have been inserted.

In v. 18 rhythm conspires with the MSS. in suggesting

ἐκ σέθεν· ὅττι (εἴτι Schaefer) δὲ θαρσαλέον
ἔπος
εὐχομαί εἶτε νόσφι δίκας, σύγγνωθι μοι.
for εὐχομαι τεκνόφι δίκας.

p. 457, Simonid. 100: part of this is used in an epitaph given by Cougny p. 593, and No. 128 (A.P. vii. 516) serves the same purpose, *Inscriptions of Cos*, 324, p. 210.

p. 499, Simonid. 151 A.P. xiii. 20:

Πατρίδα κυδαίνων ἱερὴν πόλιν Ὀπίς Ἀθῆναις,
τέκνον μελαίνης γῆς, χαρίεντας αὐλοῦς
τούσδε σὺν Ἠφαίστῳ τελέσας ἀνέθηκ' Ἀφροδίτῃ
καλοῦ δαμασθεῖς ἱμέρῳ Βρύσσωνος.

Bergk remarks that the authenticity is open to doubt; but, in any case, what is the meaning of τέκνον μελαίνης γῆς? Bergk offers no explanation; Hartung re-wrote the line altogether. Jacobs, VI. p. 246, says 'tibiae ex arundine compactas terrae filias vocat': and since that is an inappropriate description, Dübner, II. p. 462, thinks 'argenteae tibiae, fortasse ex Lauriensi argento intelligendae erunt.' τέκνον in the singular could not be said of αὐλοῦς in the plural, as Boissonade saw; but παῖδας, which he suggested, cannot be the text. The phrase cannot be anything but a description of Ὀπίς himself, 'a child of the brown earth,' the standing epithet of γῇ: that is *terrae filius*, of unknown origin, *progenies terrae* Pers. vi. 57 Jahn p. 225, *fraterculus giganteus* Juv. iv. 98 Mayor. 'γῆς ἄρ' ἐκ-

¹ Stob. *Ecl. Phys.* i.

² Whence the precepts of Polonius are in part derived.

³ Stob. *Ecl. Phys.* i.

πέφυκα μητρός;’ asks Ion in the play v. 554. Crinag. *A.P.* vii. 371 (an epitaph on a slave) Γῆ μιν καὶ μήτηρ κικλήσκειτο, γῆ με καλύπτει καὶ νέκυν’. Kraibel *Ep.* 606 on an actor, 1 παῖς γάιος, ... 4 γῆς ὧν πρόσθε γένος μητέρα γαῖαν ἔχω: see also his note in *Com. Graec. Fragm.* i. p. 206. This may account for the phrase πατρίδα κυδαίνων. It seems otherwise a strange occasion for mentioning the πατρίς: but if Opis has no parentage to boast, Athens (whatever may have been his legal rank in it) is at any rate his country.

p. 500, Simonid. *A.P.* xiii. 19:

Ανθικεν τόδ’ ἀγαλμα Κορίνθιος ὅσπερ ἐνίκα
ἐν Δελφοῖς ποτε Νικολάδας,
καὶ Παναθηναίοις στεφάνους λάβε πέντ’ ἐπ’
ἀέθλοισι
ἑξῆς ἀμφιφορεῖς ἐλαίου·
Ἰσθμῷ δ’ ἐν ζαθέα τρίς ἐπισχερῶ οὐδ’ ἐγένοντο
ἀκτίνων τομίδων ποταθμοί·
καὶ Νεμέα τρίς ἐνίκησεν, κτέ.

In v. 2 Bergk—rightly, I believe—reads ποσὶ for ποτε. It is with v. 6 that I propose to deal. Jacobs, VI. p. 249, calls it ‘corruptissimus’: ‘immaniter corrupta’ the words are to Diibner, II. p. 462. The conjectures (which may be seen in Bergk) proceed on the assumption that Jacobs’ ποντομέδοντος is correct. It is ingenious; but, according to my experience of texts, the probability that a copyist finding for instance ΑΚΤΗΠΟΝΤΟΜΕΔΟΝΤΟC-ΑΘΛΑ would write (with no meaning) ΑΚΤΙΝΩΝΤΟΜΙΔΩΝΠΟΤΑΘΜΟΙ is too remote to be considered. And besides this, as violent alterations are made of οὐδ’ ἐγένοντο.

I do not change ἐγένοντο ἀκτίνων τομίδων—or rather, in place of ἀκτίνων, which was the ordinary form of the adjective,¹ I merely write ἀκτείνων. That is ‘of elder,’ the wood from which the ἀκόντιον thrown at the games was made: Bacchyl. viii. 33 καὶ μελαμφύλλου κλάδον ἀκτέας ἐς αἰπεινὰν προπέμπων αἰθρὴν ἐκ χειρὸς βοᾶν ὠτρυνε λαῶν in the pentathlon at Nemea. Hesych. Ἀκτέα: δόρατα (δοράτιον). κάμαξ. Ἰκτέα ἀκόντιον. Bekk. *Anecd.* 373, 18 Ἀκταίνωσαι: ... ἔστι δένδρον ὃ καλεῖται

ἀκτὴ, ἀφ’ οὗ τὰ ἀκόντια τέμνεται. We begin to see that τομίδων (or τομάδων) is sound. ἀποτομάς, in fact, was a technical term for the javelin thrown in the pentathlon: Hesych. Ἀποτομάδα: σχίζαν, καὶ ἀκόντιον πεντάθλου. Pollux iii. 151 καὶ τὸ ἀκόντιον τῶν πεντάθλων καλεῖται ἀποτομάς (v.l. ἀποτομή). x. 64 among the furniture of the gymnasium are δίσκοι καὶ ἀποτομάδες. Hesych. has also Ἀγκύλη: ἀκόντιον. ἡ... δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ ἀποτομάδα. Phryn. Bekk. *An.* 29, 21 Ἀπὸ τόμου: οἷον τὰ ἀκόντια should be perhaps ἀπότομα. The *Et. Mag.* gives the following explanation of Ἀποτομή: ἀκόντιον μικρόν, ἀποτετμημένον ἀπὸ τοῦ τελείου, καὶ συνηρμοσμένον εἰς μέγεθος μικρόν. Whatever may have been the origin of the word, it is plain that Simonides is speaking of a javelin-contest. What then is the reading? It looks as though it were

Ἰσθμῷ δ’ ἐν ζαθέα τρίς ἐπισχερῶ, οὗ τ’ ἐγένοντο
ἀκτείνων τομίδων ποτ’ ἀθλοῖ

‘where contests once took place in darts of elder’; but why ‘once’? and why is that contest mentioned by itself? The answer is contained in the first Isthmian of Pindar. He is speaking of the achievements of Castor and Iolaus in the Isthmian games: λάμπει δὲ σαφῆς ἀρετὰ ἐν τε γυμνοῖσι σταδίοις σφίσιν ἐν τ’ ἀσπιδοδοῦσι οὐκ ὀπίσθιαι δρόμοις, οἷά τε χερσίν, ἀκοντίζοντες αἰχμαῖς, καὶ λιθίνους ὀπὸτ’ ἐν δίσκοις ἔεν. οὐ γὰρ ἦν πεντάθλιον, ἀλλ’ ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ ἔργματι κέτο τέλος. There was no pentathlon in those days; the prizes were given for the separate events. The schol. (p. 519 Boeckh) is acquainted with particulars: συλληπτικῷ δὲ κέχρηται τῷ σχήματι. ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἐπὶ Πελία ἀγωνί ὁ Ἰόλαος τὸν ὀπλίτην νικᾷ, ὃν κοινὸν ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέρων ἔθηκεν· ὁ δὲ Κάστωρ τὰ δευτέρῃ ἐλαβε δισκείων καὶ ἀκοντίζων, καὶ τοῦτο κοινὸν ἔταξε. τὸ δὲ οἷα θαυμαστικῶς ὅποια γὰρ ἴσαν ἀκοντίζοντες τὰ δόρατα, ἃ ἀποτομάδας καλοῦσι, παρόσον οἱ ἀρχαῖοι τοῖς νικῶσιν ἀκοντῶ τοσοῦτον ἀπετέμνοντο τῆς γῆς ἔπαθλον ὅσον ὁ νικηφόρος ἡδύνατο βαλεῖν. That is yet another explanation of the word.

The reason Simonides mentioned this historic detail was not, perhaps, merely to eke out a verse. Besides the victories named in the first half (which I have quoted) of the epigram, Nicoladas had won a large number of prizes at less famous meetings. These are all mentioned afterwards in the briefest manner; but on those greater contests the poet seeks to throw more stress, and the allusion to the antiquity of the Isthmian games is a reminder of their long prestige. At any rate, the

¹ Lobeck *Parall.* p. 337, ‘vulgo autem ἀκτὴ... cui tonosi convenit adiectivum ἄκτινος, quod ἀκτείνος scribendum erat ut ἱερίνος, πτελέεινος, si ab ἀκτέα sive ἀκτὴ duceretur; quanquam λευκίνος apud Hesychium legitur s. Μασχαλᾶν et saepius κράνινος v. Tzschuck. ad Strab. xii. 197. pro λευκίνος, κρανείνος.’ See also Phryn. p. 262. In the *Thesaurus* I have failed to find the adjective.

space devoted to these main achievements serves to enlarge them in the foreground; and the description added here is at least as relevant as one in No. 157:

'Αρτέμιδος τόδ' ἄγαλμα—δικηκόσαι γὰρ ὁ μισθὸς
δραχμαὶ ταὶ Πάριαι, τῶν ἐπίσημα τράγος—

p. 502 Simonid. 159:

'Ερμῆν τόνδ' ἀνέθη Δημήτριος Ὀρθιάδου κεν
ἐν προθύροις.

Most of the examples of divided names may be found in the references given (*Journ. Philol.* xxvi. p. 93) to Hephaestion; who also quotes a pentameter of Callimachus with Διοσκουρίδew (*fr.* 192). Νικο-μήδης may be added from Kaibel *Epigr.* p. 531, and Mr. Platt supplies me with a luculent example in *Helio nam gabalus* from a poet ap. Pompeium, p. 474 as corrected by Quicherat. Bergk. ii. p. 282 quotes an inscription with another apology like that of Critias, which I may cap from one of our own poetesses, in case there should be anyone to whom Marjory Fleming is a stranger:

'His nose's cast is of the Roman,
He is a very pretty woman.
I could not get a rhyme for Roman,
So was obliged to call him woman.'

And yet again:

'He was killed by a cannon splinter
Quite in the middle of the winter;
Perhaps it was not at that time,
But I can get no other rhyme.'

p. 507 Simonid. 174 is mentioned as among his epigrams; the presumption therefore is that it was in elegiac metre:

δοιδῆς
Φοῖβος (ἔθ') ἀγείται¹ Τυνδαρίδῃσι(ν) ~ _
ἂν ἄμετροι τέττιγες ἐπεστέψαντο χορωνῶ.

p. 552 Corinna 34 schol. Ar. *Ach.* 720
ὄθεν καὶ ἡ Κόριννα ἐπὶ τοῦ Πινδάρου 'ἄττι-
κιστί' for ἐστὶ.

p. 591 Melanippid. (Ath. 429b) 4. 3 τάχα
δ' ἢ τάχα for τάχα δὴ τάχα, if Bergk is right
in reading τοὶ μὲν ἀπ' ὧν ὀλοντο.

p. 644 *Scolion* 5: Ar. *Thesm.* 978–81.

¹ Apollo (Μουσαγέτας) is leader of song, as Dionysus of revels, Pan of hunting; ἐν δὲ μέσαις Ἀπόλλων ἀγείτω παντοίων νόμων Pind. *N.* v. 23, Φοῖβος ἀγῆτωρ μελῶν Eur. *Med.* 425. Hence I think may be emended Aesch. *Theb.* 131 καὶ σύ, Λύκει' ἄναξ, Λύκειος γενοῦ στρατῶν δαίτω, σπόνων ἀγέτας (for νν. ll. αὐτὰς, αἰτὰς) 'show thyself to the foe Destroyer, and Leader—of lamentations.' Cf. *Rhes.* 227.

p. 655. 1:

'Αρτεμι, σοὶ με τι φρὴν <γὰρ> ἐφίμερον
ὕμν' ἐν

Cf. Alcæus 5 χαῖρε Κυλλάνας ὃ μέδεις, σὲ γὰρ μοι θῆμος ἔμνην. Hor. *C.* i. 11. 1 *Mercuri*—*nam te...* p. 401 Orelli—Hirschfelder. The dactylic metre and the dialect suggest that this fragment is from *Alcman*; compare, for instance, fragments 45–47. He uses, of course, this form of the infinitive, *fr.* 1. 3, 23. 43. τι ἐφίμερόν τε ἀβρόν τι Bacchyl. *fr.* 15, τι κλεινόν xviii. 9.

p. 660 *Carm. Pop.* 15:

βαλβίδι πέλας θέτε πόδα παρ πόδα

for βαλβίδα ποδὸς θέτε or βαλβίδα πόδας θέντες, with a resolved anapaest θέτε πόδα as in Ar. *Thesm.* 668 δράσας ἀνόσια = 707 πρὸς ταῦτά τις ὅτε. Tyrtaeus 11. 31 has καὶ πόδα παρ ποδὶ θείς, but the plural is necessary here.—Anapaestic dimeters are given to a herald in Ar. *Vesp.* 752; and, being appropriate to formal proclamations, were commonly spoken in Comedy by servants or others making announcements—of dinner, for example: Ar. *Thesm.* 39 *sqq.*, Anaxandrid. *fr.* 41, Mnesimach. II. p. 437 Kock.

p. 673 *Carm. Pop.* 44: in v. 3 πόλεσιν, I think, should be πολέουσιν or πόλεσσιν. In v. 2 Bergk's former conjecture is right, ὀμιλεῖν.

p. 701 *adesp.* 43 B Ἐρετίδας πόλο[ν]ς στεφαναφόρο[ν]ς, for the metre is dactylic.

p. 719 *adesp.* 90. 4:

ἄσκος δ' οὔτε τις ἀμφ(ι)ορεὺς ἐλίνυ' ἐν δόμοις,
πέλλαι λίθινοι τε πίθοι πλησθεν δ' ἅπαντες.

p. 720 *adesp.* 97:

ὥς ἄρ' εἰπόντα μιν ἀμβροσίου
τιλανγὲς ἐλασίππου πρόσωπον
ἀπέλιπεν ἀμέρας.

Is not that, with its prodigality of superfluous epithet, the very manner of *Bacchylides*?

p. 728 *adesp.* 126: τουτὶ δεινὸν or δεινὸν looks like a compound in —διηής: e.g.

(ὀνείρων) δέσποτα Πλούτων μελανοπτέρυν'
ἀντυγιδινῶν

λιπαροπτερύγων αὐτοποιήτων (*Anth. Append.* ii. 607 Cougny Ἰαίδης ᾧ σκοτιάς ἀμφέβαλε πτέρυγας) or πυκιδινῶν (πυκνὰ δινεῦντες πτερί Sappho). This would be of course from Comedy.

The following does not appear to have been recognised for a quotation: Plut. *de fort. Rom.* 4, p. 318 Ε τῆς δὲ Τύχης ὀξὺ μὲν τὸ κίνημα...φθάνουσα δὲ τὴν Ἀρετὴν ἐγγύς ἐστιν,

οὐ 'πετεροῖς ἐλαφρίζουσα κούφοις' ἐαυτήν, οὐδ' ἀκρώνυχον ὑπὲρ σφαίρας' τινὸς 'ἵχνος καθείσα.'

PINDAR, ed. Bergk (with Christ, 1896).

O. xiv. 20 merely requires the words to be transposed :

μελαντειχέα νῦν ἴθι
Φερσεφόνας δόμον, Ἀχοῖ.

P. v. 9 :

ἔκατι χρυσαρμάτου Κάστορος,
εἰδιάν' ὅς μετὰ χειμέριον ὄμβρον τεὰν
καταιθύσσει μάκαιραν ἐστίαν.

εἰδιανά is adverbial, as A.P. x. 14 εἰδια μὲν πόντος πορφύρεται, 16, 8 γαλήνης εἰδια πεπταμένης, and many words describing weather, as οὐρία θέιτε Ar. Lys. 550, καὶ ξυννένοφε καὶ χειμέρια βροντᾷ μάλ' αὐτῇ. Ἀναγ. In Soph. O.C. 1446 ἔπτῃζα θυμόν, οὐρανία γὰρ ἀστραπὴ φλέγει πάλιν I think Erfurdt was right in reading οὐράνια (which has escaped Prof. Jebb). I had made the same conjecture. Eur. Tro. 521 has ἵππον οὐράνια βρέμοντα.

N. viii. 46 Herwerden, I see, has anticipated me in reading

σεῦ δὲ πάτρα Χαριάδαις τε λενυρόν
ὑπερείσαι λίθον Μοισαῖον

for λάβρον with the common variant λαῦρον: yet λάβρον is retained by Christ. It can hardly be defended by O. ix. 20 ἐγὼ δέ τοι φίλαν πόλιν μαλεραῖς ἐπιφλέγων αἰοδαῖς, for μαλερόν is an epithet of fire, but λάβρος is not a quality of stone, nor can it be a 'limiting' epithet to mark the metaphorical application to a monument of song. λαβράκταις in Pratinas is suitable of course to dithyrambic poets.

fr. 168, p. 438, Ath. 411 ὁ διὰ βοῶν θερμὰ δ' εἰς (v.l. θερμὰ εἰς) ἀνθρακιὰν στέψαν πυρὶ δ' ὑπνόνων (v.l. πυριπνόνων) τε σώματα καὶ τότε ἐγὼ σαρκῶν τ' ἐνοπᾶν ἡδ' ὀστέων στεναγμόν βαρὺν ἦν ἰδόντα διακρίναι πολλὸς ἐν καιρῷ χρόνος.

Two things at any rate can be restored here: first πυρὶ δ' ὑπνόνων τε and πυριπνόνων τε are corruptions of πυρὶ ἵπνο οὐν τε, that is, *baked*. This verb is recorded by Stephanus, s.v. ἵπω, apparently as mentioned by Eustathius: 'Ex Aristoph. [Eq. 924], Eust. [p. 16, 40] citat, ἵπνόμενος ταῖς εἰσφοραῖς, exponens βλαπτόμενος. ἵπνω, In furno s. camino uro, In furnum s. caminum conjicio.' But it is not mentioned by Eustathius in that place, and the editors insert '[Et alio loco:] ἵπνω,' etc. Since,

however, ἵπνούμενος is a common error for ἵπνόμενος, it would seem to have been in use. The form ἵπνεῶ is found in Hesychius, where it has suffered exactly the same corruption as one in Athenaeus: Ἐκοδομεῖτο: ἐφρύγετο. ὑπνεῖτο (ἵπνεῖτο Musurus). Lexiphanes in Lucian ii. 331 speaks of οἶν ὄλον ἵπνοκαῆ.

The way is clear now for a second emendation—a very easy one—of ἐγὼ to ἔσω, 'inside the oven.' Heracles is listening to the crackling and hissing of the bones and flesh inside, to judge by the sound how soon the meat is cooked, μονονουχὶ ἐγκαλᾶν τῷ πυρὶ ὡς βραδεῖ in his impatience, as Philostratus says in the passage adduced by Bergk. It is plain, I think, that ἰδόντα will not do: αἰόντα seems to be required. Boeckh's conjecture δοῖα for διὰ is supported by the passage of Philostratus (τὸν ἕτερον τῶν βοῶν); possibly θερμὰ δ' is an error for δέρματ': Bergk thought there was no doubt something had been lost. The rest runs easily in the appropriate Dorian rhythm :

— — — ἔς ἀνθρακιὰν στέψαν πυρὶ
ἵπνοόν τε σώματα· καὶ τότε ἔσω
σαρκῶν τ' ἐνοπᾶν ἡδ' ὀστέων
βαρὺν ἦν αἰόντα διακρίναι στεναγμόν
πολλὸς ἐν καιρῷ χρόνος.

fr. 203: Perhaps

νεκρὸν ἵππον στυγέοισιν λόγῳ κτάμενον ἐν φάει,
κρυφᾷ δὲ σκοτίοις γένυσιν ἀνδρόεσιν
πόδας ἡδὲ κεφαλᾶς.

(οἱ σκοτίαις) for vv.ll. σκολιοῖς οἱ σκολιοῖς.

fr. 246, p. 460 διήγεται σάρκες ἀντὶ τοῦ διήγονται: v.l. διοίγετο δὲ σάρκες ἀντὶ τοῦ διοίγοντο. Probably διοίσετ' αἱ σάρκες ἀντὶ τοῦ διοίσονται. This use of διαφέρειν instead of διαφορεῖν in the sense διασπαράσσειν is poetical: Eur. Bacch. 743 πάντ' ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω διέφερον. Herodas vii. 90 τὰς μνῆας ὅκως σοι μὴ αἱ γαλαῖ διοίσουσι.

fr. 292, p. 470 Add Psellus Mirabil. p. 148, Westermann: ἀλλ' ἀγαπῶν ἂν εἰ καὶ τὰ νέρθεν εἰδείην τῆς γῆς. καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ περὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐσπούδακα ἐκείνο δὲ ἀπωσάμην, ἀλλὰ... which is a further illustration of Herodas iv. 73.

BACCHYLIDES, ed. Blass, 1898.

Metrical matters I propose to treat in another article.

p. 21, v. 7:

μαλὰ γὰρ δαρὸν τέρομαι
φρένας ἀμ]φάκει δῦα
γῆραι καὶ π]ενία.

γήραι καὶ πενία (Blass) has every sign of truth: *A.P.* vii. 336 γήραι καὶ πενίῃ τετυμμένος, vi. 228 γήρα τετυμμένον. τείρομαι is the proper word with both, τειρόμενος πενίῃ *Theognis* 181, 684, 752, γήραι *Hom.* ω 233, *E* 153, Δ 315, cf. *O* 61, η 218, and suits the metaphor of a wound, cf. *Herodes (Paroem.* II. 344) γήρας καὶ πενίῃ, δύο τραύματα δυσθεράπευτα.

τείρομαι, the usual form, is merely a lengthening, as δείρω of δέρω (Blass), πειραίνω of περαίνω: cf. *Lobeck Rhem.* p. 132.

p. 21 *fin.*:

οἰκωφ[ελ...

p. 25:

ἐκ τᾶς μὲν γένος

ἔπλετο καρτερόχειρ

Ἀργείος.....λέοντος

θυμὸν ἔχων] ὅποτε

χρεῖς.....βολοῖ μάχας,

ποσσίν τ' ἐλαφρός,...

Prof. Blass now prefers to write χρεῖός ἐ κερβόλλοι μάχας, and says 'Now if this restoration is substantially correct, the ὅποτε with optative must express what used to be in the past, and refers, of course, to the lion, not to the living victor. It is evident therefore that a particular lion is meant.'¹ I find it difficult to accept this view. The optative appears to me to refer quite naturally to Ἀργείος, the mood being dictated by the preceding past tense ἔπλετο. And it is certainly much more natural that λέοντος θυμὸν ἔχων should be merely θυμολέων, *Coeur-de-lion*, a purely general phrase. Cf. *Galen* (quoted by *Bergk* ii. p. 20) οἷον καὶ ὅταν εἴπῃ *Τυρταῖον* λέγοντα 'αἰθωνος δὲ λέοντος ἔχων ἐν στήθεσι θυμόν'· ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἔχει ὁ λέων θυμὸν ἀκριβῶς ἅπαντες ἄνθρωποι καὶ πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι *Τυρταῖον* γιγνώσκουσιν...*Τυρταῖος* δέ γε, καθάπερ οὖν καὶ Ὅμηρος καὶ Ἡσίοδος [*Theog.* 833 λέοντος ἀναΐδα θυμὸν ἔχοντος] καὶ ἄπλως εἰπεῖν ἅπαντες οἱ ποιηταὶ σφοδρότατον ἔχειν φασὶ τοὺς λέοντας τὸν θυμόν, ὥστε καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὅστις ἂν ᾗ θυμοειδέστατος εἰκάζουσι λέοντι. *Eur. H.F.* 1198, *Bergk* on *Simonid.* 110 p. 465. Not having seen the MS., I do not know whether there is any trace to help in completing the line: ἔσω τε or ἔσωθε (*Aesch. Cho.* 829 *Περσέως ἐν φρεσὶν καρδίαν σχεθῶν*) would be natural, but the sound is unpleasant: I had thought of ὁμᾶ τε or ὀρειο-λέοντος like ἀλαιοέτος, μονόλυκος al.

p. 33, v. 22: The reading of Blass and *Crusius*:

θεὸν θεόν τις

ἀγλαΐζέτω, ὁ γὰρ ἄριστος ὄλβων

accounts for the MS. (which gives ἀγλαΐζέτω by crasis) and makes an entirely natural sentence. ὁ γὰρ ἄριστος ὄλβων is like iii. 52 ἔχθιστος φόνων, 83 τοῦτο γὰρ κερδέων ὑπέρτατον, ix. 47 τὸ μὲν κάλλιστον ἐσθλῶν: and there is a still closer parallel in *Eur. fr.* 137 τῶν γὰρ πλουτῶν ὅδ' ἄριστος, γενναῖον λέχος εὐρεῖν.

θεὸν θεόν τις is confirmed by the use of θεὸς θεός as a formula, see *Bergk P.L.G.* iii. p. 562, and compare *Eur. H.F.* 764, *Andr.* 1004, *Aesch. Theb.* 553.

p. 37, v. 68: φθόνῳ πιαίνεται: *Pindar. N.* viii. 21: ὄψον δὲ λόγοι φθονεροῖσι. *Fragm. aesp.* (*Stob. Flor.* 38, 6) εἰσὶν τινες νῦν οὓς τὸ βασκαίνειν τρέφει.

p. 41, v. 11:

....ν ἄμφ' ἰσόρ-

ροπον.....Δίκ[ας] τάλαντον.

p. 51, v. 100: πολῶν τ' αἰγῶν...καὶ βοῶν φοινικονώτων is plausible in *Bacchylides*, whose fondness for colour is so marked.

v. 100: *Themistius* p. 168 B has the adverb κατάντην in a poetical description of an aqueduct.

v. 112: προθύμως καὶ ἀκαμάτως 'indefatigably' seems to cover all uses of ἐνδυνκέως.

p. 57, v. 187: ἀλαθείας χάριν: *Aesch. Ag.* 383 ἀθίκτων χάρις (1355 quoted by *Trypho* as τῆς Μελλοῦς χάριν), *Eur. Med.* 437 βέβακε δ' ὄρκων χάρις.

p. 59, v. 191: cf. *Soph. fr.* 226, *Eur. H.F.* 1325, *θεοτίμητος*.—*Theognis* 17 is borrowed apparently from *Hesiod*.

v. 193: κείνω is not incorrect; but τοῦτω (*Housman*) ὃν ἂν...contrary to our expression is the normal use in Greek,² e.g. *Pind. P.* x. 23 and a fragment in *Bergk* iii. p. 735: *Plat. Gorg.* 450 B εἶπερ ταύτην ῥητορικὴν καλεῖς ἢ ἂν ᾗ περὶ λόγους 'if you give the name of rhetoric to that which.' 'The man that would make a pun would pick a pocket' would be in Greek ὅστις παρονομαζίνδα παίζων ᾗδεται, βαλλαντισιομεῖν τοῦτον ἂν νόμιζέ μοι. It is strange this should not have been realized by *Cobet: Coll. Crit.* p. 49 'In *Menon.* p. 92 C haereo in verbis πῶς οὖν ἂν...εἰδείης περὶ τοῦτον τοῦ πράγματος...οὐ πάνταςιν ἄπειρος εἶης. He requires εἶ, or if εἶης is sound, περὶ ὅτουσιν πράγματος because in that case 'sententia est generalis.'

p. 67, v. 22: So ἐμπληκτοὶ βροτῶν *Soph. Aj.* 1358, φαῖλοι βροτῶν *Agathon fr.* 7.

v. 28: cf. *Sappho fr.* 3.

p. 69 vv. 14, 16. There are two examples here of a rhetorical artifice in lyric which

² Hence in *Eur. fr.* 183 (*Plat. Gorg.* 484 E) the right reading is τοῦτ'...ἢν αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ τυχάνῃ βέλτιστος ἂν.

¹ *Hermathena*, xxv. p. 357.

is worth remark, deferring the introduction of a name until a description has preceded. It may be seen in Pind. *P.* iv. 2, viii. 42, *N.* v. 13, *I.* ii. 22 and Aesch. *Supp.* 549, and was not unknown to the Alexandrians, Hermesianax (*Ath.* 597b), vv. 8, 15, 51, 60, 67, 71, 76, 90, 97. The object was to avoid the monotony of simple narrative; and the effect of it in keeping interest alert may be illustrated by an elaborate example in Macaulay's account of Warren Hastings' trial.

p. 69, v. 46: ἐγγόνων (the genitive has been rightly restored) is correct according to the distinction made by the grammarians between ἐγγονος and ἑκγονος (*Bachmann on Lycophr.* 431); but it is habitually an error.

'Thy descendants' says Bacchylides to the Asopus 'have made themselves known to the daughters of Ares¹ who dwell by Thermodon, and to the towers of Troy.' Who are the descendants meant? 'Telamon, Ajax, Achilles' says Prof. Blass. The Amazons had certainly reason to become acquainted with those heroes, for they fought against them in defence of Troy, and their queen was slain there by Achilles: and no doubt they would carry their impressions back with them to their distant home. But they had no need to go to Troy, for the acquaintance came to them: Sinope, the daughter of Asopus (*Apoll. Rhod.* ii. 946 schol.), was received in her wanderings by Thermodon, and established at their very doors (*Dionys. Perieg.* 773 *Eustath.*).

v. 52 Cf. Pind. *I.* vii. 19–23.—v. 56 Ζηνὸς ἄ (Herwerden) πλαθείσα λέχει is an improvement.

p. 75, v. 9: καὶ νῦν κασιγνήτας ἀκοίτας νασιῶτιν κекίνηκεν λιγύφθογγον μέλισσαν for ἐκείνησεν restores the metre. They are prone to write the aorist for the perfect; and this might happen here through the omission of the first syllable in <κε>κίνηκεν.

p. 77, v. 26:

Ἰσθμιονίκαν
δῖς νιν ἀγκάρυξαν εὐβο-
λων.....ων προφάται.

If there is not space for either of Mr. Platt's conjectures ἀεθλάρων or ἀγωνάρων, there might be room for διατατών.

p. 79, v. 35 sqq.: In v. 42 Prof. Blass has made the admirable correction ἕτερος δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι ποικίλον τόξον τιταίνει. It is a pleasure to be able to contribute signal confirmation of the reading. The whole of this passage is merely a paraphrase in brief of Solon 13.

¹ *Dionys. Perieg.* 654 sqq. with *Eustath.*, *Quint. i.* 55, 461, 560, *Iustin.* ii. 4.

33 sqq. p. 43 Bergk which contains the original of every detail here. To regard this, however, as plagiarism in our sense, with its implied reproach, would be quite to misconceive the Greek attitude towards art, including literature in general and lyric in particular. The art of the lyric poet—Pindar often prides himself upon his skill in it—was largely shown in his power of treating with brief touches matter familiar, and assumed to be familiar, to the audience.

Euripides uses πάτωρ (restored by Dindorf for πατήρ) in a passage to the same effect, *fr.* 659:

ἔρωτες ἡμῖν εἰσὶ παντοῖοι βίον.
ὁ μὲν γὰρ εὐγένειαν ἱμεῖρι λαβεῖν,
τῷ δ' οὐχὶ τούτου φροντίς, ἀλλὰ χρημάτων
πολλῶν κεκλῆσθαι βούλεται πάτωρ δόμοις.

And so on. Perhaps he would hardly have used the word in dialogue unless he had counted upon his audience recalling the passage of Bacchylides.

The particular application of σοφία is well seen already (besides Solon 13. 52) in *Theognis* 770, 790, 942, 995, *Pigres Bergk* ii. 238. In v. 40 ἐλπιδι χρυσέα suggests 'hope of gold' like ἀργυρέη πειθῶ in *Anacr. fr.* 33.

p. 89, v. 104: The sudden break into direct quotation is found in *Hom.* Δ 303, O 348, Ψ 855. The second of these is the subject of admiring criticism by *Longin.* περὶ ὕψους 27, who quotes another example of the device from *Hecataeus*; to which may be added *Sappho* l. 18, *Pind.* *I.* viii. 35 sqq., *Aesch. Theb.* 634. This should modify criticism of the Homeric passages.

p. 91, xi. 6: Prof. Jebb's ἀπατεῖ (constructed with an infinitive as in *Eur. Supp.* 586) is a most attractive conjecture. 'Requires me' is the sense we want, and the compound is appropriate to the case. Pindar habitually speaks of his ode as a χρέος, a task he has been commissioned to fulfil; and it is perhaps with this notion that in *P.* iv. 67 he says ἀπὸ δ' αὐτὸν ἐγὼ Μούσαισι δῶσω καὶ τὸ πάγχρυσον νάκος κριτοῦ, those themes having been the instructions in his brief. So in *I.* viii. 5 αἰτέομαι χρυσέαν καλέσαι Μοῖσαν. *Hor. C.* i. 32. 1 (*Orelli-Hirschfelder*) *Poscitur*.

p. 97, v. 83: cf. *Pind. P.* ii. 18.

p. 99, v. 103:

ὑπέρθυμον βοα[τὰν
Αἶντα σακεσφόρον ἤρω.

In spite of the Homeric passages adduced by Blass (*M* 277, *O* 687), it is tempting to think that Bacchylides used a more natural

epithet of Ajax, *ἐπέρθυμον βιατάν*. Pind. *I.* vii. 58 has *Μέμνονος βίαν ἐπέρθυμον*.¹

p. 105, v. 162 :

εἰλα]πίνας τ' ἐν
καὶ ὁ χό]ρ[ο]ις ἔξεν θεόδματον πόλιν.

χόροι are the natural accompaniments of peace and joy, Ar. *Pax* 976, Eur. *H.F.* 755, Hes. *Scut.* 272–285 after Hom. *Σ* 491 *sqq.* ἐν καὶ is used thus by Pind. *O.* ii. 28, vii. 26, *P.* x. 58, *N.* vii. 31. There is no means of saying whether εἰλα]πίνας should be εἰλα]πίνας, or whether νεας in 161 is the remnant of ἀφ]νεάς.

p. 109, v. 202 : *A.P.* xvi. 84, Bergk iii. p. 517.

p. 109, v. 228 : εἴ γε ('that is, if') was restored for εἰ δέ in Pind. *O.* ii. 62 by Boeckh.

p. 111, xiii. 8 : I do not remember whether it has been proposed, but the right supplement here would seem to be

μία δ' ἐς κοινὸν προκεῖται,
εἰ τὸ πὰρ χειρὸς κυβερνᾷ—
ταὶ δικαίαισι φρένεσσι

or κυβερνᾷ τις. Cf. *fr.* 11, p. 156, Pind. *N.* vii. 14, *I.* v. 12, and such common phrases as μίαν or μόνην ταύτην ἔχοντες σωτηρίαν εἰ or ἤν...

p. 115 : The title *Διθύραμβοι* is illustrated by Plut. *de mus.* 10, p. 1134 E περὶ δε Ξενοκρίτου... ἀμφισβητεῖται εἰ παιάνων ποιητῆς γέγονεν ἢ ρωϊκῶν γὰρ ὑποθέσεων πράγματα ἔχουσῶν ποιητὴν γεγονέναι φασὶν αὐτόν· διὸ καὶ τινες διθύραμβους καλεῖν αὐτοῦ τὰς ὑποθέσεις.² The term is applied to such heroic themes by Ath. 402a, Hephaest. 22 (Praxilla).

p. 117, v. 56 : ὀλβίων παῖδες as Hom. *Z* 127, Dionys. *Perieg.* 600.

p. 119 ὀπὶ ἀδεία : Sappho is recorded to have used *Μῆδεῖα* (sic) : *fr.* 162, p. 138 Bergk.

p. 123 : I believe with Prof. Jebb that *πολεμαίγιδος* is right. Athena is eminently a war-goddess, *πολεμαδόκος*, *πολεμόκλονος* : cf. Ebeling, *Lex. Hom.* p. 37a, schol. Aesch. *Theb.* 254. For the accent see Bergk, Pindar, p. 136.

This rather loose kind of compound they called 'dithyrambic,' Demetr. *de eloc.* 91 (Bergk, *PLG* iii. p. 729); ἀρέταιχμος in Bacchyl. is another example (Pindar has ἱππαιχμος), and ἐγχειέρανος in Pind. (= κεραυνεγχής in Bacchyl.).

v. 23 : Palaeographically *μεγάλογκον*

¹ Compare however the remarkable expression in Pind. *N.* ii. 14 ἐν Τροίᾳ μὲν Ἐκτωρ Αἰάντος ἄκουσεν.

² I see now this has already been adduced by Prof. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf.

would be an easy reading : but *μεγάλαυχον* is supported by Pind. *I.* viii. 15.

p. 125, v. 38 : κατεῖλμα would make the metre normal. κάλυμμα was the common word, and used therefore in explanation, of εἶλμα for instance. Hesych. gives κατεῖλνυται : κεκάλνυται.

p. 125, v. 43 : Prof. Herwerden's ἰδεῖν φάος ἔτ', εἴ τιν' improves both sense and rhythm.

p. 133, v. 18 : Sappho 12 ὅττινας γὰρ εὖ θέω, 36 οὐκ οἶδ' ὅττι θέω, 62 τί κε θεῖμεν :

p. 137 :

ἢ μόνον σὺν ὁπάουσιν
στείχειν ἔμπορον οἱ ἀλάταν.

M. Weil supports his emendation by Eur. *Hec.* 1126 μόνον σὺν τέκνοισι. Add *El.* 627 πόσων μετ' ἀνδρῶν ; ἢ μόνος δμῶων μέτα ; Achill. *Tat.* ii. 10 ἢ γὰρ μήτηρ τῆς κόρης, ὡς οἶσθα, μαλακίζεται, καὶ καθ' αὐτὴν ἀναπαύεται μόνη δ' ἢ παῖς βαδιεῖται κατὰ τὰ εἰθισμένα, τῆς Κλειοῦς ἐπομένης. Children or attendants do not count as persons.

στείχειν is practically the invariable spelling of MSS.

p. 141, v. 15 : I think Mr. Housman's εἴ τιν' is the truth.

p. 145 : The story as told by Apollodorus was the version of Simonides (*fr.* 216), schol. Hom. *I.* 557.

p. 149, v. 7 : Ζ]ηνὸς ἐν κ[ά]πῳ or κάποις cf. Pind. *P.* iv. 54 of Liby, metaphorically Soph. *fr.* 297. Hesych. Κάποις : κήποις.

v. 2 : The phrase μεμελημ[ένον] Εὐσεβ[ίου] which I conjectured here I have since found in Kaibel *Ep.* 1068, 13. See his Index, p. 642, Jacobs, *A.P.* VII. p. 34, 411, 458. Lyric, the fountain of ornate and euphuistic language generally, was the parent of these phrases too. So Pindar *O.* vii. 17 has ἀδόντα Δίκα.

p. 152, *fr.* 2 : Aesch. *Pers.* 294.

p. 154, v. 15 : Blass' ἀφῶς is a beautiful emendation : add *A.P.* vii. 726. 1.—v. 17 Pind. *I.* ii. 3.

fr. 5 reads like a mild reply to Pindar's contemptuous contrast (*O.* ii. 85) of his own original genius (φνά) with his rival's mere pupil-craftsmanship (μάθησις). Also *fr.* 26, which is in the form of a denial, 'it is not true that,' might be an answer to *Nem.* vii. 23.

p. 158, *fr.* 15 : see Strabo 411 (Bergk iii. p. 151).

p. 165, *fr.* 31 : The only other example of this rhythm is Pind. *O.* x. 3. Not unlike is *P.* x. 4 ; and Ar. *fr.* 506, 1 (Ath. 96c) may be considered a further development.

fr. 32 : ἀβρότῃ ξυνέασιν Ἴωνων βασιλῆες. A similar prelude to Ionic *a minore* rhythm will be found in Ar. *Ran.* 326 = 342, and Castorio (iii. p. 634 Bergk) ἐξόχως δ' εὐγενέτας ἡλιόμορφος ζαθέοις.

p. 168, *Ep.* 2, 2 ; τῷ πάντων ἀνέμων πρῆ-
τάτῳ Ζεφύρῳ. With πιστάτῳ, the reading of
the Anthology and Suidas, Casaubon com-
pared Theocr. x. 47, and one might adduce
also Hom. η 119, Theophrast. *de caus. plant.*
ii. 3. 1, *Geoponica* i. 11, 6 τὸν δὲ Ζέφυρον σύνερ-
γον εἶναι τῇ γεωργίᾳ μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων πάντων
ἀνέμων, and Plin. *N.H.* xvi. 25, xviii. 34.
Winds fatten certainly (Kaibel *Ep.* 1036,
4), but there is no reason why a wind that
fattens should himself be fat¹; and if there

¹ Dionys. Perieg. applies the epithet to the rich
water of the fattening Nile, 221 ἐνθεν πιστάτῳ
κατέρχεται ὕδατα Νείλου, 227 ὕδασι πιάλων λιπαρὸν
πέδον Αἰγύπτῳ : but that (as the schol. observes) is
a synonym of λιπαρωτάτου, as 824 Μαλανδρος λιπαρῆσι
κατέρχεται εἰς ἄλα δῖναις, Aesch. *Supp.* 1039, and the

were, the epithet would be pointless here.
He was not desired for ripening but for
winnowing; and for that purpose you do
not seek the fattest but the gentlest :
Columella ii. 20 *at ubi paleis immista sunt
frumenta, vento separentur : ad eam rem
Favonius habetur eximius, qui lenis aequal-
isque aestivis mensibus perflat.* It was from
this that Schneider (quoted by Jacobs in his
notes on Bacchylides, *A.P.* VI. p. 290)
restored πρῆτάτῳ. This is the established
epithet : Dioscorid. *A.P.* xii. 171 ἀνέμων
πρῆτάτε Ζέφυρε. Philodem. *A.P.* vi. 349
ἀνέμων πρῆτάτε Ζέφυρε. *A.P.* x. 102, 6 εἰσι
τινες πρῆεῖς καὶ βιότου Ζέφυροι. Himer. *Ecl.*
xvii. 5 πρᾶνι Ζέφυρος ταῖς αὔραις τὰ κύματα.
Otherwise λειοτάτῳ (Meineke) would be cor-
rect : Theophrast. *de vent.* 7. 38 ὁ δὲ Ζέφυρος
λειοτάτος τῶν ἀνέμων κτέ. W. HEADLAM.

difference will, I think, be felt ; Nile-water may
have body in it, hardly the unsubstantial Zephyr.

NEW HOMERIC PAPYRI.

THE portion of a Commentary on the
twenty-first book of the Iliad which Messrs.
Grenfell and Hunt publish in their Oxy-
rynchus Papyri, vol. II (Pap. CXXI) is
as interesting a contribution to the Homeric
text as has been made for a long time.
A first-hand Homeric commentary of the
classical period may safely be called unique
(a lexicon, such as that of Apollonius, is
not a commentary, and no one now believes
that the disjointed pages which once formed
a preface to the Venetus A have anything
to do with Aristonicus), and is bound both
to increase our knowledge of the subject
and to disturb our ideas of the process of
Homeric tradition.

The date of the MS. is, according to its
editors of the second century A.D. ; the
commentary touches Φ 1—363 with gaps.
The editors who contribute a judicious
introduction and interesting notes, acknow-
ledge their obligations to Dr. Blass, who as
the reviewer (having had the privilege of
an early copy) can testify, has shown the
most remarkable erudition and ingenuity
in restoring this difficult grammatical prose.

The important point of authorship turns
on the interpretation of the signature
αμμωνιος αμμωνιον γραμματικος εσημειωσαμην,
which is found in the middle of the roll
between two columns of text. The experts
give a somewhat uncertain sound on the
matter, nor can I offer anything material
towards the problem. I will follow, as

everyone must wish to, the example of the
editors in assuming Ammonius Ammonii f.
to be the author of the commentary. The
question follows which of several Ammonii
is he? The successor of Aristarchus, the
most prominent of them, is debarred by
chronology, and uncertain though the matter
may be, I have some confidence in plumping
for the author of the lexicon *περὶ διαφορᾶς
ὀνομάτων*. The matter of this lexicon is
largely taken up with Homeric usage, and
on the other hand the brief glosses which
abound in the commentary suit a lexico-
graphical grammarian. Further, the authors
whom both works cite, point to a similar
period : as the editors remark, the com-
mentary quotes Dionysius Thrax, Didymus,
Aristonicus and Seleucus, but not Herodian
or Nicanor ; the lexicon quotes, to take
names as they come, Aristoxenus, Trypho,
Alexion, Didymus, Ptolemy of Ascalon,
Lucius Tarraeus, Aristonicus,—evidently the
same set ; neither brings in Apollonius
Dyscolus nor his greater son, even upon
points of accentuation. The inference is a
fair one that the two Ammonii are the
same man, and that his age was about
100 A.D.¹

If this be correct the lexicographer Am-

¹ I should attribute to this Ammonius the brief
and often glossarial notes which are found in the
Odyssey MS. B.M. Pap. cclxxi. under the name αμ,
and which Prof. Ludwig, I believe, assigns to the
successor of Aristarchus.

monius will have written an *ὑπόμνημα*, critical and exegetical, upon Homer. He is a member of the class of *ὑπομνηματισταί*, *ὑπομνηματιστάμενοι*, who are frequently called in by the scholiasts, particularly perhaps by Herodian and in T, and about whom we know little more than their remarkable names—Attalus, Autochthon, Pius, Senacherim, Telephus. An important question is, did Ammonius' *ὑπόμνημα* extend to more than this book? Commentaries on separate books are rare, but one may quote *Ἀρποκρατίων ὁ Δίου διδάσκαλος ἐν ὑπομνήματι* (πούηματι cod., but the correction is well supported) τῆς *ἱ*, I 453, and the *τετραλογία* of Νεμεσίων, K 398, was probably a commentary on four books. A further argument is this: the Geneva scholia, published by M. Nicole from a 13th century MS., rise above mediocrity only in Φ, in which they have several long notes which were peculiar to themselves until the discovery of Ammonius. The same is true to a less extent of the scholia in T and in Par. 2766 and Ven. 459. It is natural to conclude that Ammonius' commentary, and therefore its influence upon tradition, was confined to Φ.

We are naturally led to the most important result of this publication, the effect it has upon the history of Homeric study and the formation of our corpus of scholia. The Homeric scholia fall, it is well known, into those of the Venetian MS. 454 (= A) which were first published by Villoison, acknowledge their sources, in a subscription, to be the four works of Aristonicus, Didymus, Herodian and Nicanor, and have not unnaturally been almost canonized by Lehrs and his disciples. The other scholia were long represented by a 14th century Leipzig MS. and a 16th century transcript which once belonged to Piero Vettori, and suffered from such late representatives. Their reputation was increased by the separate publication of these scholia as they appear in 'B' (Ven. 453) and especially in the form in which they are found in 'T' (Burney 86), the latter at the hands of Dr. E. Maass (1887, 8). The relation between the A and the T scholia has never been worked out in detail: but it is evident to anyone who has read both scholia side by side that all the four stated ingredients of A are present in T, and the fifth, Porphyrius, also; and that the difference between A and T is less one of authority and credit than of expression. Doubtless the balance on the whole is in favour of A, but not so much so that a positive statement made by T is not as authoritative as a contrary one from A.

This excellence of T is only increased by the evidence of Ammonius. The Geneva scholia with their novelties were found to belong to the T group rather than to A, and Ammonius evidently stands on the same side. Of course there are numerous coincidences with A, seeing that Ammonius quotes at least two of A's sources: but anyone who goes into the matter will find the preponderance largely in favour of T; and in particular in certain longer notes: v. 156 on Asteropaeus, not in A, in T but shorter. v. 195 on Achelous, in Gen. but not in A or T. v. 282 on *εἰρχθέντα*; in Gen., not in A or T. v. 363 on *μελδόμενο*, not in A but in T and Gen. On the other hand v. 290–2, the *atheteses* are alluded to in A and T but are not in Gen. (Gen. however is so chaotic that omissions in it may almost be disregarded.) The full bearing of these data will need time to appreciate, but it may be safely concluded that though T (and Gen.) are dilutions from the same original compilation of which A offers a more complete picture, at some period after their severance from the ancestor of A they must have been fortified by an admixture of Ammonius on Φ.

Whether Gen. and, to a less degree, T used other sources beside Ammonius where they diverge from A, and whether Ammonius' account of the Alexandrian variants is as full as that of Ven. A, are questions hard to answer on account of the fragmentariness of Ammonius. In most places apparent omissions in Amm. are no doubt illusory: thus vv. 111, 127, 195, 282, 331, 363, the sources mentioned in other authorities may have come either before or after the portion of Amm. actually preserved, or they may be worked into the defective framework. On the other hand, on v. 122 Timarchus and Aristotle, quoted by Par. 2766 and Ven. 459 can hardly be introduced into Amm., v. 1 unless the editors' *ἀριστοφάνης ῥόον* be maintained, Aristophanes' reading is not mentioned, and v. 356 Amm. clearly neglected Ptolemy Pindarion.

The positive additions made to our knowledge by Ammonius are exceedingly valuable and interesting. The editors have treated them so adequately that I need only briefly indicate them. They are of three sorts: (1) the longer notes to which I have alluded before. Their novelty, as the editors remark, is somewhat discounted by the publication of Gen., but even where they coincide with Gen. they offer a better text, and the details, as I have noticed, differ in

important particulars. The note on Astero-
paeus (156) which is not in Gen., the
athetesis of 290–2 by Seleucus, also not in
Gen., and the statement from Hermogenes
about μελδόμενο (363), confirming T against
B, are particularly important. (2) The
glosses: these take back the so-called
Scholia minora to an earlier century than
the Berlin and Paris fragments.¹ (3)
The readings, either new or additionally
authenticated; such are v. 122 ἦσο in
lemma, κείσο apparently noticed in the
note: 213 εἰδόμενος and εἰσάμενος Aris-
tarchus διχῶς (hitherto merely γρ. καὶ εἰδó-
μενος A); 217 πελάσας Aristophanes; this
completes two fragmentary and comple-
mentary scholia in A and T: 239 ἐφράσαο
for εἰρύσαο in lemma. 246 in lemma
δεινός—πεδιονδε (hitherto only γρ. πεδίονδε
A)—πέτεσθαι, with allusions to the alterna-
tives λίμνης and φέρεσθαι in the note. 251
the reading μελανόσσον which the editors
supply in the lemma is not quite certain:
the quotation would be the only MS. au-
thority for it. 355 ῥιπη which we only
know as ἐν τισι in A occurs as ριπη δε η
κ[ρητικῇ] if we accept this ingenious sup-
plement, 515 οἶος instead of φοῖβος quoted
col. XI. 34.

On the whole this happy discovery
appears to me to testify singularly to the
toughness and indestructibility of tradition.
As the papyri generally take back our
vulgate text to prae-Christian centuries,
and the Ptolemaic papyri confirm ancient
quotations, Ammonius rehabilitates the ob-
scure tradition of the scholia; a reading
such as πελάσας, which in our current com-
mentaries had gained bare mention on the
strength of 'schol. V,' is caught up to the
glory of the generation before Aristarchus.

I subjoin some suggestions on the text.

Col. I. v. 2 perhaps τα δέχοντα[α].

v. 5 Blass's supplement ἐπι[ρρηματι] is
very probable.

v. 10 καθ[ο] διαβατος η]ν, cf. AD.

v. 18 It is natural with the editors to
supply αριστο[φανης] ποον, but a subject is
required for γρα[φει] in v. 19, and this it
seems almost impossible to get out of]ρην.
Perhaps therefore we should read ο δε
πο]λεμῖος αριστο[νικου] (Δ 425), who would
then become the patron of ἑυρρῆος, the
reading of the family h. I can make
nothing of]ρην: ὁμοίως τῷ ἄρην is not satis-
factory.

v. 21 read ευρε]ης for]υς.

v. 30 ευφωνια]ς χαριν.

v. 31 παρα το ηρ[ακλῆς].

v. 32 ἱφι[κλήεις].

v. 33 παρα] δε. There does not seem to
be any quotation: the writer discusses the
accentuation of words compounded with
κλεος.

Col. II. v. 1 φυ]σι[ζωος] (lemma).

v. 2 το φυσι]ζωος [οὐ καλον ἐπι νεκ]ροις
α[ιαν δε φυσι]ζωον εκ[αλει, i.e. Γ 243, λ 301.
It is curious to find φυσιζώος, the mediaeval
vulgate reading, going back so far.

v. 6 Blass's του μετρον χαρ]ιν is probable;
I can make nothing of what follows, nor
do the scholia on A 277, @ 299 suggest
anything.

Col. III. v. 16 perhaps σιδηρω [παρα] δε
το αρησ[αρηι]; cl. T συνείληπται δε από τοῦ
ἀρηι.

v. 21 sqq. (Φ[122]). Ammonius' lemma
is so far the most substantial authority for
the variant ἦσο, a variant in scholl. AT but
found as yet in no text. It is of course
unquestioned in σ 105, v 262. [της νεωτε]-
ρας ἱαδος is certain, although references to
periods of dialects are rare in the scholia.
Cf. A 589 οὐκ ἔστι τῆς καθ' Ὁμηρον ἱαδος τὸ
ψιλοῦν τὰ τοιαῦτα, B 339 τῆς γὰρ μεταγενε-
στέρας Ἀτθίδος ἡ τοιαῦτε ἀνάγνωσις. For the
rest of the scholion I offer the following
attempt: οἶδε δια το[v] κῆι (sc. κείσο) [γρά-
φοντες αὐ]το εκ του ενταυθα [πα]ρα[γουσι.
κρα]της εκ του ενταυθ[ι] ωστε] την [οι περι]σπω-
μενην γεγ[ραφθ]αι ἀντι του αυ (sc. ἐνταυθοῖ
not ἐνταῦθοι) ουτω]ς δε αττικον φη]σιν αρι]στον
[εικος. ΗCΘ] διατριβε' εαν [ψιλωθ]η εις [την
ἡ ισθι] μεταφραστεο[v. αμειν]ον]δε φησι η] σο
αριστονεκ[ος ως επι]χθυ[σιν]. Cf. T τινες δε
ψιλοῦσιν. ἦν ἡ από τοῦ ἰσθι.

v. 31 ΜΕΤΙΧΘ]ΥCΙΝ ΟΙ C ΩΤΕΙΛΗ[N
ουτως αι κατα πολ]εις, or ουτως αι εκδοσεις,
or the like: the variant must have been
alluded to, cf. οὕτως διὰ τοῦ ᾧ ἄπασαι A.

Col. IV. v. 15 αριστοφανη]ν δια το [ω

v. 18 καθαπερ ε]ιπεν εν β οδυσσειας φρασ-
σονται οπισθεν ω[ς κε δολω φθι]ης = β 367
with a variant ὀπισθεν for ὀπίσσω.

Col. VI. The first nine lines contain a
local tradition about the fate of Astero-
paeus, of which no trace appears to have descended
to the geographers.

v. 2 πηλι]αδα μελην ?

v. 3 καθ]α ιππευς εν τω [περι ποταμων,
the same work as Gen. sites, calling the
author Hippon, on 195. Astero-
paeus as grandson of a Thracian river might have
been treated in such a book; Rhesus,
another Thracian, might be described as
his neighbour.

v. 5 perhaps λεγου]σιν αὐτο[v] καυ[θηναι
και τα οπ]λα.

¹ Schimberg, *Die handschriftliche Ueberlieferung
der Scholia Vulgata genannt Didymi*, 1892, p. 452.

v. 8 τ[ου ρησου προσωκ[ει]ω[μενου].

v. 14 Blass's supplement is very natural.

v. 17 Blass's supplement ε[νριπιδην] is brilliant: the edition is otherwise known from Suidas s.v. and Eustathius on B 865. It is a pity that more letters of the name are not preserved, but the only other Homeric critic whose name begins with ε appears to be Eratosthenes, and we are not told that he edited the text.

v. 18 α[νεγνωσθη] ἀστεροπαῖος.

vv. 22, 23 perhaps ατο[πος] γαρ αὐτος ἀπο του διακ[οσμου] ον [ἀπών· εἰ].

Col. IX. v. 1 perhaps πασ[ῶν] ὧν κατέλεξ' ἀχελώϊον ἀργυροδίνεω | ἐξ οὗ πασα θαλασσα.

These verses and the letters at the commencement of v. 1 are perhaps by Xenophanes, from whom Gen. on 196 quotes four and a half lines on the same subject. Megacleides previously was known in four mentions in the scholia, all through Porphyrius. It is worth noticing that the line in question here, 195, which Zenodotus and Megacleides excised, and which Pausanias viii. 38. 7 seems to pass over, is actually omitted by at least one MS., Bodleian Misc. 207.

Col. XI. v. 22 I am not sure that the lemma εφρασας is a blunder, although in a subordinate quotation l. 36 Ammonius gives ειρυσας, the ordinary reading. Cf. the variant φρασάμενοι Θ 29, I 694 for ἀγασσάμενοι. The lemmata of works of this age, e.g. of Apollonius' lexicon, often contain survivals of real variants, and the same is true of the oldest MS. of the scholia minora. Cf. οἰος in the quotation l. 34 [μελανοσσου], xiii. 23, and ησο iii. 21.

Col. XII. l. 29 sqq. (Φ 246-7). This passage, whether in the lemma or the comment, recognises all the variants on these lines: δίνης λίμνης, πεδίοι δὲ πεδίοιο, πέτεσθαι φέρεσθαι. It is the more exasperating that their authors have perished.

Col. XIII. l. 22 [οὕτως ἀνευ της ν] or the like. Ἐρωή, ἐρωήν is a well-attested variant in mediaeval MSS., recognised by Eustathius.

Col. XIV. l. 2 perhaps το[υτου] μ[εν]. l. 33, 34 [και τω] ανειαν σευσσθαι προσημει[ωμενο]ν, 'foretold by.' This makes Aristotle disapprove of the λύσις given in T.

Col. XVI. l. 17 perhaps ε[ικοτος] ε[πι] σκα[μανδρω]ι θε[τεον] ην. l. 20 perhaps αριστοτέλης εν β[ε] περι τ[ων] παρ ομηρω απορον[μενων], a variation on the usual title of his work, ἀπορήματα ὁμηρικά: cf. also Dionysius ἐν τῷ ἐ τῶν ἀπόρων B 308. Posidonius is quoted by Eustathius. l. 34 [σημειωτεον] την λε[ξιν].

Col. XVII. l. 3 perhaps [προπαροξυνεται] δε NO. CXX. VOL. XIV.

δι]οτι τα α[λλα] οσα εις ροσ[σ] εξέληθεν: cf. Herodian quoted in the Lex. Hom.

l. 12 [δεσμον α] να[γν], if such abbreviations are possible in papyri, as they are in later MSS.; in l. 32 perhaps με[λ]δον results from such a shortening. l. 17 [του] παθη τι]κον. l. 19 [του] υδα]τος. l. 34 perhaps αγν[οησαντος] του μεταγραφοντος, as Gen.

In the same volume we find a third century (A.D.) papyrus containing E 1-705, with many gaps in the latter part. The papyrus is thoroughly vulgate, but offers several interesting points. Peculiarities are the omission of vv. 75 and 126, δουρὶ for χαλκῷ 132, τίτανται for κέχυνται 141, ἀνὰ for κατὰ (κρατερὰς ὑσμίνας) 200. ασ[χ]ήσεσθαι 285 shows the assimilation which in other places is attributed to Zenodotus. Its most interesting property however is its reading of v. 118 ἴον δέ τε μ' ἀνδρα for the usual δὸς δέ τε μ' ἀνδρα. This lection, attractive from its construction, is defended by schol. A; οὕτως ἐν τισιν ἥρωδιανός, ἡ δὲ γραφή τόν δε τέ μ', ἀνδρα, a scholion too confidently pronounced corrupt by many scholars, including Ludwich. One may grant that οὕτως ἐν τισιν ἥρωδιανός may be a survival of οὕτως ἐν τισιν εὐρεῖν φησὶν or εὐρήσθαι φησιν ἥρωδιανός, though I see no real reason against translating 'so Herodian in some of his works,' but ἡ δὲ γραφή is a frequent formula and always signifies the scholiasts' preference.¹ The reading is also quoted by schol. A on O 119, where Dindorf's note 'Librarii errore pro δὸς δέ τε μ' is left in an unfortunate position.

Coincidences with other MSS. are 31 τει-^βχεσιπλήτα, Zenodotus' reading superscribed, as it is in three mediaeval MSS.; 104 μένος with the Geneva MS. for the vulgar βέλος (τέλος, the reading hitherto supposed to have been the contrary of βέλος disappears); ἐξελ[ύθη] 293 with Aristarchus and a good minority of MSS.²

Another papyrus, containing Θ 1-68 has been published by Mr. E. J. Goodspeed in

¹ Cf. I 112 διὰ τοῦ ᾧ ἡ γραφή. I 162 ἐνὶ στήθεσσι ἀχαιοί. οὕτως ἡ γραφή, οὐχὶ ὀδυρόμενος. K 539 ἄριστοι οὕτως ἡ γραφή. Δ 622 τε δυικῶς. διὰ τοῦ τε οὖν ἡ γραφή: cf. also Θ 441, M 86, Π 522, Φ 539, and Ψ 721 ἡ γραφή ἐν κνήμιδας ἀχαιούς. The expression is rather a mark of T, but is not peculiar to that MS. Cf. A on Π 248, Ven. 459 on Π 507.

² I take this opportunity to suggest that in schol. T on O 10 φησὶ κοῤῥόμενος should be read φησὶ ὁ κομωνός. Comanus is quoted freely in the scholia; the Gen. MS. reduces his name to κομῶν Φ 363.

the *American Journal of Archaeology* II. No. 5, p. 347 sq. It is of the second century A.D.; its peculiarities are the omission of v. 6—some ten or more mediaeval MSS. want this line, and the date of the omission is

thus taken back to the age of this document—and of v. 59, for the absence of which there is no other authority.

T. W. ALLEN.

THE NEW SCHOLIA TO *ILIAD* XXI.

OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI, VOL II. P. 63.

The difficulties of col. ix. p. 64 may perhaps be best removed by reading as follows: ὁ μέντοι γ' Ἀρίσταρχος ὁμηρικὸν αὐτὸν ἀποφαίνει· τὰ γὰρ ρεύματα ἐξ ὠκεανοῦ εἶναι. Σέλευκος δ' ἐν ε < ὅτι κοινῶς πᾶν ὕδωρ ἀχελῶος καλεῖται καὶ Δημόδοκος ἐν ε > Ἑρακλείας· Πῶς δ' ἐπορίσθης ρεῦμα ἀχελωίου ἀργυροδίνεω, | ὠκεανοῦ ποταμοῖο δι' εὐρέος ὑγρὰ κέλευθα; τοῦτο δὲ ἐμφαίνειν καὶ Πίνδαρον, λέγοντα τὸν αὐλητικὸν κάλαμον,—ἀχελῶον κρανᾶν, τοῦ ὕδατος—· Πρόσθα μὲν σ' ἀχελῶον τὸν αἰδιδότατον ἐν ῥώπια κρανᾶν ἑλικὸς τε ποταμοῦ ῥοαὶ τρέφον κάλαμον· ἑτέρως γοῦν λέγειν ὠκεανοῦ πέδα κρανᾶν· πολλοὺς τε πρὸ Δήμητρος θύειν Ἀχελῶω ὅτι πάντων ποταμῶν ὄνομα ὁ Ἀχελῶος, καὶ ἐξ ὕδατος καρπός.

Ἀριστάρχος, however, declares that the line (195) is Homer's, arguing that flowing waters come from ocean; whereas Seleucus in 5 < asserting that water in all circumstances is called by one general name of ἀχελῶος, e.g. Demodocus in 5 > of his poem on Heracles.—'Tide of achelous breaking in silver, by what means wast thou furnished forth in all the liquid walks of ocean's broad river?'; further, that Pindar also shows as much in speaking of the reed of which the flute is made, where 'wells of ἀχελῶος' is for 'wells of water.'—'Most melodious now, once thou wast a reed that the quags of the springs bravely grew, and the streams of the circling river' (i.e. oceanus): that at any rate he

has another phrase (for the same thing i.e. for ἀχελῶον ῥώπια κρανᾶν) viz. 'the floors of ocean's springs': also, that many sacrifice to Acheloüs rather than to Demeter, because Acheloüs is a name for all rivers, and water brings increase.' It would seem that Seleucus, like Aristarchus, defended l. 195, but on different grounds, namely, that ἀχελῶος is a general name for water, and that in other poets it is co-ordinated with ὠκεανός.

The hypothesis of a lacuna not only makes sense out of nonsense, but gets rid of a *Heraclea* by Seleucus. Demodocus, Pisander, Rhianus, and Panyasis each wrote a poem with this title.

The word ῥώπια has been preserved in E.M. 705 fin., where it is said to mean τὰ οὐ στερέμνια. Its literal sense is, spots that 'sink' or 'give.'

Col. x. 21, p. 65 read τότε ἔκειτο ἐν ταῖς ἄμμοις <καὶ> αἱ ἐγγέλυνες ἥδη αὐτοῦ ἦσθιον.

Col. xi. 13, p. 66. The Sophocles here mentioned is the commentator of the name.

Col. xi. 19. The ἐγώ is the redactor of the commentary. He thereby introduces as his own an explanation of the dative with πειρᾶσθαι based upon a special etymology for the verb.—Ἐκτορι περιηθηναὶ ἀντιβίην· ἐγώ, ἕως πέρατος ἐξ ἐναντίας πολεμήσαι, 'face to face to fight with Hector to the end.'

W. G. RUTHERFORD.

ON THE *OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI*.

CXXI.

12. Qu. ἀ[περίσκεπτος ὦν. 13. cf. Ar. *Plutus* 863: νῆ Δία, καλῶς τοίνυν ποῶν ἀπόλλυται. 18. τῶν γεγονότων ποθομένων looks a rather astonishing phrase, better τῶν γεγονό-

των ποθ' οὐνεκα, 'for what has happened at last.'

CXXII.

Col. II. The following attempt at restoration of the first twelve lines will show most

easily what I take to be the situation. I am glad to see that my amiable friend the editor has adopted my view so far as previously divulged. I enclose my own additions in brackets.

A. ὑβρίζομεναι. B. μὰ Δί' ἀλλ' ἐγὼ [οὐκ ἀνέξομαι.

ἦν τοῦν ἔχωμεν, σκεψόμεθα [τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὡς μηδὲν πλέον τούτου σθένωσιν [οὐνεκα.

A. τί οὖν γένοιτ' ἄν; B. ἔχ' ἀπόκριναι μοι τόδε.

5 τί ἐστὶ τοῦθ' ὃ λέγονσι τὰς [Μιλησίας παίζειν ἐχούσας, ἀντιβολῶ, τὸ [σκυνιόν;

A. φλνυρία καὶ λήγρος ὕβρεως ἔμπλεως καλλῶς ὄνειδος καὶ κατ[απυγοσύνη γε πρὸς. τοῦτ' γὰρ ὥσπερ τοῖσιν ᾧοις χρηστέον

10 τοῖς ἀνεμιαίοις, ὅτι νεοτ[οὺς οὐ ποεί. εὐχὴ δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστίν· εὐ..... ἐς τοῦτο χρήσει· καὶ πόνο[υ πολλοῦ πλέων.

7. ἔμπλεως Postgate. 8. Cf. *Lys.* 137.

11. I think the meaning may be: 'but even that is a vain dream, for you will need (I can't imagine what) for this, and it is a troublesome business besides.' χρήσει future of χρή, as certainly in Herodotus, though in Attic everyone would expect χρήσται. However χρήσει is quoted from Plato *Laws*. 13-16. Cf. *Lys.* 135.

CCXIX.

11. λ[ίθο[ις κέ]σαι παρ' ἀλιδρόσοις, οἱ ἦσαι. 13. ὃν ἀντί[παιδός. 14. καθάπερ].

17. [παῖ] φέρε τὸ ἐρνίον.

22. It seems probable that Θακοβαλπίδος would do for the name of a sitting hen. The characteristic attitude of the hen is squatting on her seat. I take θακο- to mean the ground on which she sits. Very similar is the phrase used by Herondas of *sitting birds* (vii. 48), ὅκως νεοσσοὶ τὰς κοχῶνας θάλποντες, the beautiful and certain correction of Dr. Jackson.

CCXXI.

Col. I. *init.* In connexion with the questions here raised on the accentuation of ὅτε δὴ, it is noticeable that Aristophanes begins a sentence at least five times with the words ὅτε δὴ δέ (*Wasps* 121, where see Starkie's note, *Lys.* 523, *Eccl.* 195, 315, 827). The only conceivable reason for the words being put in this order seems to be that ὅτεδὴ was felt to be one word, and the accentuation of Aristarchus therefore can hardly be so παράλογον as it appeared to Hierodian.

10. Read 'Ἀλφειοῖο πόρον καθ' [ὃν διαβατὸς ἦ]ν¹ καὶ πορευτός.

Col. VII. 4. I think this a fragment of some lyrist, and so would read [ἀρ]ιστοπ[όν]ον, a Pindaric word.

5. The next quotation is not from Pindar but Anacreon, for καὶ [π]α[ρ'] Ἀνακ[ρέοντι] is plainly the right supplement. The metre is Ionic as one might expect in *Parthenia*; it is curious that none of the fragments of Pindar's *Parthenia* are written in it, but Anacreon of course was fond of it. In CCXX., Col. XIII., we are told that the Parthenian metre was $\cup \cup \cup | \cup \cup \cup | \cup \cup \cup$, which is obviously in reality Ionic with the usual variation between $\cup \cup \cup$ and $\cup \cup \cup$ so familiar in Galliambic and other Ionic verses.

Col. IX. 5-17. I take the sense of this very puzzling passage to be as follows: 'Aristarchus points out that the line (Φ 195) is Homeric, because all streams are said to be ἐξ Ὠκεανοῦ [whereas if 195 be omitted Homer is represented as saying they are all ἐξ Ἀχελωίου. And Ocean and Achelous are different things.] So Seleucus says: "How camest to the river of Achelous over the watery ways of Ocean?" [thereby shewing that he does not think them the same]. Aristarchus adds that Pindar's evidence goes in the same direction, when he calls the piper's reed child of the founts of Achelous: "of old wert thou reared by Achelous and the streams of the winding river" [so that Pindar meant a *river* by Achelous]; at any rate Pindar means a very different thing when he says "beyond the founts of Ocean."

No doubt some critics had argued that Achelous in Homer, as in some other poets, meant simply *water*, and therefore that Homer would not say 'not even Achelous nor Ocean,' and therefore it was that they omitted 195. They quoted the passage of Pindar as one of their arguments,² and Aristarchus retorts that Pindar there did not use the word Achelous as they supposed, but simply for a river; when he wanted to talk of Ocean, he said so straight.

In 9 ῥέυμα is the Attic accusative and so the difficulty about ἐπορεύθης is imaginary. In 17 πε[δ]ᾶ κρανᾶν is surely a rather improbable phrase; πε[ρ]α is common with πόντον and the like.

24. πᾶντ' ἄ[ν] is apparently right. 'The oracle regularly told the Greeks to sacrifice to Achelous, and hence they would naturally

¹ So Allen (*supra*).—Ed. C.R.

² Their syllogism seems to be: in one place Pindar says Ἀχελωίου κρανᾶν, in another Ὠκεανοῦ κρανᾶν; therefore Achelous = Ocean.

consider [being a foolish race in the opinion of Ephorus] every river as Achelous.'

Col. X. 22. I should prefer to insert *καί* between *ἄμμοις* and *αἱ*, rather than to read *ὅτε* for *τότε* in 21 (see editor's note).¹ 'Either Homer anticipates what would happen on the third day, or else at the time he is speaking of [opposed to *τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ*] the body was lying in the sand and the eels were already busy over it.'

27. *ἐπεὶ γὰρ* has no construction; read *ἐπί*: 'for the word *ἐρέπτεσθαι* is properly used of creatures picking up a thing from the ground with the tongue.' Is the derivation supposed to be from *ἄπτομαι* as well as *ἔρα*?

Col. XI. 19. Possibly *ἐγὼ* arose from a dittography of *ῥως* (*εωως*). Omitting it, I would construe: "*Ἐκτορι* *πειρηθῆναι* for "fight against Hector to the end," governing *Ἐκτορος* by *ἐξ ἐναντίας* and taking *τοῦ* to be neuter. To explain *ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἐκτορος* as

¹ So Rutherford (*supra*).—ED. C.R.

meaning that the dative "*Ἐκτορι* is here used for the genitive is inconsistent with the explanation of *πειρηθῆναι* directly given. For if *πειρηθῆναι* were '*ἕως πέρατος πολεμήσαι*,' it could not govern a genitive, but a dative would in the nature of things be expected, 'to fight *with* Hector.' It was the dative which caused the absurd derivation.

Col. XII. 2. [*ὠρίζε*]το. Cf. Col. III 15.

3. Possibly [*δύο· δέιλη μὲν ἀπὸ*] τῆς *ῥας ἐκείνη μέχρι τῆς . . δεκάτης· αὐτῇ* [*ἰ.ε. ἡ δεκάτῃ*] δὲ ὀψία.

Col. XVII. 19. A blister is a swelling up of the skin, [*τοῦ δέρμα*]τος. Dr. Postgate compares *ἐκζεμα*. A blood-blister might also be thought of, in which case we might read [*τὸν αἷμα*]τος. Postgate also observes that in the scholion quoted by the editors on line 18 we should read *ἀνάζεμα* for *ἀνάστημα*.

ARTHUR PLATT.

MISCELLANEA.

PLATO, *Apol.* 17 οὗτοι μὲν οὖν, ὥσπερ ἐγὼ λέγω, ἣ τί ἢ οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς εἰρήκασιν ὑμεῖς δ' ἐμοῦ ἀκούσεσθε πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν—οὐ μέντοι μὰ Δι', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κεκαλλιεπημένους γε λόγους, ὥσπερ οἱ τούτων, ῥήμασί τε καὶ ὀνόμασιν, οὐδὲ κεκοσμημένους· ἀλλ' ἀκούσεσθε εἰκῇ λεγόμενα τοῖς ἐπιτυχούσιν ὀνόμασι—πιστεύω γὰρ δίκαια εἶναι ἃ λέγω—καὶ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν προσδοκησάτω ἄλλως· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν δῆπου πρόποι, ὦ ἄνδρες, τῇδε τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ὥσπερ μειρακίῳ πλάττοντι λόγους εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσιέναι. I need not speak particularly of the chiasmic double contrast at the beginning of this passage (*οὗτοι* ~~*ἐγὼ*~~ *ὑμεῖς* ~~*ἐμοῦ*~~) nor of some other minor points.

I have tried to make these clear by the way in which I have written and pointed the words. It is about a common misunderstanding and misinterpretation of the words from *κεκαλλιεπημένους* to *ἐπιτυχούσιν ὀνόμασι* that I wish to speak here. Stallbaum's explanation of these words, which has doubtless led many astray, runs thus:—*Praeterea commemorat Socrates λόγους κεκοσμημένους*, h.e. *orationes ornatas*, videlicet tropis, figuris, numero; in his enim rebus maxime cernitur κόσμος s. ornatus orationis. This way of interpreting, or rather misinterpreting, is due to failure to heed the chiasmic contrast in the Greek and to mis-

understanding of the meaning of *κεκοσμημένους*. *κεκοσμημένους* (λόγους) is contrasted with *εἰκῇ λεγόμενα* and *κεκαλλιεπημένους* λόγους ῥήμασί τε καὶ ὀνόμασιν with *λεγόμενα*. τοῖς ἐπιτυχούσιν ὀνόμασι. *κεκοσμημένους* means 'marshalled,' 'ordered,' 'arranged,' as opposed to *εἰκῇ λεγόμενα*. We find something similar in Eur. *Med.* 576, where *εὐ τοῦσδ' ἐκόσμησας λόγους* may be, I think, most simply interpreted 'well have you marshalled these words.'

Aesch. *Prom.* 629

μή μιν προκῆδον μάσσον ὥς ἐμοὶ γλυκύ.

It seems a pity that the latest editors still cling to this reading. It stands in both the annotated edition of the *Prometheus* of Messrs. Sikes and Willson (1898) and the Parnassus Library text of Professor Campbell (1898). Professor Campbell puts Elmsley's *μασσόνως ἢ* 'μοὶ at the foot of the page, and Messrs. Sikes and Willson say of the same conjecture: 'Were emendation necessary, this would be good.' Though the latter editors have examined Dr. Wecklein's large Greek edition, they do not seem to realize that he has practically given up his former view of the construction in question. His Greek note is decidedly

curious—to say the least. After reproducing the note of the German edition he continues: 'Ἀλλὰ τὰ χωρία ταῦτα εἶναι τὰ μὲν ἐτέρας φύσεως, τὰ δὲ ἀμφισβητουμένης γραφῆς. Ἐὰν δὲ ὡς παρεδόθη ὀρθῶς, ὅπερ φαίνεται βέβαιον, δὲν κείται ἀντὶ τοῦ ἤ. Φαίνεται δὲ πιθανώτερον, ὅτι ἐλλείπει ἐνταῦθα τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ συγκριτικοῦ καὶ τοῦ κώλου τῆς συγκρίσεως ὑπάρχον ἢ (πρβ. Πλάτ. Πολιτ. σελ. 410 D μαλακώτεροι ἢ ὡς κάλλιον αὐτοῖς) καὶ ἡ ἔννοια εἶναι: ὡς ἐμοὶ ἀρεστόν ἐστι, μὴ φρόντιζε πλέον περὶ ἐμοῦ. Πρβ. Εὐρ. Ἰππ. 530 οὔτε γὰρ πυρὸς οὐτ' ἄστρον ὑπέρτερον βέλος οἶον τὸ τᾶς Ἀφροδίτας ἵσριν ἐκ χειρῶν Ἑρως καὶ Ἄλκ. 879 τί γὰρ ἀνδρὶ κακὸν μείζον ἀμαρτεῖν πιστῆς ἀλόχου. If it is probable that ἢ is left out here between the terms of the comparison, then it should be put in and μᾶσσον ἢ ὡς be restored. ὡς ἐμοὶ ἀρεστόν ἐστι, μὴ φρόντιζε πλέον περὶ ἐμοῦ does not represent a case of omission of the particle of comparison, but means 'since it is my pleasure, do not take thought about me further.' Of course, the passage cited from Plato has nothing to do with such an interpretation; but it is excellent as a support for the reading μᾶσσον ἢ ὡς. As for the two passages cited from Euripides at the end of the note, that from the *Alcestis* was probably rightly explained by Hermann, as I now think with Mr. Hayley (see his excellent note on *Alc.* 879–80). The passage from the *Hippolytus* is in all likelihood to be corrected by inserting ἢ before οἶον. The copyists quite commonly fumbled ἢ ὡς (and the like: so particularly μὴ οὐ), A good example is to be found in Hippocrates περὶ διαίτης ὀξέων 2, when the MSS. vary between the right reading ἐτεροίως γινώσκω ἢ ὡς κείνοι ἐπεξήμισαν and γινώσκω ὡς (see Kuehlewein's critical note *ad loc.*). In Xen. *Hellen.* 2. 3, 16 ἡττόν τι οἶε (οἶμ) ὥσπερ is a mistake for...ἢ ὥσπερ, as I have elsewhere noted. One is surprised to find Solon's κέντρον δ' ἄλλος ὡς ἐγὼ λαβὼν figuring in Messrs. Sikes and Willson's note on the *Prometheus* as an example of ὡς=ἢ. Does not Aristotle *Ἀθ. πολ.* 12 paraphrase Solon's words by εἰ γὰρ τις ἄλλος ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς ἔτυχεν? This citation the editors just named seem to owe to Mr. Adam (on *Plat. Apol.* 36 D). Mr. Adam believes (or believed) that ὡς could be used for ἢ after a comparative. But the best example he adduces, *Plat. Rp.* 526 C, is due to carelessness on Plato's part owing to the wide separation of μείζω πόνον from the second term of the comparison, which ought, of course, to be ἢ ὅσον τοῦτο or ἢ τοῦτο, but appears in the form ὡς τοῦτο, as though οὕτω μέγαν πόνον had gone before. After all's

said and done, it would seem that Dr. Thompson's dictum that 'the use of ὡς for ἢ after a comparative is a barbarism' must stand. When shall we see μὴ μου προκίχου μᾶσσον ἢ ὡς ἐμοὶ γλυκύ come into its own?

In *Hom. Odyssey* α108 αὐτοί seems to be generally misunderstood. The passage should, I am quite sure, be understood thus (106–109):

εὔρε δ' ἄρα μνηστήρας ἀγένορας· οἳ μὲν ἔπειτα
πessoῖσι προπάροιθε θυράων θυμὸν ἔτερπον,
ἤμενοι ἐν ῥινοῖσι βοῶν οὐδ' ἔκτανον, αὐτοί·
κήρυκες δ' αὐτοῖσι καὶ ὀτρηροὶ θεράποντες κτέ

'They themselves were playing at *πessoῖ*, seated on hides of oxen that they had killed, while their heralds,' &c.

In *Hom. Iliad* Z, after Antia's accusation of Bellerophon to Proetus we read (166):

ὡς φάτο, τὸν δὲ ἄνακτα χόλος λάβεν, οἶον
ἄκουσεν
κτεῖναι μὲν ῥ' ἀλέεινε—σεβάσασατο γὰρ τό γε
θυμῶ—
πέμπε δέ μιν Λυκίηνδε, πόρεν δ' ὃ γε σήματα
λυγρά, κτέ.

In the note to v. 167 in the Leaf-Bayfield edition we read: 'ῥ': probably a corruption of an original *F*' = *έ*, as in 158 above, Δ 524, &c.' (Similarly in Mr. Leaf's large edition.) Now, however the case may stand with the other verses cited, I am pretty well convinced that the notion that ῥ' here represents *F*' = *έ* is wrong, and for this reason. After the statement that the king became angry at the monstrous accusation he had heard, we naturally expect a statement of what he did *in consequence* of his anger, or, in other words, we expect a sentence linked to what has gone before by a conjunction meaning 'so,' 'therefore,' 'accordingly': and that is just what the traditional text gives us in ῥ' = ἄρα (οὖν, δῆ).

An οὖν or δῆ standing after the μὲν in the first member of a μὲν—δὲ complex and introducing to the Greek mind the whole complex, to the modern mind the δὲ-clause, is a phenomenon so common in Attic Greek that it ought to be needless to cite passages. However, inasmuch as the first chapter of the *Anabasis* seems to be commonly misread, it may be well to place side by side with the Homeric period just quoted the following: *Xen. An.* i. 1, 1 sq. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡσθῆναι Δαρείος καὶ ὑπώπτευε τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου, ἐβούλετό οἱ τὸ παῖδε ἀμφοτέρω παρῆναι· ὁ μὲν οὖν πρὸς βύ-

τερος παρὼν ἐτύγχανε, Κῦρον δὲ μεταπέμπεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς κτέ., (= παρόντος οὖν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Κῦρον μεταπέμπεται κτέ.), *Αἰν.* i. 1, 4 βουλευέται ὅπως μήποτε ἔτι ἔσται ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, ἀλλ', ἣν δύνηται, βασιλεύσει ἀντ' ἐκείνου. Παρύσταις μὲν δὴ ἡ μήτηρ ὑπῆρχε φιλοῦσα αὐτὸν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν βασιλεύοντα, ὅστις δ' ἀφικνοῖτο τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντας οὕτω διατίθεις ἀπεπέμπετο ὥστε ἑαυτῷ μᾶλλον φίλους εἶναι ἢ βασιλεῖ, καὶ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτῷ δὲ βαρβάρων ἐπεμελεῖτο ὡς πολεμῖν τε ἱκανοὶ εἴησαν καὶ εὐνοικῶς ἔχοιεν αὐτῷ, τὴν δὲ Ἑλληνικὴν δύναμιν ἥθροζεν ὡς μάλιστα ἐδύνατο ἐπικρυπτόμενος, ὅπως ὅτι ἀπαρασκευάτατον λάβοι βασιλέα. ὧδε οὖν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν συλλογὴν. In this passage the connection of thought seems pretty clearly to demand the text as given above. The words τῷ Κῦρῳ after ὑπῆρχε disturb the connection of thought, and were probably added by some one who did not understand the construction ὑπῆρχε φιλοῦσα = ἦδη ἐφίλει. The words of Plutarch in *Artax.* 2, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ὑπῆρχε τὸν Κῦρον μᾶλλον φιλοῦσα, seem to show that τῷ Κῦρῳ was not in Plutarch's text. (Plutarch [*Artax.* 1] and Lucian [*hist. conscr.* 23] read at the beginning of the *Anabasis* what is probably the right order Δ. καὶ Π. παῖδες γίνονται δύο.) Similarly the word Ἀρταξέρξης was added after τὸν βασιλεύοντα by some reader. ἑαυτῷ seems necessary after ὥστε because of the contrast with βασιλεῖ. παρ' ἑαυτῷ is contrasted with παρὰ βασιλέως: so βαρβάρων with the subsequent Ἑλληνικὴν. τὸν βασιλεύοντα followed (twice) by a form of βασιλεύς (βασιλέως, βασιλεῖ) is neat and very Greek.

In Plato's *Republic*, 470 c, we read: Ἕλληνας μὲν ἄρα βαρβάρους καὶ βαρβάρους Ἕλλησι πολεμεῖν μαχομένους τε φήσομεν καὶ πολεμίους φύσει εἶναι καὶ πόλεμον τὴν ἔχθραν ταύτην κλητέον. Ἕλληνας δὲ Ἕλλησιν, ὅταν τι τοιοῦτο δρῶσιν, φύσει μὲν φίλους εἶναι, νοσεῖν δ' ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ στασιάζειν καὶ στάσιν τὴν τοιαύτην ἔχθραν κλητέον. Here I believe we should read φύσει μὲν φίλιος εἶναι, and in general the formula holds good that ἐχθρός: φίλος:: πολέμιος: φίλιος. As the commoner word, φίλος has been substituted for φίλιος in the MSS. in not a few places. I note here the following: Lysias 12, 38 (read ἡ ὡς πόλεις πολεμίας οὖσας φίλιας ἐποίησαν), Xen. *Anab.* 1, 3, 12 (read πολλοὺ

μὲν ἄξιος φίλος ὧι ἂν φίλιος ᾖ), *ib.* 1. 6, 8 (read τῷ ἐμῷ ἀδελφῷ πολέμιος, ἐμοὶ δὲ φίλιος καὶ πιστός).

In Xenophon's *Hellenica*, 2. 3, 16, a slight correction is necessary. Thus: εἰ δέ, ὅτι τριάκοντά ἐσμεν καὶ οὐχ εἰς, ἡττόν τι οἶε <ἡ> ὥσπερ τυραννίδος ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς χρῆναι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, εὐήθης εἰ. In Lysias 12, 80 we read μῆδ' ὧν φασι μέλλειν πράξειν πλείω χάριν αὐτοῖς ἵστε ἢ ὧν ἐποίησαν ὀργίζεσθε. Here ὀργίζεσθε is illogical for ὀργὴν ἵστε (or ἔχετε). It seems probable that Lysias had at first intended to end the sentence with ὀργὴν ἔχετε (ἔχετε because he had already used ἵστε with χάριν); but he decided afterwards to vary the construction still further: hence ὀργίζεσθε. We find something similar (in part) to this in Lysias 16, 11 ὅτι τῶν νεωτέρων ὅσοι περὶ κύβους ἢ πότους ἢ τὰς τοιαύτας ἀκολασίας τυγχάνουσι τὰς διατριβὰς ποιούμενοι, πάντας αὐτοὺς ὀψεσθέ μοι διαφόρους ὄντας καὶ πλείστα τούτους περὶ ἐμοῦ λογοποιοῦντας καὶ ψευδομένους. Here, if Lysias had not had τούτους (after πλείστα) already in mind when he wrote the beginning of the sentence, or else had he not carefully revised his written sentence, we should pretty certainly have πάντας τούτους ὀψεσθε.

In the introduction to Appian's *Roman History* we read (cap. xi. init.) Τὰ δὲ Ῥωμαίων μεγέθει τε καὶ εὐτυχίᾳ διήνεγκε δι' εὐβουλίαν καὶ χρόνον κτέ. Here Schweighäuser annotates as follows: Legendum puto μεγέθει τε καὶ χρόνῳ; δι' εὐβουλίαν καὶ εὐτυχίαν. This Mendelssohn thinks plausible. But Appian wrote as the words stand. The chiasmic contrast μέγεθος: εὐτυχία:: εὐβουλία: χρόνος is the key to the whole passage. At the end of this passage Appian says: ἕως ἐπακοσίοις ἔτεσι (χρόνος) κακοπαθόντες τε καὶ κινδυνεύοντες ἀγχωμάλως τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐς τόδε (μέγεθος) τροπήγον καὶ τῆς εὐτυχίας ὠναντο διὰ τὴν εὐβουλίαν. Here we have: χρόνος: μέγεθος:: εὐτυχία: εὐβουλία. The thought is that *time* (and *patience*) has brought *greatness*; *good counsel* has brought *good fortune*. The difficulty is due to the fact that for the sake of the contrast Appian has used χρόνος in such a way that it is formally opposed to μέγεθος, whereas in fact the connotation 'patience' outweighs the denotation 'duration.'

MORTIMER LAMSON EARLE.

Barnard College,
New York, U.S.A.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA AND PLUTARCH.

Connected with the *Eclogae ex Scripturis Prophetiis* of Clement of Alexandria, § 34, is a piece of literary history on which perhaps some reader of the *Classical Review* may be able to throw further light.

The section reads thus :

Ἦν τόποι μὲν καθαροὶ καὶ λειμῶνες ἐδέξαντο φωνὰς καὶ τινὰς ὄψεις ἀγίων φασμάτων· ἄνθρωπος δὲ ὁ ἀκριβῶς κεκαθαρμένος ἅπας διδασκαλίας καὶ δυνάμειος θεϊκῆς καταξιοθήσεται.

The opening words of this do not construe, as Sylburg justly remarks, even if we read ἦ for ἦν.

In Stobaeus *Florilegium* Tit. 120, No. 28 is a long passage headed Θεμιστίου ἐκ τοῦ Περὶ Ψυχῆς. This is an extract from a dialogue between Timon and Patrocleus. In the course of it Timon compares the experiences of the soul immediately after death with those of a man being initiated into the τελεταὶ μεγάλαι. These experiences he describes as follows.

Πιλάναι τὰ πρῶτα καὶ περιδρομαὶ κοπῶδεις καὶ διὰ σκότους τινὸς ὑποπτοὶ πορεῖαι καὶ ἀτέλεστοι, εἶτα πρὸ τοῦ τέλους αὐτοῦ τὰ δεινὰ πάντα, φρίκη, καὶ τρόμος, καὶ ἰδρῶς, καὶ θάμβος· ἐκ δὲ τούτου, φῶς τι θαυμάσιον ἀπήντησεν, ἣ τόποι καθαροὶ καὶ λειμῶνες ἐδέξαντο, φωνὰς καὶ χορείας καὶ σεμνότηας ἀκονσμάτων ἱερῶν καὶ φαντασμάτων ἀγίων ἔχοντες, κ.τ.λ.

Is the coincidence of language merely fortuitous here? I think it can be shown that it is not. In § 35 of the *Eclogae* of Clement we have two more coincidences with 'Themistius.'

I know, he says, that the mysteries of γνῶσις are laughed at by the mob. τοὺς δὲ ὀλίγους, καθάπερ φῶς ἐπεισενεχθὲν ἐξαίφνης συμποσίῳ τινὶ συνηρεφεί, ἐκπλήξει τὰ πρῶτα· ἔπειτα ἐθίσαντες...ὥς ὑφ' ἡδονῆς εὐφραϊνόμενοι κ.τ.λ. Themistius (*l.c.* p. 468 ed. Gaisford) καὶ φῶς ἐπεισενεχθὲν ἐξαίφνης συμποσίῳ θόρυβον καὶ κρότον ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἐποίησε.

Again Clement, § 35 : ὡς γὰρ ἡδονὴ τὴν τῆς ἀλγυδόνος ἀπαλλαγὴν οὐσίαν ἔχει, οὕτως ἡ γνῶσις τῆς ἀγνοίας τὴν ὑπεξάγει.

Themistius, *l.c.* p. 467 : ἡδονὴ δ' ἥδε πᾶσα μὲν ἴσως οὐσίαν ἔχει καὶ φύσιν ἀλγυδόνος ἀπαλλαγῆν.

The next sentences in Clement contain a metaphor about sleep : and sleep is the subject of a large part of the Themistius passage.

I do not think, then, that we can doubt that Clement had read this dialogue περὶ

ψυχῆς. But if that be so, Themistius cannot have been the author of that dialogue : for Themistius lived late in the fourth century.

Wytttenbach had already assigned the dialogue to Plutarch, and prints the passage among the fragments of the *Moralia*. A principal reason which led him to this attribution lay in the names of the interlocutors in the fragment, Timon and Patrocleus : for Timon and Patrocleus are the names of speakers in Plutarch's tract *De Sera Numinis Vindicta*.

Prof. Ernst Maass in his interesting book *Orpheus* (Munich, 1895, p. 303) prints a portion of the Themistius extract, contests Wytttenbach's conjecture as to its authorship, and gives reasons for believing it to be by Themistius. In face of the hitherto unnoticed quotation of the Themistius extract by Clement, his reasoning (which is not supported by any positive evidence) must fall to the ground.

Apparently Clement is not otherwise known to quote from Plutarch. As far as dates are concerned, he might have done so, for Plutarch died early in the second century.

We seem to have gained from the above investigation the following points :—

1. Themistius cannot be the author of the extract in Stobaeus.

2. Clement of Alexandria had read the work from which that extract is taken.

3. We can by the help of the extract slightly improve the text of Clement's *Eclogae*.

4. The fact of the quotation by Clement tends to support Wytttenbach's conjecture that the extract is from Plutarch's dialogue περὶ ψυχῆς.

I have left on one side the two possible hypotheses : 1. That Themistius is the true author of the extract, and that he is quoting Clement ; 2. That both Clement and Themistius derived the phrases common to them from Plutarch. Neither supposition seems tolerable upon a perusal of the documents.

Plutarch's dialogue περὶ ψυχῆς is quoted by Eusebius (*Praep. Ev.* xi. 36.) which fact may tend to make it less surprising that Clement should have made use of it at an earlier time. It may be interesting to some to know that the story quoted by Eusebius is a piece of folk-lore which reappears in St. Gregory's *Dialogues* iv.

36. A man (Antyllus) has been ill and is given up by the doctors. He revives and says that he has been dead, and that the spiritual messengers who took his soul were rebuked by their Master, who said he had sent them to fetch Nicandas. Nicandas—a cobbler who lived near Antyllus—is accordingly taken ill soon after and dies. In

St. Gregory's form of the story, the two actors are both named Stephen; one is an 'illustris,' the other a smith. Gregory heard the story from the former Stephen himself, together with another, in which Stephen affords further proof of his habit of putting new faces on old friends.

M. R. JAMES,

PLAUTUS, *PERSA*, 376-377 AND 610.

Goetz and Schoell print vv. 376-377 thus:—

*Lubere tibi per me licere intellego,
Verum lubere hau liceat, si liceat mihi.*

Here *liceat, si liceat* is the reading of A, but I believe the repetition of *liceat* to be merely a mistake of the copyist. Leo '*Pistoris coniectura*' adopts *lubeat, si liceat*. But the Palatine reading is *liceat, si lubeat* (B *lubeat*), and I feel sure that this is right and should be restored.

The girl is complaining to her father that they do not stand upon an equal footing. He is at an advantage, she is at a disadvantage. 'I see that you may indulge your whims for anything I can do to stop you (*per me* = ἐμὸν: γὰρ ἔνεκα), but, if I did take a fancy, I should not be allowed by you to indulge it.' This is the sense required, and it can be got, if I am right, only from *liceat, si lubeat*, the Palatine reading.

v. 610, T. *Ehodum huc, virgo. vide sis quid agas.* V. *Taceas: curabo ut voles.*

Anyone who reads the preceding lines carefully will see that line 610 is an intolerable repetition. All that it contains has been already said, and said better and more fully, in the previous asides between Toxilus and the girl. The line should be enclosed in brackets as a recension, probably an actor's version intended to replace the previous lines. It is significant that the Palatine MSS. omit the line, so that the actor's recension was made in A only.

[I had marked in my copy v. 551 as belonging to Toxilus, v. 615 *exquire. heus tu, advigila* to be given continuously to Toxilus, *exquire* being addressed to Dordalus, *heus tu, advigila* to the girl. But Ussing and Leo have, I find, already made these corrections, so it is needless to elaborate the point.]

J. H. GRAY.

FOLKLORE IN VIRGIL.

Bucolics, iv. 43-44.

The latest English editors of Virgil are somewhat severe in their comments upon this passage. Mr. Sidgwick says, 'The conception of rams becoming naturally purple, scarlet or yellow is rather grotesque.' Mr. Page says, 'There is only a step from the sublime to the ridiculous and Virgil has decidedly taken it.' But it is very dangerous to proclaim a glaring fault in the work of so careful an artist as Virgil. In the first place, fleeces are sometimes found with pale shades of gray shading into purple here and there, or again, they are tinged

with pale yellow passing into orange and terra cotta. Farmers in the English Lakes sometimes select such fleeces for use as rugs in their parlours. I remember seeing a rug which did not need the deceitful aid of dyes, as Virgil would say. But these unaccustomed tints had a meaning for religion. For, indeed the fourth eclogue seems as it were to be redolent with the heavy fumes of incense. According to Macrobius, Virgil was relying upon a tradition of augury. 'Traditur in libris Etruscorum, si hoc animal insolito colore fuerit inductum, portendi imperatori rerum omnium felicitatem. est super hoc liber Tarquiti transcriptus ex

Ostentario Tusco, ibi repperitur purpureo aureove colore ovis ariesve si aspergetur, principi ordinis et generis summa cum felicitate largitatem auget, genus progeniem propagat in claritate laetioemque efficit.' Maer. Sat. III vii 2. Tarquinius is quoted by the elder Pliny among the authorities for his second book.

Aeneid, vi. 282-284: 893-898.

If there is a mystical turn about the fourth eclogue, which compels us to go below the surface for the poet's meaning, this is also the case with these two passages from the sixth book of the *Aeneid*. The study of them will not be without importance for our understanding of Virgil's method. And first as to the Tree of Dreams.

If we read the *Aeneid* carefully, we shall find that Virgil had formed for himself a fairly consistent theory of dreams; a theory which appears if we may judge from *Lucr.* i. 120-126 to have been suggested by Ennius. According to Ennius there are 'Acherusian quarters', which are reached, not indeed by soul nor body, but by 'certain phantoms pale in wondrous wise' which are thus distinguished from the souls of the dead. And it was from this place that the form of Homer rose before him. It is just possible that the phrase, *simulacra modis palentia miris*, is quoted by Lucretius from Ennius and that Virgil is referring to Ennius when he makes use of the idea. L. Müller gives the passage as the fourth fragment of the *Annals* I. At any rate it is not absolutely certain that Virgil depends upon Lucretius even for the turn of phrase. Virgil first refers to this passage when he describes the apparitions that haunted Italy before the outbreak of the civil war, *Georg.* i. 477. The editors should perhaps give a reference here to Ennius as well as the later poet. Not only does Virgil repeat the turn of phrase several times but what is more important for us now, he throughout employs the idea of Ennius, as the following examples will show. It is not Sychaeus but his likeness, *imago*, that appears to Dido in her sleep, *Aen.* i. 353. The apparition of Hector to Aeneas is closely imitated from that of Homer to Ennius, ii. 270 cf. *Cic. Acad.* II. 51. The next example is striking: 'Infelix *simulacrum* atque ipsius *umbra* Creusae Visa mihi ante oculos et nota maior *imago*,' ii. 772. The case of the Penates iii 148. is not a genuine exception; there could scarcely be any question of their phantoms appearing. And

lastly Virgil himself seems to define the meaning of the dream-shapes by the instance of Anchises. When Anchises appears to his son, we are told that his likeness seemed to glide down from heaven, v 725. Although Aeneas was haunted every night by the 'restless phantom'—*turbida imago*—of his father, iv 351, Anchises retains no memory of these meetings and greets his son in the shades as if for the first time after a long interval. It is abundantly clear, then, from these examples that the phantoms which gather round the Tree of Dreams are to be distinguished as Ennius had already done, from the souls of those whom they represent.

There is another agreement between Virgil and what Lucretius reports to us as the opinion of Ennius. The path to the waters of Acheron starts from the elm tree *Aen.* vi 295. Compare this with the 'Acherusian quarters' where the pale phantoms of Ennius foregather, and whence the form of Homer arose on its visit to him. The elm tree answers exactly to the description of the older poet.

But why should there be an elm tree? It is to be remembered that dreams in their origin were thought to be the souls of human beings visiting others in their sleep. Thus the elm tree is like a home of souls and is to be classed along with other trees of life with which the life of mankind has been thought to be bound up. It reminds one of the elm trees which were planted round the tomb of Eetion. I have quoted some other parallels in my *Worship of the Romans* pp 43, 44. Of course it cannot be proved that Virgil regarded this tree as planted near a grave, but he comes very near indeed to saying so. It is planted in the middle of the forecourt of the kingdom of death, and is perhaps the last object of earthly reality upon which the traveller can look as he takes the last journey. For the forms which gather round the tree are as unreal as the phantoms which cling to its leaves, vi 292-294.

Virgil says of the dreams that they cling to the leaves. Are they like the leaves themselves to which the souls on the banks of Acheron are compared, vi 309, or are they like the birds in which also Virgil sees a resemblance to the souls? Both of these comparisons have numerous analogies in their favour. In addition to the illustrations which I have quoted elsewhere (*Worship of the Romans* 43, 44) there is one in the *Folklore of the Fjort*, p. 57. One of the characters in a story sings: 'Now am I

indeed dead and become a bird.' I do not think however that the dreams are either leaves or birds. Surely they retain their own shadowy shapes, Sychæus and Anchises and Hector and the others, as in a mysterious album of the portraits of the dead.

From the elm tree onward with its 'unsubstantial dreams,' the poet moves amid creatures of the imagination. He begins with personified states of mind, Grief, Care, Disease and Old Age, and after his journey through the shades, is himself dismissed through that gate of sleep which affords a passage to false dreams. In passing let us note that Virgil here repeats the distinction with which we are now familiar. On the one hand are the genuine souls of the dead, which pass through the gate of horn; on the other are the false dreams.

What are these gates of sleep? *They are the eyes and the mouth respectively.* The eyeball furnishes the gate of horn; the teeth, the gate of gleaming ivory. 'The dreams,' Homer says in the passage which Virgil is imitating, 'the dreams that pass through the polished ivory cheat with vain promises and bring unaccomplished words. But the dreams that pass through the smooth horn, bring sure things to pass when a mortal sees them,' τ 562. There seems to be a play upon ἐλέφας and ἐλεφαίρ-ομαι as well as upon κέρας and χραίνειν. But the motive of the comparison is very widespread, cf. Herod i. 8; Horace, A.P. 180; Plautus *Truc.* ii, vi 8 'pluris est oculatus testis unus quam auriti decem.' Taubmann in his commentary on Plautus, gave the above interpretation quite clearly two

centuries ago. 'By the gate of horn is meant the eyes: which are of the colour and hardness of horn. The ivory gate is the mouth, and receives its name from the teeth. True shades come forth from the gate of horn because those things are true which we see with our eyes. But false ones come through the gate of ivory, because those things which we hear are for the most part false,' *ad Truc.* ii 68. Hence when Virgil dismisses the travellers through the gates of ivory, he is reminding us that it is the poet's voice that has given them life. The close of this episode is thus in character with its beginning. The whole episode in fact, is like a vision interpolated in the course of the story of Aeneas. But, as the poet is careful to point out, it is not one of those visions which seem to bring their warrant with them. The poet does not, like Blake in his prophetic books, describe what has been revealed and told to him. He is throughout the self-conscious artist who uses the materials of legend as symbols of truth. Conington, following Heyne, is content to suggest that Virgil hit upon the idea of the gates of sleep by a happy chance, and has nothing to say about the convincing interpretation which was suggested so long ago by Taubmann. Mr. Sidgwick is content to refer to the parallel furnished by Homer. I venture to think that any interpretation of this masterpiece of Virgil must take special account of these two pieces of folklore—the tree of dreams and the gates of dreams—in which it is framed.

F. GRANGER.

THE ARATEA OF GERMANICUS.¹

It is just three hundred years since Hugo Grotius, then a youth of seventeen and already the editor of Martianus Capella, put forth at Leyden that *Syntagma Arateorum* which Barth declares to be the work of Scaliger, and which might indeed be Scaliger's if it were not devoid of Scaliger's characteristic vices. Neither on Cicero nor on Auienus nor on Aratus himself did Grotius spend such pains as on Germanicus, whose plight was then the worst of the four; and with only the old editions and a single MS to

help him he did very much more for his author than these three centuries have done between them. But though there is no other editor whose name should be written on the same page with Grotius', still Schwartz in 1715, Orelli in 1832, and Baehrens in 1879, have all effected something tangible: Orelli especially, who first provided an apparatus criticus and classified the MSS. Mr Breysig's two editions, the larger of 1867 and this smaller book of 1899, are less important: they contain I think only five true emendations of his own; but Germanicus has been studied a

¹ *Germanici Caesaris Aratea*, iterum edidit Alfredus Breysig. Lipsiae, Teubner, 1899.

good deal since 1867, and scattered through the text and notes of the second edition are many valuable corrections. These, and one or two which Mr Breysig has omitted, I will here amass, and display within a brief compass the gains of the last 32 years.

Perhaps the most noticeable of all are Mr P. von Winterfeld's conjecture at 692 and Mr F. Stahl's at frag. ii 16. At 692 the constellations which rise with Capricorn end with the line

eminus exurgit Minoa nota corona.

It is not from Aratus, it is false to fact, it is ἀσύνδετον, and *eminus* is useless and *nota* is poor: as poor as Mr Breysig's conjectural introduction of the same epithet at 636. Grotius accordingly expelled the verse; but Mr Winterfeld (de Rufi Festi Auieni metaphrasi, Berlin 1895, p. 34) restores

et minus exurgit Minoa nota corona,

'and up rises the Crown less famed than Ariadne's.' Germanicus supplements Aratus from his own astronomical knowledge: this is the Southern Crown which lies before the feet of Sagittarius, Arat. 401, Germ. 391.

At frag. ii 16, where Germanicus tells how long each planet takes to complete its orbit, the MSS gave and the editors supinely accepted the inane announcement '*binos* Gradius perficit orbis.' It is less an honour to Mr Stahl (de Ausonianis studiis poet. Graecorum, Kiel 1886, p. 47) than a shame to his predecessors that he was the first to write *bimos*; just as it is less an honour to Schwartz that he emended '*Mercuriusque celer, regno caelique uerendus | Iuppiter*' in verse 4 of this same fragment, than a shame to the two last editors that they retain the corruption *caeloque*. Both corrections I made myself, and any other attentive reader would have made them.

Similarly the manuscript notes of J. C. Schaubach (ob. 1849) furnish three corrections, 472 *diuidui* for *diuidit*, 605 *Canero* for *caelo*, frag. iv 73 *Phosphoros* for *Hesperos*, which have been rediscovered since his time by other scholars: the first by Baehrens, the second by Mr Maybaum, the third by Mr Ellis. Mr Breysig accepts *diuidui* and *Phosphoros* but rejects *Canero*: it is the most certain of the three, see Arat. 591, Cic. 371, Auien. 1104: as to Mr Winterfeld's defence of *caelo* in Herm. xxx p. 559, I will only say that I should have expected it to satisfy Mr Breysig but not to satisfy Mr Winterfeld. Sabbadini's emendation

ora for *ore* at 348 was also repeated by Mr Ellis.

The rest I will simply enumerate. 149pt 268 *uenus tepor ammonet* for *uentus super immouet*, 271 *multum accepta epulis* (*epulis* Burmann) for *plurimum acceptae prohs*: since folk still tinker away at this verse as if it were not emended let me say that after the false division *acceptae plis* this last word or no-word was mistaken both for *prolis* (*plis*) and for *pluris* (*plis*): the former stands in our MSS as *prohs*, the latter wandered to the margin, adhered to *multum*, and engendered *plurimum*. Baehrens (I do not include his corrections of the dozen lines he was the first to discover) 292 *speculaberis* for *spectaueris* (which Mr Breysig retains as if it were *expectaueris*), 293 *rapidus* for *rapidus*, 369 punctuated, 670 *iam toto iam toto* for *iam toto uastus et* (Breysig absurdly *iam uasto*), frag. iv 99 *glaciante* for *glacia te*, 130 *idem* for *aut idem*, 139 *moueatur* for *noneatur*, 143 *gelu* for *caelum*. Ellis 317 *aptum* for *ardum*, 636 *torta* for *tota*, frag. iv 72 *ubi* for *sub*, 77 *memento* for

N

menalto (= ME-MEALTO). Maybaum (who has well restored and defended MS readings at 181, 295, 306) 192 *respicis* for *respicit*, 375 punctuated, 464 *a cubito* (= *abucito* = *ab umo*) for *ab umero*, 638 *cum corpore* for *tunc pectore* (Mr Breysig adopts *cum* and ignores *corpore*, which is equally necessary). R. Dahms 714 punctuated; C. F. Kinch 620 *creterra* (*cratera* edd.) for *terra*. Two capital corrections are assigned to an 'anonymus'. 167 *positum* for *portans* or *totam*, 499 *libra: quae sidera* for *librato sidere* or *libato siderat*.

Mr Breysig's own services to the text are the following: I do not count instances like 38 and 71 where he ascribes to his own conjecture what are really MS readings, nor the places where he alters *humeri* to *umeri* and records his exploit. 73 *sertis* for *stellis*. Baehrens' objection is only one of several signs that Baehrens had never read Aratus. 145 *explentur* (*expletur* edd) for *expletum*. 335 *hanc* for *hunc*: perspicuity requires the alteration though grammar does not. 371 *radiat* for *adiat* or *radians*. 677 sq. 'nil trahit obscurum Serpens, et trunca recepta | desinit esse manu' (Grotius) *membris deformis imago* for *sed . . . manum mediis*: the construction in my opinion is '*recepta manu desinit esse trunca membris*.' He well retains *alle* at 313, and defends *deuictam* at 272 against Burmann's *defectam* by citing Auien. 187, a passage I cannot bear to mention without correcting it: write '*sic insidisse labore | deuictum fama est. at, cum*

Tirynthius aethrae | inditus et solio fultus
sublime paterno est, | Iuppiter hanc speciem
... reddidit': the texts have *ac tum*, and
a full stop after *paterno est*: the corruption
ac tum for *at cum* recurs ib. 1308.

Mr Breysig has said in *Herm.* xvii p. 407 (1882) and again in Teubner's *Mitteilungen* for 1898, no. 4 p. 102, that the edition of Baehrens was 'in kritischer Beziehung ein entschiedender Rückschritt.' The relies of Germanicus are about 930 verses, and in 153 of these do Baehrens and Mr Breysig differ. But Mr Breysig hardly differs more from Baehrens than from himself: his two texts, 1867 and 1899, dissent in 120 verses; and in many places he has now come over to Baehrens. His variants from Baehrens may be ranged in three chief classes: those places where he adopts conjectures made since Baehrens' time; those where he abandons, often rightly, conjectures adopted by Baehrens and reverts, less often rightly, to the MSS; and those where he follows the family O and Baehrens the family Z.

This last is the department in which Mr Breysig especially supposes himself to be Baehrens' superior: Baehrens is 'eclectic,' he is 'scientific.' Translated out of formulas into plain speech, this means that Baehrens thinks for himself and chooses (not always well) what seems to him the better of two readings; Mr Breysig, in order to avoid thinking for himself, accepts the reading of O, provided only that it seems to him endurable. Which of these two methods is more properly to be called scientific I will not now enquire; because it so happens that in the text of Germanicus they produce results which do not greatly differ. The places where O and Z dissent are for the most part places where the reading either of Z or else of O is utterly unendurable, even to Mr Breysig; and his notion that he and Baehrens differ considerably in their adherence to this or that family of MSS is a mere hallucination. O and Z contain in common about 500 verses, and they are continually at variance. Unless I have missed count, the places where Mr Breysig follows O while Baehrens follows Z are only twenty-three (9, 15, 74, 78, 89, 90, 110 sq., 155, 181, 194, 201, 203, 221, 226, 238, 254, 269, 326, 331, 355, 444, 457, 512); and in nine of these the Mr Breysig of 1867 agreed with Baehrens. True, there are three passages outside this list, 26, 306, 499, where Baehrens follows Z while Mr Breysig has a reading equidistant from Z and O; and there are two, 352 and 567,

where Mr Breysig follows O while Baehrens has a reading equidistant from O and Z or disregards them both completely. But then on the other hand there is one place, 169, where Baehrens follows O and Mr Breysig has a reading nearer to Z; and there is actually one, 465, where Mr Breysig follows Z while Baehrens follows O.

So far from grave then is the amount of difference between the eclectic and the scientific editor. Now to consider its nature. In ten places out of the twenty-three, 9, 74, 78, 90, 110 sq., 155, 203, 444, 457, 512, there is either no decisive reason or else no reason at all for preferring Z to O or O to Z. In one place, 194, there is room for much variance of opinion: *caelo cum luna refulsit* O, *cum stellas luna refulsit* Z, *cum stellas luna retundit* Baehrens, cf. Auien. 1753 '*sidera luna retundit*,' 514 sq. '*astra...aciem quibus...luna retundit*,' Cic. 247 '*pleno stellas superat cum lumine luna*.' In six places, 181 *piscibus* O (vindicated by Mr Maybaum), *fluctibus* Z, 201 *nondum* O (vindicated by a critic in the *Litt. Centralbl.* for 1868, p. 725), *posse* Z, 221 *Hippocrenen* O, *-es* Z, 269 *et* O, *at* Z, *aut* Baehrens, 326 *declivis* O, *declinis* Z, 355 *lucida* O, *roscida* Z, Mr Breysig is certainly or probably right in preferring O. In six places, 15, 89, 226, 238, 254, 331, he is certainly wrong. Four of these may be dealt with briefly. 89 '*insigni* (Z, *insignis* O) *caelum perfundent lumine Chelae*': everyone else, including Mr Breysig's former self, has preferred *insigni*: *insignes* was the old vulgate, but vanished as soon as *insigni* was made known by Grotius: Germanicus uses *lumine* twelve times, never without an epithet, except at 266 where it means 'in respect of brilliancy' and to add an epithet would be impossible. 237 sq. '*tris illi laterum ductus: aequata duorum | sunt spatia; unius breuior, sed clarior ignis* (Z, *igne* O)': Bentley's *breuius*, as Haupt says *opusc.* iii p. 408, is necessary (Mr Breysig answers '*at breuior est ductus unius lateris*': first, in order that *unius* may mean *unius lateris* and not *unius ductus*, we are to forget the existence of *tris ductus* in the line above; then we are instantly to remember it again and supply *ductus* with *breuior*), and therefore *ignis* is necessary too, unless you write *clarius igne*. 254: the constellation Perseus '*properare uidetur | et uelle aligeris purum aethera tangere plantis*' according to O: why does he seem to want to do what he is doing already? his feet already touch the high air: he looks as if he wished them to cleave it in flight, *findere* Z. 331:

the difference between Z's 'tale caput *magnique umeri*, sic balteus ardet, | sic uagina ensis, pernici sic pede lucet' and O's 'tale (though O has not *tale* but *tela*) caput, *magnisque umeris* sic' etc. (*que* corrupting the rhetoric of *tale...sic...sic...sic*) is just the difference between competent writing and incompetent. The remaining pair of examples are too scandalous to be dismissed thus lightly.

224-228:

inde subest Aries, qui longe maxima currens
orbe suo spatia ad finem non tardius Vrsa
peruenit, et, quanto $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{grauiore} \textit{ O} \\ \textit{breuiore} \textit{ Z} \end{array} \right\}$ Lycaonis

Arctos
axem actu torquet, tanto perniciosior ille
distantes cornu properat contingere metas.

'*gravis* apte significat tardum actum Vrsae' Maybaum de Cicerone et Germanico, Ros-tock 1889, p. 33; 'passt sogar allein die Lesart *grauiore* zu den folgenden *pernicior*, denn *gravis* heisst hier schwerfällig und bildet so einen Gegensatz zu *pernix*, der durch *brevis* unmöglich bezeichnet werden kann' Breysig, Herm. xvii p. 406. There are your scientific critics. The word *grauior* (= *tardior*) is the opposite of the word *pernicior*, and words are their sole concern: thoughts they have nothing to do with, and what the sentence means they neither guess nor care. When Germanicus died, men stoned the temples of the gods and overturned their altars; householders tumbled their Lares in the street and the father left his new-born child to perish; barbarians kept truce upon the frontiers, dependent princes cut off their beards and shaved the heads of their seragios, and the king of kings abstained from hunting and refused audience to his grandees. And the man whose death made this commotion in earth and heaven is said by Messrs Maybaum and Breysig to have clad in hexameter verse the sapient proposition that Aries is as much quicker than Arctos as Arctos is slower than Aries, i.e., that the distance from York to London is the same as the distance from London to York. Now the hebetude and inattention which lead critics into blunders like this are in themselves ridiculous enough; but when they are accompanied by prattle about 'die ersten Grundsätze der historischen Kritik,' and by rebukes addressed to those whose superior care and acuteness have preserved them from such blunders, the combination is insufferable. If *grauiore* were the true reading it would have to mean *uehementiore*; and even then the sentence

would be trivial and aimless and no more applicable to the equatorial constellation Aries than to any other sign in the sky. *breuiore* is exactly right. In the same period of twenty-four hours Arctos describes a small circle and Aries a great circle. Therefore Aries' motion is as much faster than Arctos' as Arctos' path is shorter than Aries'.

15 sq:

haec ego dum Latii $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{cogor} \textit{ O} \\ \textit{conor} \textit{ Z} \end{array} \right\}$ praedicere

Musis,
pax tua tuque adsis nato.

The intrinsic superiority of *conor* to *cogor* (which Mr Breysig renders 'ich fühle mich gedrungen') nobody denies, not even Mr Breysig: one need but turn to the preludes of other didactic poems, Lucr. i 25 *conor*, Ouid. fast. i 15 (addressed to Germanicus) *conanti*, Manil. iii 4 *conor*, Gratt. cyn. 22 *nusus*, Aetna 24 *molimur*. But Mr Breysig adopts the worse reading because 'optimorum librorum auctoritate firmatur.' Now Mr Breysig's preference of O's authority to Z's is either based on nothing or it is based on a comparison between the lections of the two families. In making that comparison, did he count this example, verse 15, as a point in favour of Z and against O, or did he not? If he did not, the conclusions of such a partisan are worthless. But if he did, what does he now mean by turning his back upon himself? On Nov. 23rd 1899 there was played in Berlin an international football match, in which the Germans scored two goals and the Englishmen thirteen: the result was said to be a win for England by thirteen goals to two. If Mr Breysig had appeared upon the scene with his 'first principles of historical criticism', which may briefly be formulated as 'uae uictis', he would have taken away Germany's two goals and given them to England, which he would then have announced to be the winner by fifteen goals to none.

Now we have garnered the fruits of Mr Breysig's addiction to the authority of O. In six places it has led him wrong where Baehrens was right, in six it has led him right where Baehrens was wrong, in eleven we cannot tell which it has done. And those eleven are the only places of the twenty-three where the authority of O can be invoked without impertinence. The other dissensions of O and Z can be settled, and therefore must be settled, by reason: where reason has a word to utter, authority must sit mum. It is not as if examples of Z's

superiority to O were few and insignificant and therefore to be scrutinised mistrustfully: they are less frequent, but not less striking, than examples of O's superiority to Z. I take the following at random: 75 *notabis Germanicus, notabilis Z, nitendo O*, 92 *sidere uitam Z, munere ripam O*, 122 *excelsis Z, ea O*, 128 *abit usus per uota Z, habitus super uocata O*, 217 *rudis inde assurgit Z, radiis unde absurgit O*, 389 *flamma Z, magna O*, 392 *parulum Z, nullum O*, 430 *forat... lucent Z, foret... lucet O*, 449 *duo namque Z, quoniamque O*, 497 *radiatos extulit Z, radios intulit O*, 512 *traicit Z, traxit or traxit et O*. Such examples destroy any presumption that O will be right and Z be wrong when the two are found to differ: each difference must be tried on its merits, and only when reason professes itself unable to decide can resort be had to the pis-aller of authority. Those who cannot reason may wish that it were not so, but so it is.

Of Mr Breysig's irrationality I will take another instance from another sphere. Baehrens discovered in the cod. Arundelianus nine verses unknown before, which in his edition are frag. v. Mr Breysig pp. xxviii sq. declares them spurious. Why? Because verse 2 contains the words *humeris uirtutis* (astrorumque globos et sidera maximus Atlans | protulit in populos *humeris uirtutis* et omnes | stellarum motus certa ratione notauit), and Mr Breysig learnt in 1882 from a book of Mr Sittl's, what most scholars knew already, that this is not good Latin for *umeris uirtute praeditis*. Very well. Is frag. iii lsq. *Aries spargunt* good Latin? Is frag iv l *Iuppiter est laeto* good Latin? Is phaen. 624 *exilem Oceano Bootes* good Latin? Mr Breysig does not think so: does he then declare that frag. iii and frag iv and the phenomena are spurious? No, he corrects those verses. And he corrects verses in this very frag. v: he writes 1 *astrorumque* for *astrorum*, 4 *Tyrii* for *Syrii*, 5 *uentos et* for *uento set*, 7 *qua* for *quo*: only when he comes to verse 2 does he assume that the vice which it contains is due to the author and not the copyist. And the vice happens to be one which cannot be due to any author. Never, in any age of Latinity, did there exist a man capable of saying that Atlas invented astronomy with his shoulders.

Now an example of Mr Breysig's willing acquiescence in MS corruptions. 117—119:

fructusque dabat placata colono
sponte sua tellus, nec parui terminus agri
praestabat dominis, *sine eo* tutissima, rura

This is Lachmann's correction (Lucr. p. 38) of *signo*. Mr Breysig thinks that Mr Maybaum 'satis prospere tutatus est' the MS lection, 'cum contraria sibi esse terminum et signum recte monuit.' Certainly there is nothing in the world to hinder Mr Maybaum from saying this or anything else: a writer who knew Latin would not say it, but Mr Maybaum declines *uber* like *celer* and uses *quicquam* for *aliquid*; and a writer who respected facts would not say it, but Mr Maybaum asserts that wherever O and Z dissent O's reading is the genuine, that Germanicus does not elide before a short vowel a syllable ending in *m*, and that Aries is in juxtaposition with the base of the Triangle. The Romans however, not having Mr Maybaum at hand to misinform them, never heard of this contrariety between *signum* and *terminus*: they fancied that a *terminus* was a *signum*. Germanicus received the dedication of a book from the foremost poet of his day; and there he found *Terminus* described as 'separat indicio qui deus arua suo' and addressed with the words 'si tu *signasses* olim Thyreatida terram.' In the same context he read 'omnis erit *sine te* litigiosus ager', and in Ovid's account of the golden age 'erant *sine uindice tuti*'; so he took his pen and wrote what the scribes corrupted and Lachmann restored and Messrs Maybaum and Breysig have corrupted again. Have these scholars read Verg. georg. i 125 sqq. 'ante Iouem...ne *signare* quidem aut partiri limite campum | fas erat'?

How far we still are from having a proper recension of Germanicus one simple example will show. The MSS give 31 'pronas rapit orbis in ipsos | *declines* umeros, 61 'serpentis *decline* caput', 663 'in caput atque umeros rapit orbis Cassiepiam | *declinemque* trahunt aeterni pondera mundi', rightly I think in every case (just as on the other hand *decluius* is right at 326 'hinc alius *decluius* nascitur ordo'), and so I write '*decline* caput' for *decline* in Auien. 164. Grotius substituted *decluius* in all three verses, 31, 61, 663, wrongly I think; but that is not the point. The point is that the two last editors, Baehrens in 1879, and Mr Breysig in 1899, print *declinis* in 31 and 61 but *decluius* in 663: yes, 'in umeros rapit orbis Vrsas *declines*', but 'in umeros rapit orbis Cassiepiam *declinem*'.

No wonder then that I have found much to correct, although I cannot pretend to have made a special study of Germanicus.

65, 66.

haud procul effigies inde est defecta labore.
non illi nomen, non magni causa laboris.

This is a bold and strange assertion, that the labour of Engonasin has no cause. Aratus says nothing of the kind; he says that its cause is unknown: 64 sq. εἶδωλον, τὸ μὲν οὐτις ἐπίσταται ἀμφαδὸν εἰπεῖν | οὐδ' ὅτινι κρέματα κείνος πόνω, Auien. 173 sq. 'expertem quam quondam dixit Aratus | nominis, et cuius *latuit* quoque *causa laboris*', Manil. i 315 'nixa uenit species genibus, *sibi conscia causae*.' *magni* therefore is only an attempt at correcting *agni*, and Germanicus wrote non cognita causa laboris, 12 *cognoscere* O, *agnoscere* Z. But this change, though necessary in itself, renders *illi* ambiguous, so Dr Postgate corrects *ulli*: 'non ulli nomen, non cognita causa laboris.' In the line above the MSS have *unde* for *inde*.

129, 130.

quaerenda est sedes nobis noua, saecula uestra
artibus indomitis tradam scelerique cruento.

With these words Astraea turns her back upon the silver age. *artibus* no more means vices (malis artibus) than virtues (in 111 is *sinceris artibus*); nor can *indomitis* invest it with that meaning, because this is an adjective no less applicable to virtue than to vice. If on the other hand *artibus* means the arts of civilisation, then it cannot be linked to such an adjective as *indomitis* at all. Auienus however found this reading and understood it thus: he writes 329 sqq. 'sollertia uobis | *peruigil*, arte noua uitam traducere mos est, | omne aeuum *studiis* excuditis'. Therefore in the fourth century the verse was already corrupt; and why not? even in the first century *Poenigenum* had supplanted *Phoebigenam* at Verg. Aen. vii 773. Side by side with *sceleri cruento* and linked with *indomitis* we expect no such word as *artibus*, but rather this:

indomitis *uitiis* tradam scelerique cruento.

uitiis absorbed by *mitis*. In 133 the copper age arrives 'nec iam | semina uirtutis *uitiis* demersa resistunt.'

176, 177.

quamlibet ignarum caeli sua forma docebit
et caput et patulas naris et cornua Tauri.

patulas, which Grotius and the other editors change to *patulae*, Mr Breysig rightly retains; but he punctuates the sentence so that it cannot be construed: I

have removed the comma at the end of 176. 'The head and nostrils and horns of the Bull will be rendered plain to the veriest tiro in astronomy by their mere configuration': *sua*, standing in agreement with the subject of the verb, refers to the verb's objects *caput* and *naris* and *cornua*. This usage (Ou. fast. vi 413 'aquas sua ripa coercet') is so common that I am surprised at the trouble it causes: even Bentley at Manil. ii 72 alters 'nec *sua* dispositos seruant sidera cursus' (i.e. dispositi cursus sua sidera desiderarent, acciperent aliena) to *uaga*.

246, 247.

Piscis, qui respicit auras
Threicias, dextram Andromedae cernetur ad
ulnam.

So Grotius and the editors. But Aratus 246 sq. says truthfully 'Ἀνδρομέδης δέ τοι ὦμος ἀριστερὸς Ἰχθύος ἔστω | σῆμα βορειοτέρου, Eudoxus ap. Hipparch. i 2 13 ἡ Ἀνδρομέδα, τὸν μὲν ἀριστερὸν ὦμον ἔχουσα τὴν Ἰχθύων ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς βορρᾶν, Cic. 18 'Andromedae *laeuo* ex umero,' Auien. 557 sqq. 'ex umero Andromedae *laeuo* . . . *ulnae* nam proximus iste *sinistrae*.' Hence Mr Maybaum p. 39 says 'nullo modo Germ. in hac re errare potuit. scribendum est *laeuam*. correctura plane certa uidetur, si quidem ratio plus ualet quam litterae et librariorum stultitiae.' But hard as it is to believe that Germanicus wrote *dextram* when he meant *laeuam*, it is harder still to imagine how a copyist could write *laeuam* when *dextram* stared him in the face.¹

Now all this while *cernetur* is not in the MSS; they have *cernantur*. Write

Piscis, qui respicit auras
Threicias, *a s t r a* Andromedae cernantur ad
ulnam.

Piscis is genitive; -as as shrank to -as, and *tra* suggested *dextram*. I do not even write *cernuntur*: compare 722 'Eridani et primos *deprendat* nauita fontes,' σκέψαιτό κε Arat. 729. For *ulnam* alone = ὦμος ἀριστερός compare 282 *iuxta ulnam* = κατὰ δεξιὰ χειρός, 169 *umero* = σκαλὴ ὦμω. There is no more need to say of the Fish on which side of Andromeda he lies than to say it of the Ram, 231 'zonae regione...Andromedae,' Arat. 229.

¹ Mr Maybaum is equally precipitate at Cic. 188 'Aeturo magnum spatium supero dedit orbe | Iuppiter; huic *paruum* inferiore in parte locauit'; *paruum* is the opposite of the sense required, so he writes *magnum*; I write *par*.

270-274.

quin etiam Lyra Mercurio dilecta, deorum
multum accepta epulis, caelo nitet ante
labore

deuictam effigiem, †planta erectaque dextra
tempora laeua premit torti subiecta
Draconis.

[summa genus subuorsa tenet qua se Lyra
uoluit].

274, whether you read *subuorsa* or *sub-
mersa*, is senseless here and answers to no-
thing in Aratus: Grotius therefore puts it
after 627, where it makes sense and answers
to Arat. 614 sq. I should place it one line
lower, after 628: that passage will then
stand thus:

627 nixa genu species flexo redit ardua
crure.

628 partibus haud aliis nocte eluctata
suprema

274 summa genus subuorsa tenet qua se
Lyra uoluit.

= μόνην δ' ἐπὶ Χηλαὶ ἄγουσι | δεξιτερὴν κνήμην
αὐτῆς ἐπιγοννίδος ἄχρῃς | αἰεὶ γνῦξ αἰεὶ δὲ Λύρη
παραπεπτηγῶτος: in English 'the shank on
which Engonasin kneels rises with Libra,
but the rest of him has not yet struggled
forth from the borders of invisibility (*nox* in
astronomical writers, e.g. 695, often means
that part of the heaven which we cannot
see), and he keeps his inverted thigh along-
side of Lyra,' which has not yet risen. Now to
come back to 272 sq., where the conjectures
of others are so violent that I am absolved
from mentioning them: I suppose two
hemistichs to have changed places and *cui* to
have been then lost after *-em*.

deuictam effigiem, torti subiecta Draconis
tempora laeua premit *cui* planta, erectaque
dextra.

'whose left foot treads the Serpent's head
beneath it, and whose right hand is held
aloft.' Aratus indeed at verse 70, and Eu-
doxus also, say that it is the *right* foot, but
Hipparchus i 2 6 and 4 9 contradicts them,
τὸν γὰρ ἀριστερὸν ἔχει πόδα δ' Ἐγγόνασιν ἐπὶ
τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Δράκοντος καὶ οὐ τὸν δεξιόν,
and Germanicus as usual follows Hipparchus,
69 'Serpentis capiti figit uestigia laeua.' For
erecta dextra see Auién. 191 sq. 'en manus
ipsa dei uiolenta in uerbera pendens | *erigi-
tur*,' Hygin. astr. ii 6 'dextra manu sublata.'
With the coordination 'premit . . . erec-
taque' compare 137 sq. 'deseruit . . . et
sortita,' 318 sq. 'rapuit . . . et appositus':
a very similar verse is Manil. v 552 'astrinx-
ere pedes scopulis, iniectaue uinclā.'

300-302.

tunc alii curuos prospectant litore portus
inuentasque alii terras pro munere narrant,
ast alii procul a terra iactantur in alto.

This is a foolish distribution, to say that
some of the sailors look out for the land
and others (who are not looking out) desery
it. 'alii narrant' would be reasonable but
not elegant: I hardly doubt that he wrote
'inuentasque a c i e terras.'

318-320.

unguibz innocuis Phrygium rapuit Gany-
meden.

et telo appositus custos, quo Iuppiter arsit
in puero, luit excidio quem Troia furem.

So the MSS, quite rightly: Grotius and
the editors spoil the sense with *quom*. 'quo
(telo) arsit in puero' = 'quod telum effecit
ut in puero arderet': compare Hor. carm.
i 27 12 'qua pereat sagitta.' Germanicus
identifies the Arrow as one of Cupid's, and
the Eagle, who carried Ganymede off, is ap-
propriately set to guard it. 315 'incertum
quo cornu missa Sagitta' is only a transla-
tion of Aratus' ἄρερ τόξου ('missore uacans'
Cicero) and signifies that this arrow, unlike
that of Sagittarius, has no bow belonging
to it in the starry heavens.

356-359.

at procul expositam sequitur Nereia Pristis
Andromedam. media est solis uia, cum tamen
illa

terretur monstro pelagi, gaudetque sub axe
diuerso posita et boreae uicina legenti.

There is no sense in saying that the
north pole or the northern hemisphere
(whichever *axis* means) selects or skirts
(whichever *legit* means) the neighbourhood
of the north wind; and *praelegit* comes in
the next verse. Write 'boreae uicina (fem.
sing.) r i g e n t i.' The north wind is icy,
yet Andromeda rejoices to be near it, because
so she is further from the Whale. The inter-
mediate step was *regenti*. See frag. iii 14
'truces uenti densa niue saepe rigeunt,' 28
'rigor accedit uentis,' Auién. 711 'rigido
aquiloni,' Manil. i 314 'proxima frigentis
Arctos boreamque rigentem.' Now someone
will propose *gelanti*.

405.

tum mihi *siccentur* substricto cornua uelo.

spissentur Grotius, which seems necessary:
for the error compare frag. iv 29 *siccatis*
MSS, *spissatis* Orelli, Petron. 134 *siccatis*

panci, *spissatis* plerique. But then the words must be transposed, *substricto spissentur*.

426—427.

nec procul hinc Hydros trahitur, cui cauda
superne
Centaurum lucret.

As if either *lucret* or *superne* could govern the accusative! Write 'Centaurum *mulcet*.' The tail of Hydra just brushes the top of the Centaur's head: Cic. 218 'Centaurum leui *contingit* lubrica cauda.' See also ib. 56 'huic ceruix dextra *mulcetur* Aquari,' 88 '*mulcens* tremebundis aethera pinnis.'

443.

annosaeque uias tardus uix perficit orbis.
annosae Z, *annonas* O: probably *annosae*.

452, 453.

hi semper distant, illos communia signa
committunt.

Grotius understands *signa* to mean *puncta*, mathematical points. This is not necessary: Germanicus means that the equator and the ecliptic intersect one another at the constellations of Aries and Libra, both which zodiacal signs, as he has said at 232 sq. and will say again at 502 and 507, are also equatorial.

482—485 (he has described the tropic of Cancer and is coming to that of Capricorn).

hic boreae propior, contrarius excipit austros;
Aegoceros metas hiemis glacialibus austris
aestatisque tenet flagrantia sidera Cancer.
hoc medium sidus findit deuexior orbis.

Here Grotius saw one difficulty: *hoc sidus* in 485, which ought to mean Capricorn, cannot help meaning Cancer: he therefore made 483 and 484 change places, and Mr Breysig follows him. But the *que* of 483 is then impossible (Mr Breysig says it means *somit*) and *aestatis retinet* is required. Now come the difficulties which Grotius did not see. How can it be said of the tropic of Capricorn, a mathematical line, length without breadth, that it is fanned by the south wind, 'excipit austros'? Why the repetition *austros . . . austris*? and is the south wind more 'glacial' than the north? What manner of antithesis is 'hiemis *metas*' and '*aestatis sidera*'? I had made the following corrections before I noticed that *sidere* 484 is in one MS and *flagranti* or *fraglanti* in three; but the fact is very important, because a scribe would much more readily

alter ablative to accusative than accusative to ablative immediately after a transitive verb:

483 Aegoceros metas hiemis glacialibus
astris

484 aestatisque tenet flagrantia
sidera Cancer:

482 hic boreae propior, contrarius excipit
austros.

485 hoc medium sidus findit deuexior orbis.

aestatis, like *hiemis*, depends on *metas*: *contrarius* 482 and *hoc sidus* 485 both signify, as they ought, the constellation Capricorn: Arat. 501 sq. ἀντιόωντα νότῳ μέσον Αἰγοκερήν | τέμνει.

526—529.

in sex signiferum si quis diuiserit orbem
aequalis partes, succumbet regula binis
inferior signis, spatii tantumque tenebit,
lunatus lateris quantum a tellure recedit.

una tui O, *una suis* Z. I present these lines emended. That Germanicus did not place them here in his phaenomena is evident from the abruptness of 'signiferum orbem'; but they contain nothing unworthy of Germanicus except the corruption in 529, where Grotius' conjecture 'tenebit *una, sui* lateris' is useless and even senseless. They answer to Arat. 541—3, Cic. 313—6, Manil. i 552—5 and Auien. 1034—45, and their meaning is as follows. If you inscribe a hexagon within the circle of the zodiac, each of the six chords thus formed will subtend an arc of the circumference containing two constellations or their equivalent (two twelfths of the circle), and will be equal in length to a line drawn from the earth (the centre of the circle) to the curvature of the circumference, *lunatus lateris*. The words *latus* and *regula* are used again at 188 and 191 to signify mathematical lines. The substantive *lunatus* is not in the lexicons, and many of these verbal nouns are ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, *mac-tatus* for instance and *offectus*.

543—545.

te quoque, fecundam meteret cum comminus
hydram

Alcides, ausum morsu contingere bello
sidere donauit, Cancer, Saturnia Juno.

For *bello* Orelli writes *chelae*, a friend of his proposes *talum*. Mr Breysig says on p. xxvii 'Germanicus u. 544 Cancerum sidus dixit bellum.' Why not say 'Germanicus Caneri morsum dixit bellum'? Both expressions, *morsu bello* and *bello sidere*, are so superlatively absurd that I cannot imagine

what has determined Mr Breysig's choice between them. And his eagerness to acquiesce in the intolerable has made him neglect his favourite 'auctoritas optimorum librorum'. O has not *morsu* but *morsus*; and 'ausum *morsus* contingere bello' is quite defensible: *morsus bello* = *bello per morsum inlato*. That Germanicus wrote it I do not aver: my faith is not pinned, as Mr Breysig fancies his own is, to O, which here has *ausus* wrongly for *ausum*; and I think it just as likely that the true reading is 'ausum *morsu* contingere *uelle*' (Ou. met. x 132 'uelle mori statuit'): conversely at Manil. ii 571 'inque odium generet partus et mutua *uelle*' I should write *bella*. But at least our eyes ought not to be violated by suggestions that Germanicus applied the adjective *bellus* to a constellation; unless indeed it is maintained that a man who would marry Agrippina was capable of anything.

584, 585.

altus Athos uel Cyllene uel candidus Haemus,
Gargaron aut Ide superisue habitatus
Olympus.

This disagreeable asyndeton is introduced by Grotius' conjecture *Ide*: the MSS have *iden* and *idens*, and what we want is not a substantive but an adjective: *ingens*. Similarly in frag. iii 6 I should write 'at Geminis leuiter *perstringunt* caerulea uenti' because I cannot understand a man inventing or even adopting such a word as *perstridunt* when he might say *stridunt per*: and at Manil. iii 307 I propose 'quod medius recto *praeciditur* ordine mundus' (see i 634) instead of *praecingitur*, which is not defended by i 257, 576, 653.

607-609.

tota Iouis mersa est pennis stellantibus Ales
quique genu posito defessus conditur undis
crure tenus.

The construction is 'isque, qui genu posito defessus conditur undis, crure tenus mersus est': *crure tenus* contrasts with *tota*. Baehrens alters *quique* to *ipse*, which is improbable; Mr Breysig puts a comma after *defessus*, which is impossible.

619-622.

sublimior Hydra feretur
Creterra tenus et surgent aplustria puppis
Argoae totusque Canis; sed cum pia Virgo
nascitur, illa ratis media plus arbore lucet.

Mr Maybaum, whom I am glad to praise when I can, very justly says on p. 47

'uehementer displicet *sed cum pia Virgo nascitur*.' nam quae antecedunt ipsa referuntur ad ortum incipientem Virginis (612 accipe quae uident exorsae Virginis ora). necessarie flagitatur aliquid, quod *totam* Virginem ortam esse significet. cf. Arat. 605 sq. ἡ δὲ θέει γαίης ἰστὸν διχόωσα κατ' αὐτὸν, | Παρθένος ἡμὸς ἅπασι περαιόθεν ἄρτι γένηται, Cic. 391 'cum iam *toto* processit corpore Virgo', Auien. 1127 'cum iam uirgineos aether uehit *altior* artus.' expectes e sententia *nata est tota, ratis*, etc.' To this objection Mr. Winterfeld, who in Herm. xxx pp. 557 sqq. has well defended 'media plus arbore' as meaning 'mainmast and all,' replies that 'cum pia Virgo nascitur' means 'wenn die Jungfrau ansteigt.' But it cannot; *nascitur* in astronomy always means 'aufgeht' and not 'ansteigt'; it is a synonym of *surgit* and *oritur*: so in 605 and 715, Auien. 1027, 1167, 1293, 1314, 1588, Manil. ii 791, 940, iii 403, 483, 537 (read *caeli nascentis ab ora: horae* mss), 603, 608, iv 518, v 219, 634, Luc. iii 231, vi 336, Verg. buc. viii 17, 'Virgo nascitur' describes a process which lasts about two hours and a half, beginning when Leo has finished rising, and ending when Libra begins to rise. At the commencement of the process, when Virgo 'nascitur *ore*,' the 'aplustria' of Argo appear; at the end of the process, when Virgo 'nascitur *pede*,' Argo is visible as far as the mast:

p e d e cum pia Virgo
nascitur, illa ratis media plus arbore lucet.

e absorbed by c¹ and p corrupted to s. This last error is not so common in Germanicus as it is in Auienus, but see 74 *lappsum* O, *lassum* Z, 412 and 527 p omitted after s. For 'pede nascitur' compare 596 'occulitur pedibus,' Auien. 1138 'pede proferat ortum.' I had also thought of this:

sed, cum pia Virgo
nascitur i p s a, Ratis media plus arbore lucet.

For *ipsa* signifying the main body of a constellation as opposed to a part of it see Cic. 403 sq. 'hic *genus* et *suram* cum Chelis erigit alte, | *ipse* autem praeceps obscura nocte tenetur.' But *ipsa* next to *ratis* is a trifle ambiguous, and so would *ima* be.

632-635. Aratus says, 618-23, that the right leg of Engonasin rises with Libra, his trunk with Scorpius, his head and left hand

¹ Auien. 136 sq. 'Sidoniis *ducet* Cynosura carinis: | rector undoso cursus sulcatur in aestu,' *dux est* Aldus: write 'Sidoniis *duce* te, Cynosura, Carinis | rector' etc.

with Sagittarius. Cicero 403—7 says the same thing, and so does Auienus very briefly and clearly in 1146—8: 'haec sidus reuebunt: Chelae crus, Scorpius ipse | cetera cum medio, laeuam et caput oraque sursum | Arcus agit': Mr Winterfeld has been beforehand with me in restoring this punctuation. The MSS of Germanicus give these verses:

crure simul chelae fulgent cum scorpios exit
iam (*al. tam, al. tum*) totis radiat membris
miserabile sidus

at cum tantus abit quantum lyra surgit ab
undis

argosipia suo caelo refertur imago.

To quote all the conjectures would be endless and useless: I take the readings of Grotius and of Mr Breysig. Grotius makes something which might be sense if *abit* meant the opposite of what it does mean:

632 crure simul Chelae fulgent; cum Scorpius exit,

634 *hauit cunctatus* abit; cum Chiron surget
ab undis

635 *Arcusque ipsa pio caelo referetur* imago,
633 iam totis radiat membris miserabile
sidus.

Mr Breysig makes pure nonsense:

crure simul Chelae fulgent; cum Scorpius
exit,

non totis radiat membris miserabile sidus;
at, cum *tantum aberit*, quantum Lyra surgit
ab undis,

Arcus ipsa suo caelo *referetur* imago.

Gibberish is the only fit title for the third of these lines: it designates no posture of the heavenly bodies whatsoever: it designates nothing. I pass over the minor absurdity of *non totis*. Germanicus wrote:

632 crure simul Chelae fulgent; cum Scorpius exit,

635 *tergo obstipa* suo caelo *profertur* imago;

634 at, *Philyra* cum *natus auitis* surgit ab
undis,

633 iam totis radiat membris miserabile
sidus.

suo in 635 of course agrees with *tergo*. 634 must once have worn this shape:

at si lyra cum tantus abitisurgit ab undis,

which was reduced to metre by transposition omission and insertion: *quantum* was suggested by *tantus*. For the caesura see 23, 442.

One point remains obscure. Some writers, as Sen. Thy. 861 and Luc. ix 536, identify Sagittarius with Chiron, who was as everyone knows the son of Philyra and the grandson of Oceanus. Germanicus however elsewhere identifies Sagittarius with Crotus and Chiron with the Southern Centaur, and he calls that Centaur by the name of Chiron in this same context, verse 637. Now Crotus, like Chiron, was a grandson of Oceanus, for the scholia (Breysig ed. 1 pp. 90 and 159) call him 'Oceanus nepos' on the authority of Nigidius; but his mother's name is generally given as Eupheme. Whether others held Philyra to be his mother, or whether Germanicus, having read in Nigidius' astronomical works that Crotus and Chiron were both grandsons of Oceanus, jumped to the conclusion that they were both sons of Philyra, I cannot determine. Philyra has other sons than Chiron: Hyginus mentions Dolops, Suidas makes her the mother of Aphrus king of Libya.

640, 641.

abdit et Andromeda uultus et maxima
Pristis

occasu insequitur uenientis et uirginis ora.

'metuentis uirginis' Orelli: rather *uementi* or perhaps *uementei*: at Plaut. rud. 71 Arcturus says '*uehemens* sum exoriens, cum occido *uehementior*.' In Catull. 63 10 the MSS have *tauri et* and Lachmann restores *taurei*: in 708 sq. our MSS have '*iam Plias* ab undis | effugit et dextro *tauri et* cognoscitur armo' and perhaps we ought to read *taurei* too, though Dahms may be right with *taurus*.

644, 645.

Scorpius exoriens, quam clarus fugerit
Amnis,

Scorpius Oriona fugat, pauet ille sequentem.

Grotius alters *quam* to *quum* for the sake of sense; but the repetition of *Scorpius* has no point: write '*non prius* exoriens, *quam*.'

650—652.

deuotus poenae tunc impius ille futurae
nudabatque feris angusto stipite siluas
pacatamque Chion dono dabat Oenopioni.

angusto MSS, *ambusto* Orelli: 'at cf. Thiele, Antike Himmelsbilder p. 48' says Mr Breysig. Thither I turn, and read that Orion '*den stipes angustus*, d.h. das schmale Pedum, auf allen Aratos illustrierenden bildlichen Darstellung führt.' *angustus* no more means

gracilis than *lucus* means *crassus*. *angustus stipes* is a cudgel affording insufficient room for a colony of white ants which have eaten it hollow. I conjecture *augustas*: see Aulien. 1150 sqq. 'cum *sacrata* Chii *nemora* et frondentia late | brachia lucorum, cum *silvae* colla comasque | *devotae* *tibimet* (Diana) manus *impia* demolita est, | audax ut facinus donum foret Oenopioni.' When the *s* was lost the change of gender was inevitable.

Frag iii, containing twenty-eight verses, is preserved only by Z; frag. iv, containing 163, only by O. The editors do not perceive that these two fragments are one, and that no gap intervenes between the last verse of iii and the first of iv. In iii Germanicus tells us what effect each sign of the zodiac has upon the weather; he then adds that the planets modify these effects in their passage through the signs, and that Saturn always, in every sign, makes the weather dull. In iv he proceeds to say that Jupiter creates different effects in different signs, and so does Mars; Venus and Mercury are still more diverse in their influence, because they vary according as they are morning or evening stars. Nothing is missing. I will print the verses containing the junction:

iii 23 haec ut quisque deus possedit numine
signa,
adiungunt proprias vires. torpere videntur
omnia Saturno: rarus ille exprimit ignes
et siccas hiemes adstrictis perficit undis.
grandine durantur pluviæ, niue grandio
putrescit,
28 et rigor accedit ventis. *lentissimus* ille,
iv 1 Juppiter est illo laetus magis. hic ubi
Solis
uitavit flammæ, etc.

I have only written *lentissimus* instead of *mitissimus*, which is so absurd an epithet for Saturn, especially after 'rigor accedit ventis,' that it must be altered in any case. *ventis* absorbed *lentis*: *tristissimus* and *maestissimus* are not so likely.

iv 12-14.

et Leo terribilis sub te, pater, ipse repellit
instantis morbos et Ditis limina cludit.
incipit agricolis in Virgine soluere vota.

incipit, which is due to *repellit* and *cludit*, must be *incipis*: the return to the third person is managed at 18 by means of a new vocative, 'tua, Liber, munera condit.' To cure the similar anomaly in phaen. 32-35 Schmid and Lachmann alter *uos* 32 to *eas*,

which Haupt calls necessary: it would be easier (I mean what I say) to write *fouistis* 35 for *fouerunt*: at 39 the third person is regained by means of the proper names 'Helice Cynosuraque.'

iv 21-24.

Hydrochoon Piscesque agitat saeuissimus
idem,
si statuit currus quocumque in sidere fessos.
Lanigero tonat et Poeni per terga Leonis
omniaque hibernis permiscet mensibus astra.

That is: the planet Jupiter causes tempests in Aquarius and Pisces, supposing that he comes to a halt in either (*quocumque* must mean *utrolibet*) of those signs. But we have not yet been told what weather he causes there when he does not come to a halt. Then follows the information that he creates thunderstorms in Aries and Leo. But his doings in Aries and Leo have already been related in 3-6 and 12 sq. Therefore the punctuation must be altered:

Hydrochoon Piscesque agitat saeuissimus
idem.
si statuit currus quocumque in sidere fessos,
Lanigero tonat, etc.

In Aquarius and Pisces he causes tempests. Supposing he comes to a halt in any of the twelve signs already enumerated, the result is thunder if the sign be Aries or Leo, wintry weather in every sign without exception. The literal translation of 24 is 'he confounds all the signs alike with months of a wintry sort,' instead of allowing them to preside over months of seasonable weather: bruma assidua atque alienis mensibus hiemps, in fact. For *quicumque* thus used compare Prop. ii 1 15, Cic. Phil. xii 13.

iv 31-33.

his idem lentos signis cum supprimet ignis
Belliger, et nigra cursus statione tenebit,
tum crebro magnus tonitru pulsabitur
aether.

Do the editors imagine that Germanicus is talking about *eclipses*, forsooth, of the planet Mars? and that *nigra* (not *atra*) *statio* can mean an eclipse? *statio* is *στηριγμός*, the halting of the planet: Vitruvius uses the same term in the astronomical chapters of his ninth book, while Cicero Tusc. i 62 translates the Greek by *institio*. 'lentos supprimet ignes' means not 'quench his fire' but 'bring his fiery orb to a standstill'; and a *statio* is not *nigra* but *pigra*. So 22 'statuit currus

...fessos,' ii 19 sq.¹ 'nunc igne citato (compare *lentos ignis*) | festinare putes, nunc pigro sidere somno.' At phaen. 294 the MSS are divided between *pigra* and *nigra*.

iv 64, 65.

glomerata cadet quam densa per *astras*
inmitis grando.

aethram Grotius, *austros* Ellis: write
auras: *u = it = st*, see on 152 below.

iv 70—76.

umidus at gelidos portendit Aquarius imbris,
hibernaeque cadunt pluviae concretaque
grando

Piscibus a geminis, ubi prima recurrit
in astra.

Phosphoros haec tibi signa dabit cum
lucifera Aurora

ingrediens Venus alma polum; sed, ubi
Hesperos ignes

prouocat aetherios et noctem inducere
terris

incipit, exoriens haec te Cytherea monebit.

72 I have closed with a full stop, and have written *recurrit* for the *recurret* and *recurrat* of the MSS. (at 97 all MSS have *detrahit* for *detrahet*): 'rain and hail descend from Pisces when Venus is making her way back to the first sign of the zodiac,' i.e. when she is passing through Pisces towards Aries. The subject of *recurrit* is *Cythereius ignis* in 69 and not *Aquarius* in 70: for this negligence compare 17 sq., 100 sqq., 155 sq.

In 73 the MSS have *lucifer*: I have doubled the letter *a*. There is no reason why all the editors should alter *Aurora*: the last syllable is elided as in *Lucr.* v 849, *Verg. georg.* i 295, *Aen.* vii 160. The form *Eo* does not seem to exist. The sense of 73—76 is this: 'the above are the indications which Venus will give you when, as morning star, she rises with daybreak; but when, as evening star, she ushers in the darkness, she will give you the following monitions at her rising.' *Phosphoros* is in apposition with *Venus* and *Hesperos* with *Cytherea*.

¹ Because Bachrens discovered these verses (ii 17—20) Mr Breysig desires to believe that they are spurious, just as he does with *frag. v*; so he says (p. xxviii) that they mean the same as verses 8 and 9 above them. They do not. Verses 8 and 9 distinguish between the proper motion of the sun and moon and planets through the zodiacal signs from west to east and their diurnal motion about the earth from east to west in common with all the heaven. Verses 19 and 20 refer to the periodical acceleration and retardation of the former of these two motions.

iv 78—81

Phrinxae rutilo pecudis radiauerit astro,
nubila commixtusque fragor pluuiialibus
undis

flaminaque assiduo terris instantia pulsus
et dirae caelo deiecti grandinis ictus.

No construction. In 79 the oldest MS has *cum mixtusque*: write 'nubila erunt mixtusque' etc.

iv 97—99,

detrahet autumnno pluuias eademque replebit

nubibus adsiduis caelum ob (*al. ad*) frigore
primo (*al. ma*)

extremum autumnni superent glacia terrore.

These verses describe or should describe the effects of Venus in the autumnal sign of Libra. Libra's name is nowhere to be seen, so Grotius, with many other changes, alters *caelum* to *Chele* (it should be *Chelae*); Bachrens writes '*sub frigore primo, | extremum autumnni superans glaciante rigore*': both he and Grotius treat *extremum autumnni* as if it were *extremum autumnum*. Mr Breysig adopts Bachrens' reading except *superans* and assumes a lacuna before 99. I propose

detrahet autumnno pluuias eademque replebit

nubibus adsiduis, Chelae dum frigore
primo

extremum autumnni superent glaciante
tempore.

See *Lucr.* vi 371 sq. 'et calor extremus primo cum frigore mixtus | uoluitur, autumni quod fertur nomine tempus'. The *ob* and *ad* of 98 I derive from *ab*, an attempt, by a scribe who did not mind hiatus, to give the verse its complement of syllables when *cedum* had shrunk to *celum*.

iv 100—103.

Scorpios at raris, ne quid caua terra graetur,

horrebit pluuiis. at diris omnia nimbis
continuisque ruet, cum per sinuosa feretur
cornua Centauri.

So the MSS, *omnia...ruet*, and quite rightly: Venus (for she is the subject; see on 72 above) will beat everything flat with storms of rain, sterner sata laeta boumque labores. No need to write *ruent* with Schwartz.

iv 110, 111.

est quoniam certis tratiuiam cognita signis,
accipe quid moueat mundo Cyllenius ignis.

The sense must be: since you have heard all about Venus, now hear about Mercury. 'Veneris stella' is in the preceding verse 109: write then

est quoniam certis ea iam tibi cognita
signis.
= ea tui iam.

iv 130—136.

idem ubi consurget *Capricorni* sede biformis,
aut subitos caelo deducet crebrius imbres
fulminis aut iactu magnum perrumpet Olym-
pon.
nulla serenato *Capricornus* nubila caelo
comparat, at gelidos flatus caelique fragores
non alio melius signo praedicere possis,
Piscibus haec eadem quamvis cognoscere
detur.

See how attentively Germanicus is read: Capricornus twice over, Aquarius nowhere, and not a word from the editors. Write

nulla serenato *Phryx rorans* nubila
caelo
comparat,

that is *prī-carorans*: the confusion of *x* and *a* is so well illustrated by Gronovius obs. iv c. 4 that I need add nothing, except that these MSS have *ea* for *ex* at phaen. 122. Aquarius is Ganymede: Manil. v 487 sqq. 'nunc Aquilae sidus referam, quae parte sinistra | *rorantis iuuenis*, quem terris sustulit ipsa, | fertur.'

iv 137—139.

quandoquidem exoritur ignis quoque Cyllen-
eus
quid faceret primo docui cum lumine solis,
tempus et occasu moueat quid discere Phoebi.

The sense must be: since I have told you what Mercury effects as a morning star, now learn what he effects as an evening star. It is not clear that either Mr Ellis (noct. Manil. p. 247) or Mr Breysig is aware of this, for they both retain *occasus* in 139; but Mr Ellis has proposed and Mr Breysig has accepted an emendation of 137 which is certainly much better than any proposed hitherto: they alter *ignis quoque Cylleneus* into *quotiens Cyllenius ignis*. It is however a slighter change to write

ex oriens ignis modo Cyllenaus.

modo exoriens, 'just risen.' Thus the close of this passage recalls the opening,

111 sqq. 'accipe quid moueat mundo
Cyllenius ignis | si modo Phoebai flammas
effugerit axis, | *matutina* ferens solitos per
sidera cursus.' The interchange of *m* with *q*; is not uncommon, Ou. her. xvi 375, trist. v 3 52, ex Pont. i 8 65, Prop. ii 26 44. The corruption of *-ens* through *-us* to *-tur* is a possible accident (see phaen. 588 *uentus* MSS for *ueniens*); but I think it more likely that the participle was altered into the finite verb by some scribe who was puzzled by the construction. The construction, as Orelli says, is an hyperbaton, 'quando quidem, exoriens ignis modo Cyllenaus | quid faceret primo, docui, cum lumine solis, | tempus et, occasu moueat quid, discere, Phoebi' = quandoquidem docui, quid faceret mane, tempus est discere etiam, quid uespere moueat. In Germanicus, as in most other authors, similar examples can be found: phaen. 595 'Arctophylax, lumine, qui, primo cum Scorpios occidit undis, oculatur pedibus' (qui oculatur cum Scorpios lumine primo occidit), 573 'saepe uelis, quantum superet, cognoscere, noctis,' whence in Manil. iv 882 write 'quanta, et, pars superet, ratione ediscere, noctis,' *superest* MSS.

The Latin for Κυλληναῖος (Arat. 597) is *Cyllenaus*, though all the editors I have consulted print 'Pheneum *Cylleneum*' at Catull. 68 109, 'fide *Cyllenea*' at Hor. epod. 13 9, 'testudine *Cyllenea*' at Ou. art iii 147 and 'uertice *Cylleneo*' at met. xi 304: at Anien. 1116 they give the correct form 'Iyra *Cyllenaes*.' Latin MSS have little authority when the question is between *ae* and *e*.

iv 151—154.

flatibus at gelidis miscet tranquilla serena
spicifera dea *mita* manu, nec Libra *tendenti*
dissentit diuae, sed, ut haec, uentura serena
nuntiat

mita A, *nuta* SM, *nuda* (a conjecture) P. Write *iusta*, corrupted to *iuista* just as *stella* at 44 is corrupted to *itella* and conversely *auras* at 64 through *aitras* to *astras*. The Virgin is Astraea or Iustitia and is called 'iustissima uirgo' phaen. 137.

tendenti is altered by Iriarte and subsequent editors into *metenti*: it is at once easier and more pointed to write *tendenti*; the Balance is not at odds with the goddess who carries it, Astraea or Virgo. Ancient coins and calendars sometimes put Libra in the hand of a male or female figure, the latter apparently Iustitia: see Thiele, Antike Himmelsbilder p. 71.

v 5—8.

uentos et flamina cuncta
 Aeolus in partes diuisi rettulit orbis,
quo premeret boreas, notus unde attolleret
 imbres,
 quaque eurus zephyrusque domo procederet
 undis.

For *quo* Baehrens conjectures and Breysig accepts *qua*, quite wrongly. *quo* matches *unde* just as *premeret* matches *attolleret*, and *premeret*, like *attolleret*, governs *imbres*: 'whither Boreas drives the rainclouds down and whence Notus drives them up,' i.e. what is the direction of the winds called Boreas and Notus. The north wind is said *premere* and the south *attollere* because the north pole is overhead and the south pole is underfoot.

vi.

cur diuite lingua
 Graecia praecurram potiusque triangula
 dicam?

Unconstruable. *Graeca parum curem* Lachmann Lucr. p. 193, abolishing the note of interrogation and intending some such words as 'haec causa est' to precede; for it is plain that Germanicus never asked why he should use *triangula* in lieu of *τρίγωνα*: if he asked anything he asked why he should not. I conjecture as a much easier change

quid nī te diuite lingua,
 Graecia, praecurram potiusque triangula
 dicam?

dnite absorbed by *diuite* and *qui* mistaken for *qui*.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF CICERO'S *PHILIPPICS*.

Our knowledge of the *Philippics* is derived from two sources.

(1) The Vaticanus (*V*), written in the ninth century. This MS., which belongs to the library of the Chapter of St. Peter's (H 25), has been collated by Faernus, Muretus, and Garatoni among earlier scholars, by C. Bursian and O. Ribbeck for Halm, and more recently by Ströbel. I have myself spent some time over it, though with little result, except to realise more clearly the remarkable ignorance of the writer. No glimmer of intelligence appears amid his errors, and, but for such a passage as xiii. 6, where for *seiungamus tamen* he reads *seiungamus amen*, he shows no knowledge even of ecclesiastical Latin. Frequently *i* is prefixed to words beginning with *s*, e.g. *istudium*, *ispem*, etc., from which it has been inferred that the MS. was written in Spain. The confusion of *b* and *v* is constant, e.g. *bellet* (= *vellet*), *remobendum*, *boluntas*, etc. This is shared by the corrector (*V*²): thus we find *verbo*, *vos*, *verberavit*. A striking case is viii. 6 *verba nec bellica* ^b *verva nec bellica*. *P* and *f* are also often confused, e.g. *portasse* (= *fortasse*), *pulvius* (= *Fulvius*). The first hand frequently gives no sign for *-m*, e.g. *tantu bellū* m. 1, *tantrū bellū* m. 2. The spelling *quum* for *cum* is not infrequent, e.g. v. 36, 40, 47, 48. Often the words are not separated

at all for an entire line, and faulty divisions are extremely common. An error to which the scribe was particularly liable consists in writing a word too soon, e.g. *q. quarta* = *quartaque* v. 46 (cf. Müller *ad loc.*): *per ut haberi* = *ut haberi per* (*ib.*); or altering the order of the letters, e.g. *nonne* = *nomen* (v. 25), *maestita* = *maestitia* (v. 38). The archetype of *V* was full of variants, which are continually combined in *V*, e.g. ii. 23

coniunctionise (i.e. *-nis*), 96 uireis, iii. 1 postulabitvit, 13 possetint, 22 intellegitat, vii. 4 tolleitur, viii. 31 conveniendūi, xi. 11 vindicem is, 19 dignitatisē. Sometimes two variants follow each other, e.g. ii. 50 alienis alieni, iii. 16 traxit tarxerat, v. 5 Cotyian an Cotyionem, 28 tum deinde...tum atque, viii. 19 ate antea: sometimes one has been inserted in the wrong place, e.g. iii. 1 *contionibus* et saepe et iure *contentionibus*.

A striking case is viii. 9:

dico, sed dicendum est. *Hasta* Caesaris, etc.
 Here *V*. reads
 dico ^{ha} sed dicendum est *ista* Caesaris.

In the archetype *ista* must have been written.

These instances will show that *V* abounds in every kind of unconscious corruption, and that the extreme ignorance of the scribe must always be borne in mind. Halm frequently goes too far in founding an emendation upon a mechanical blunder in *V*.

(2) A number of MSS. belonging to what Halm terms the *D* group, all of which are descended from a *decurtatus*, or mutilated original. Although the readings of this family are generally inferior to those of *V*, they are often of equal antiquity. Indeed the citations made by grammatical and other writers agree more frequently with *D* than with *V*. The members of this family used by Halm are:—

- a*, Baumbergensis, saec. xiii.
- b*, Bernensis, saec. xiv.
- g*, Gudianus, saec. xiii.
- t*, Tegernseensis, saec. xi.

Of these *t* is indisputably the best, while *ag* are the least trustworthy, especially *g*. The case of *b* is complicated, since, although it often agrees with *V* against the rest of *D*, and sometimes is right even against *V*, it has been boldly interpolated. A peculiarly instructive case is v. 30 *legatorum mentionem* (*nullam censeo faciendam*, etc.). Here a large lacuna occurs in *D*, extending to vi. 18. The other members of *D* give *menti*, *mentem*, or *menti non* without sense: while *b* reads *mentio quis non videt quam alieno tempore nunc a vobis facta est*, a plausible supplement but for the inaccurate indicative (*est*). In *b* we have to be on our guard against the corrections of a competent critic.

Halm also notices a fifteenth century MS., lent to him by Henry Allen, which he calls *i*, and used whenever either *V* or *D* are deficient. He does not inquire into the pedigree or character of this MS. Müller remarks, 'cod. i. admodum parva est fides.' Nohl says that he imagines there are several MSS. like it, and that it appears to be a descendant of *a* corrected from *V*. The truth of Nohl's diagnosis, at which I arrived independently, is obvious. I have examined several MSS. belonging to this class.¹ They merely differ from *a* and allied MSS. (e.g. *ln*) in that they contain certain passages omitted by *D* and only found in *V*. Except in these passages they show no trace of the influence of *V*. It is therefore obvious that in these MSS. the lacunae of the *D* family have been filled up from *V*. They contain the *vulgata Italorum recensio* as constructed in the fifteenth century. Though many of their readings are found in old MSS. not used by Halm, they are tainted with conjecture, and possess no independent value. I term them *δ*.

¹ I have used Harl. 2687, a fifteenth century MS. to verify readings quoted by Halm from *i*. Some of Halm's readings are *proprii errores* of his MS.

Since 1856, the year in which Halm's edition was published, the criticism of the *Philippics* has tended to become stereotyped. No new MS. has been used by any critic, nor, with the exception of Strübel, who in 1889 published a valuable paper upon the second and third hands in *V*, has any one re-examined those previously collated. Editors quote from Halm, as if his MSS. were the only ones from which there is anything to be learnt: even *i*, which owes its position to the merest accident, has never had its credentials examined. I have myself, whilst preparing a text for the Clarendon Press series, thought it worth while to consult several MSS. belonging to the *D* family, and if the results seem inadequate to the labour involved, would point out (1) that nothing makes criticism so sterile as the neglect of MS. evidence, and (2) that in those portions of the later speeches where we have not the help of *V* it is of the highest importance to have studied the pathology of *D*, so as to know the forms of corruption to which they are most liable.

The fresh MSS. which I have used are:

(1) Paris. 5802 and 6602, both thirteenth century MSS. and Berolinensis codd. *Phil.*, 201, of the twelfth century. These three MSS., which contain only the first four of the *Philippics*, are closely akin. Their readings generally agree with those quoted by Ferrarius from his *Colotianus*, or *liber Angelii Colotii*, and I term their consensus *c*. An Oxford MS., Coll. Merton, cccxi. of the twelfth century, belongs to the same family for *Phil.* i-ii.

(2) British Museum, Regius 15. A. xiv., saec. xi. (early), which I term *l*.

(3) Oxford, Coll. Novi. CCLII., saec. xii., which I call *n*.

I have also looked at and collated in places, though with little profit, the well-known Harleianus 2682, saec. xi., the Coloniensis of Gulielmus and Graevius (*h*).

I proceed to give some account of these MSS.

I.—The familia *Colotiana* (*c*),

Ferrarius attached the greatest value to his *Colotianus*, calling it and his Lango-bardicus² *duo vetustissimi atque ex omnibus minime mendosi*. Garatoni, whose judgments are always sound, couples it with *V*, saying

² This is the title given by Ferrarius in his preface. He afterwards terms it *Lang.* Halm by a curious error calls it *cod. Langii* (on xiii. 16), or *Langianus* (on xi. 35) and is followed by Müller.

duo praestantissimi omnium codd. Vaticanus et Colotianus (on *Phil.* iii., 16, cf. on §§ 30, 38), and it seems to have been so regarded before Halm, who quotes but rarely from it, while subsequent editors only know of it from Halm's citations. After collating these MSS. I do not hesitate to confirm the judgment of Ferrarius and Garatoni, and in *Phil.* i-iv. to set *c* at the head of the *D* group. I examined these MSS. in the following order :

(a) Paris, 5802. This is a beautiful MS. written in an Italian hand, and in the opinion of M. Omont belongs to the beginning of the thirteenth century. It bears on the first page the arms of the Sforza family, and once belonged to the library of the Visconti at Pavia.

This MS. is especially interesting since it once belonged to Petrarch and possesses a number of corrections in his hand. Its history and that of the Pavia MSS. is given at length by M. de Nohac and M. Delisle.¹ It also contains Suetonius, Eutropius, Frontinus, and the *Tusculan Disputations*. I term it *c*¹.

(b) Paris, 6602, a small MS., also written in the thirteenth century, and containing, besides *Phil.* i-iv., the *de Officiis* and the speeches against Catiline. It has on the first page *est Leodegarii a Quercu*, i.e., Léger du Chesne, and *imo Marcelli*, i.e., Théodore Marcille. M. Omont informs me that the hand in which it is written is characteristic of the Isle de France. I term it *c*².

(c) Berol. codices Philippici, No. 201, twelfth century.² This MS. originally belonged to the Jesuit College of Clermont, in Paris, and was bought by Sir Thomas Phillips at the Meerman sale. It is fully described by Valentin Rose in his catalogue of the codices Philippici.³ It also contains the poems of Rivallonius, Cicero de Legibus i-ii. and de Divinatione (imperfect). It once contained a portion of Petronius which was, however, torn out with three leaves of the de Divinatione, and now forms part of Paris, 8049. This MS. was lent to the Bodleian for my use through the great kindness of Dr. Wilmanns, the chief librarian of the Berlin Library. I term it *c*³, and denote the consensus of *c*¹*c*²*c*³ by *c*.

(d) Oxon. Coll. Mert. 311, twelfth century. This MS. is written in an English hand. It belongs to the *familia Colotiana* in *Phil.* i. and ii. down to § 118, with the exception of ii. §§ 105. 106, which are in a different hand and agree with *ag*. The first hand left a blank for the addition of these sections, but over-estimated the space required for the insertion, so that nine lines are left blank after the insertion by a second hand. After ii. 118 the second hand goes on again and the MS. ceases to agree with *Colot*. There are traces of contamination in this MS. Thus i. 1 it reads *renovari*, where *c*¹*c*² have *revocavi*, and reads *sedandis discordiis usa fuerat*, where *c*¹*c*²*c*³ have *secundandis discordaverat*. I term it *c*⁴.

These four MSS. all come from one archetype, which was written by an Irish or Anglo-Saxon scribe. This is shown by their treatment of the word *autem*, which in it was represented by *h*¹, the old-Irish symbol. The English scribe of *c*⁴ often gives *aũ* correctly, and the writer of *c*³ occasionally ; in *c*¹ and *c*² there is the wildest confusion. Sometimes *h*¹ is given, sometimes *hoc*, *haec*, *huius*, sometimes *#* (= enim), sometimes it is omitted altogether. I instance the following :

- i. 12. *h*¹ *c*¹, *h*. *c*², *li* *c*³, *hoc* *c*⁴
- ii. 9. *hoc* *c*¹, *huius* *c*², *li* (*ante ras.*) *c*³,
h. *c*⁴
- 38. *h*¹ *c*¹, *h*. *c*², *aũ* *c*³, *a*¹ *c*⁴
- iii. 15. *enim* *c*¹, *h*. *c*², *aũ* *c*³*c*⁴.

In *c*³ wherever the first hand gives *li*, a corrector wrote *#* (i.e., enim), and then wrote *enim* in full to explain the symbol.

A point in common between *c*² and *c*³ is that they contain the same scholia. Some of these are grammatical, e.g., 1. 10 N (= *nota*) distantiam habendi gratias et agendi, others serve as an analysis of the contents, e.g., 2. 55 turpissimum probrum in Antonium, quem comparat Helenae, while some contain information, e.g., 1. 5, Suetonius. solidam colupnam prope xx. pedum lapidis Numidici populus in foro statuit, 20. legionem Alaudarum. de hac Suetonius dicit legionem ex Transalpinis conscriptum vocabulo Gallico Alaudam appellavit, quam disciplina cultuque Romano institutum et ornatam postea universam civitate donavit.

The agreement of these MSS. with the *codex Colotianus* is constant. There are, however, a few cases of differences. Some of the variants given by Ferrarius are *propri* errores of his MS. e.g., 2, 31 *actus* (auctus), 62, *eius* (egens). In others *Colot*. agrees with one member of the group

¹ De Nohac, *Pétrarche et l'Humanisme*, pp. 87 sqq., 203 sqq. Delisle, *Cabinet des MSS.* 1, 138-140.

² This MS. was looked at by Mr. Nutt while it was in the Phillips Collection. He gave a few of its readings in a letter to the *Academy*, May 9, 1885, which are quoted by Müller as those of *cod. Cheltenham*. I am not aware that any German scholar has collated it.

³ i.e. MSS. once belonging to the Phillips collection.

against the others, e.g., 1, 13, *inviti secuti estis c¹c⁴*: *secuti estis inviti c³* and *Colot.* 22, *quam . . . impelli c¹c²c⁴*: *quem . . . impellere (ex impelli) c³* and *Colot.*: iii, 16, *Atiniae c¹c³*: *Attiniae c²*. There remain a few cases of difference, viz.

ii. 105 *obsolefaciebant c*: *obsolescebant Colot.*

106 *et simul unum cinus c*: *sed tum nimis Colot.*

108 *sed ita absconditi c*: *sed ii absconditi Colot.*

iv. 3 *omnium saeculorum c*: *omni saeculorum Colot.*

These must be considered peculiarities of *Colot.* and due to accident or corruption. Similar peculiarities are of course found in the other members of the family, e.g. ii. 1

for *mihi c³* gives *aa* i.e. *anima* (*6 c¹*, *mihi c² c⁴*). I regard it as an accident e.g. that in ii. 28 *c²* has *laudum* with *V*, while *c¹ c² c³* agree in *laudum*, the reading of *D*. In a few cases the differences between the various members of the group testify to an obscurity in the archetype, e.g.

1, 15 *quae, malum] quae c²: q (ex q̃) c³: quod c¹: quam c⁴.*

A very interesting case is

1, 37 (*vitam*) *A Hirti] a isti c² (h has been erased before i): abuti c⁴: ****h i**** c³ (h has been erased after vitam): om. c¹.*

Of these MSS. I am inclined to think *c²* the most faithful, while *c¹* is the most agreeable to read; *c³* and *c⁴* are the oldest, but the reading of *c³* has often been tampered with by a corrector, while *c⁴* is mutilated, and is not free from contamination.

I now proceed to discuss the affinities of *c* with other MSS. The family is chiefly connected with *b* and *V*. There are a large number of agreements between *bc sol.* An interesting case is that in 1, 37 *b* with *c¹* omits *A. Hirti*. Other agreements are 1, 31 *om. denique*, ii. 31 *puncto*, ii. 62 *fac id te*, 85 *eumque*, 105 *obsolefaciebant*, 106 *de via ei*, iii. 33 *quod ad*, iv. 14 *cum habeat*.

The affinities of *c* and *b* with *V* are of greater importance. I find seven cases only in which *Vb* agree as against *c*. These are

1, 1 *discordiis usa erat Vb*: *discordaverat*

c: ii. 63 *duceret Vb¹*, *diceret cb²*: 118 *ipse Vb*: *ipso c*: iii. 12 *est contionatus Vb*: *contionatus est c*, 14 *iudicantur Vb*, *iudicentur c*: iv. 8 *fortissimorum sui Vb*, *fortissimorumque sui c*, 16 *cura Vb*, *cum c*.

On the other hand I find twenty-eight cases in which *c* agree with *V sol.*, against *b* and the rest of *D*.

1, 14 *consulari*, 18 *etiam in rebus*, 34 *M. Antoni*, ii. 4 *nec solvendo eras*, 12 *ut me primum*, 19 *quia*, 22 *id*, 23 *eniti*, 26 *domo*, *ib. tam*, 32 *quaerent*, 68 *deversari*, 80 *iratus*, 80 *fodiamus*, 115 *quidam morbo aliquo*, *ib. gustatum*, 116 *vita*, iii. 15 *maledicit*, 16 *nempe ille*, *ib. enim*, 24 *illo ipso*, 28 *vitiis*, 30 *bene et e re p.*, 31 *atque is*, 34 *ferendam (-em V)*, 36 *accedunt*, iv. 5 *loco*, 8 *atque ut*.

To this may be added a number of cases where one of Halm's MSS. agrees with *Vc* as against *b*, e.g.

1, 17 *ad Opis Vcg*, ii. 5 *quod Vcg*, 39 *sectorem Vcg*, 75 *peterent Vac*.

In several cases *c* serve as the missing link between the correct reading of *V* and the interpolation in *D*, e.g.

iii. 16 *Iulia V*, *vigilia c*, *Aricina D*. It is obvious that the corruption preserved by *c* mediates between the reading of *V*, and the conjecture found in the rest of *D*.

iv. 3 *paternis V*, *Hispanis paucis c*, *Hispanis D*. Here again the corruption in *c* explains the interpolation.

The number of cases in which *Vbc* agree against the other MSS. is of course large. With these, however, I am not concerned, since my purpose here is merely to show that *c* are nearer than *b* to *V*. It may be noted that in several cases a correction in *b* agrees with *Vc*. I have noted the following agreements of *Vb²c*.

1, 24 *putamus*, ii. 70 *est enim*, 119 *nunc*, iv. 3 *saeculorum*.

To these may be added ii. 12 *Volcatio*, 30 *homicidae ne*, 42 *et vero*; where *b²c* agree *soli* against *V* and other *D* MSS.

In several cases *c* preserve *proprii errores* found in *V*, e.g. 1, 23 *iubent] iubenti Vc*, ii. 66 *portenti] potenti Vc*, 70 *collega meus] conlega meus V*: *collegā eius c* 77 *tu? a marco] tuam marco V*, *tuā arco c*.

The result then is that *c* are nearer to *V* than any other members of *D*, and often serve to bridge over the gulf between *D* and *V*. This is of particular importance as showing that the good readings found in *b* are not due to conjecture, but represent an ancient tradition. As *b* contains all the Philippias while *c* contain only i.-iv., this conclusion is distinctly comforting.

II.—Regius 15 A. xiv. (l).

This very interesting MS. has not been used by previous critics. It was written, according to Sir E. Maunde Thompson, at the beginning of the eleventh century, and is probably the oldest known MS. of the *D* family. It contains *Phil.* i.—xiii. 46, where it ends with the word *cupiant*, the rest of the volume having been torn out. The first page has been damaged by wet, and is not legible to my eyes. The writer began in a clumsy and archaic hand which lasts until *f* 14 *b* *suspizaris* (ii. 30): he then took a fresh pen, and wrote in smaller letters, but gradually returned to his first style, which is continued to *f* 34 *b* *praesides et populum* (iii. 30). A fresh scribe writing a more modern and elegant hand then succeeded him, and continued as far as the end of *Phil.* ix. (*f* 55 *b*), the leaf being left blank except for four lines. On *f* 56 *a* a more archaic hand, possibly the same as the first, but rather finer, began and continued until the end of the volume.

This is the only known member of *D* in which the orations are correctly numbered. There is a great lacuna common to *D* extending from v. 31 to vi. 18. At the end of vi. the writer of *l* enters *M. Tulli Ciceronis Philippicarum Lib. V explicit*. At the end of vii. however he enters correctly, *Liber VII explicit, incipit octavus*, thus showing that vi. had been lost. The rubricator, puzzled at the fact that there was no sixth speech, struck out all the subscriptions. In Halm's MSS. *abt* the speeches are not numbered, and there is a gap left before *Hodierno die* iii. 27, and in *g*, in which the speeches are numbered, *Phil.* iv. is made to begin with these words.

A dislocation peculiar to *l* is iii. 3–18 *quo enim usque...commoveri putat*, a passage which is omitted *loco suo*, and inserted after *industria inferior* iv. 15 (*f* 38 *a*). It has also two omissions not reported from any other MS., viz., viii. 9–15 *illud est...ego Catilinam*, and ix. 8–14 *sarcianus...maiores quidem nostri*, probably on each occasion omitting a page of the archetype. A smaller omission is ii. 108–110 *memineramus...qui sit ignores*, which has been repaired by stitching in half a page on which the missing passage is entered by a second hand. There are a number of small omissions, especially in *Phil.* ii., which have been remedied by the second hand.

The MS. appears to have been copied from an original in which, as in *V*, the

words were often not separated. This is clear from the number of faulty divisions, e.g. ii. 70 *omitto*] *omit tam*, 72 *solī viciit*] *solūcūit*, 81 *vitiū in*] *vitiū in*, viii. 16 *nego*] *ne ego*, 29 *quam magnum*] *quagnū*, x. 4 *tu oderis*] *tuo der tis*, xi. 6 *ullam esse*] *ullaē*, xiii. 12 *thesaurum*] *thes aurum*, 23 *at securae*] *ats curere*.

That the writer's spelling was not good may be seen from e.g. *aliud* (=aliud), *egestis* (=egistis), *amunuit* (admonuit), *pro-sicit* (prospicit), and the like. He had not much skill in dealing with abbreviations which he found in the archetype. Thus he frequently writes *caesunt* for *Caesar*, and in xiii. 4 *can.* stands for *can Antonii*.

Some of his mistakes are curious, and savour of the cloister. I instance the following:—

ii. 7 *pro sectione debebas*] *pro refectiōne debebas*

112 *cur armatorum corona senatus saep-tus est*] *cur amatorum corona*, etc.

xi. 4 *in Galliam invasit Antonius*] *in Galileam invasit Antonius*.

That the archetype of *l* was full of variants is clear from the following:—

i. 21 *populi Romani*] *populi romani plub-lice rei*.

ii. 59 *tu quaesisti*] *† dedisti tum que siste*.
117 *illum homines*] *illi homines illum*.

viii. 28 *usi*] *† si sed*.

xi. 4 *ac diripere*] *atque ac diripere*.

7 *et patienter*] *et patienter que*.

21 *dedisse*] *pro ledisse*.

xiii. 20 *delata*] *perfecta. perlata*.

23 *quid moleste feras*] *quid doleas † quid moleste feras*.

These variants are often entered in the margin, or above the line, e.g. i. 26 *id lex erit*] *al. illexerit*; ii. 3 *gratiam*] *† turmam etiam*; 74 *invehens questus est*] *invectus invehens est in textu: in mg. al. invehens*

questus est; 75 *a primo*] *a primo; 76 calceis*] *calcetis, in mg. forsitan calceis;*

77 *quis tu*] *quis tu; ib. a. Marco*] *armato;*

78 *praedes*] *pedes*. I would call attention to the meaninglessness of several of these variants.

Frequently notes are incorporated in the text, e.g.

xi. 8. *quamquam eius crudelitas Dolabellae numquam particeps fuit.*

33. *Deiotari regis et patris et filii et laus Deiotari regis.*

xiii. 8 plurimum *bonitas* *M. Lepidi* urbis ornamenta.

The reading of *l* often throws light upon the formation of *D*, e.g.

ii. 73 qui risus hominum *V*.
qui risus de te erat *l*.
qui risus hominum de te erat *D*.

Here the gloss *de te erat* has expelled *hominum* from *l*, while both readings are combined in the rest of *D*.

100 quae tua fuit cognitio *V*.
^{tua}
quae fuit cognitio *l* (*tua* add. m. 2).
quae fuit tua cognitio *D*.

Tua was above the line in the archetype, and has been inserted by *D* in the wrong place.

xi 6 ab hoc Dolabellae *V*.
^{h.}
ab illa Dolabellae *l*.
ab hoc illa Dolabellae *D*.

The following cases are interesting:—

ii. 42 vide autem *V*, om. *D*: *l* has vide.
xiii. 7 *M. Lepidus* imperator] so edd., im-
perator *VD* (om. *M. Lepidus*):
M. Lepidus l (om. imperator).

v. 31 etiamne hanc moram *V*
^{afferemus}
etiamne hanc moram *l* (*add. sup.*
lin. m. 2).
etiamne hanc moram afferemus *D*.

I now proceed to discuss the affinities of *l*. These are chiefly with *a* and *t*. Its connexion with *a* may be shown by a curious dislocation in xi. 9 where the words *quam corporis, hoc sunt graviora ea quae concipiuntur animo* are omitted *loco suo* and inserted nine lines further down, after *contumelia*. There are a number of omissions common to *al*. Thus they both omit:—

i. 15 quorum silentio ignosco, alia eorum.
xii. 13 fati, aut si ante oppetenda est, op-
petatur cum gloria.

As *a* generally agrees with *l* and is two centuries later, and, where it differs, generally has an inferior reading, its place in the criticism of the *Philippics* should be taken by *l*.

The relation of *l* to *t* is of more importance. As, against *by* their agreement is continual. I instance the following *proprii errores*:

i. 10 quem praesentes non sunt secuti]
quem praesentes dixit pro populo
praesentes *t*: quem sequens dixit
pro populo praesentes *l*.

v. 10 tulisse] lucidissime *lt*.

25 franget] restringit *t*: ^{franget}stranget *l*.
(corr. m. 2).

xi. 20 quod ereptum non est] quod ereptum
est non est *lt*.

xiii. 3 relinquo duces nomino] reliquos
omitto duces *lt*.

It must not be inferred that *l* is as good a MS. as *t*. In it the process of corruption is further developed. It has some very flagrant interpolations. I instance the following:

iii. 10 quasilla *V*¹ at: cives illius *l*. (quas
Sylla *b*: quasilla illius *g*: cives
illis *V*².)

20 illae] ille *V*: elea *t*: et alea est *l*
(eae *c*: hec *b* in *ras.*, alea *a*, alea
est *g*).

On the other hand it is free from many of the corruptions found in *t*. Thus ii. 58 it reads *essedo* correctly with *V*: esse genus vehiculi do *t*, ii. 1 perhorrescere (pertimescere *t*), 41 praeterea (quippe *t*), iv. 4 Suessae (fuisse *t*), v. 11 perire potuisse (dissipasse *t*), xii. 20 aureos (argenteos *t*), etc.

The MS. to which *l* most closely approximates is a *codex Scalae* used by Ferrarius. Some of the best readings to be found in *l* are only found in it, and this MS. I instance the following.

vii. 23 denuntiasset *l* et *Scal.*: nuntiasset
cell.

x. 22 Saxa Cafo *l* et *Scal.*: Saxas et Cafones
V: saxa captant *D*.

xiii. 24 mentum mentemque *l* et *Scal.* with
Arusianus: mentem mentumque
cell.

This is also the case with more doubtful readings, e.g.

xiii. 27 ex qua excesserat] unde excesserat,
l et *Scal*.

and *proprii errores*, e. g.

xi. 3 animo] omine *l* et *Scal*.

xiii. 33 nesciebant] ignorabant *l* et *Scal*.

Some of the errors, however, reported from *Scal.* are not found in *l*, e.g.

xii. 33 praestrinxerat aciem animi *D*. Bruti
salus] so *l* correctly:—praestrin-
xerat aciem aī Drusi Bruti salus
D. Bruti *Scal.* (praestr. aciem
amici dubruti salus *t*).

A doubtful honour to which *l* succeeds in consequence of its displacing *a* is that of being the *parens deteriorum*. These are of various ages and qualities gradually shading

off into the fifteenth century vulgate, which I term δ . A number of the readings of δ thus appear to come from a genuine tradition. I instance the following :

- xii. 6 tam accurate paulo ante $\delta\delta$: paulo ante tam accurate *D*.
- 7 debilitatam] so $\delta\delta$: delibatam *D*.
- 8 quis enim $\delta\delta$: quid enim *D*.
- xiii. 24 in industria $\delta\delta$: industria *D*.
- 30 patere] parere $\delta\delta$: favere *b:om. at.*
- 40 O praeclarum lucrum! quo te] so *D*: praeclarum lucrum, quo lucro te $\delta\delta$.

The pedigree of δ is of course highly complicated, since variants from every source have been imported into them, still there can be no doubt that they spring originally from the $\iota(a)$ stock.

Before quitting ι I would say that I make no claim to correctness or purity on its behalf. It abounds in corruptions, but these are of a simple kind, and quite undisguised. In this respect it resembles *t* and differs from *b* and its congeners.

III.—(*n*) Collegii Novi, CCLII., twelfth century.

This is a very interesting MS., and in many ways differs from the rest of *D*. It was used in the last century by the collators of the Oxford MSS. for the large Clarendon Press edition published in 1783. They did their work in a very perfunctory way. In the Preface the MS. is termed ϕ , and this symbol is employed in the collation for *Phil.* i.-iv.: from v.-xiv. its readings are given as those of *v*, without any information being given to the reader that ϕ and *v* are the same MSS. Two of its readings appear in Halm's notes as those of 'Oxon. V', viz. vi. 19 *horam*, xiv. 12 *illum*.

The MS. is written in an English hand, and is remarkable for the quantity of abbreviations which it contains. I instance a few: $\tilde{u}$ = ut, ut^s = utinam, *c* = Caesar, c^s = cuius, $\tilde{c}$ = cui, c^v = civis, $\tilde{c}$ = cur, $\tilde{b}a$ = beneficia, g^v = genus, i^v = ius, $\tilde{n}s$ = numerus. *Est* is written $\div$, *enim* #, *etiam* $\dot{\epsilon}$. The writer uses abbreviations to which more than one meaning can be attached, e.g. *nut* = nullis, *mal* = malis, *volu* = voluit. He sometimes confuses his symbols, e.g. I have found $\tilde{i}$ for $\tilde{u}$ (ut), for *vi*, and for *m* (e.g. *iutinam* = Mutinam), but as a rule he employs them with precision, and obviously knew what he was writing.

There is no break in the MS. at iii. 28 as in Halm's MSS. The full number of

xiv. Philippics is made up by a break at xii. 26, where the words *Haec ego in urbe provideo* are made to begin a fresh Oration.

The basis of the text is on the whole that of *l*, though *n* does not share with *l* the peculiar dislocation in iii. 3-18, or the peculiar omissions, viii. 9-15 and ix. 8-14. The agreement of the two MSS. may be shown by the following:—

- xii. 18 sic me iniquum eierabant, de me querebantur, *om. ln.*
- 22 ad eum qui mihi fuit propositus, exitum edd. 'exitus *VD*' Halm: ad eum exitum qui mihi fuit propositus exitus *ln.*
- xiii. 4 cum Antoniis fecimus] can fecimus *l*: confecimus *n*.
- 30 huic causae] in hac causa *n*, huic causae *l*, but in the following line *vel in hac causa*.

It contains, however, a certain number of *b* readings, e.g.:—

- xiii. 19 delata] deleta *bn*, as Peters conjectured.
- xiv. 13 cogitari *bn*: excogitari *rell*.

That these have been introduced by a corrector is clear from the following case:—

- viii. 7 poeniretur (necem): poena *l*, puniret *b*, puniret penam (*om. necem*) *n*.

The MS., therefore, is not free from contamination. It also contains peculiar interpolations and corruptions. I instance the following:

- ii. 101 agro Campano] 'agro P.C. Campano *D*': agro Piceno pro Campano *n*.
- vii. 3 in nefariis civibus ulciscendis cum possis, non pertimescendis] in nefariis civibus ulciscendis non pavescendis an pertimescendis *n*.
- viii. 17 vineae] liniae *codd. rell.*: ligneae turres *n*.

In spite of these drawbacks *n* has a strange knack of being right where other MSS. are wrong. I quote the following cases:—

- ii. 7 ioca, so *n*: loca *rell. codd. noti*.
- 63 gerens *n*, with Quintilian and Arusianus: 'gens *V*, regens *D*.'
- 87 Sp. Maelius *n*, edd. from the conjecture of Schütz: Sp. *om. rell. codd. noti*.
- xii. 2 appellare mallent *edd.* from the conjecture of Scala: apellare

malent *n*: appellarem alieni
alt, appellarent alieni *bg*.

34 quid non fecistis, quod faciat, so
n, and edd. from the conjecture
of Madvig, quid *rell. codd.*
noti.

xiv. 38 cum plurimos caederent, caderent
nonnulli, so *n*, and edd. *recc.*
from the conjecture of Halm:
cadere nonnullos *rell. codd.*
noti.

This list may be largely added to by
including more doubtful cases, *e.g.* :—

v. 6 populum Romanum...opprimendi]
'populi Romani certissima coni. Manutii'
Müller: *rei p...*opprimendi *n*, which can
only stand for this reading.

ib. 9 quo modo hostium aditus urbe
prohibentur, *ita* castellis et operibus ab
ingressione fori populum tribunosque plebi
propulsari videres] prohibentur castellis et
operibus, *ita* ab ingressione fori *n*, thus
giving MS. authority for a transposition
accepted by Ernesti, Madvig, Cobet and
Müller from the *editio Iuntina*.

ib. 10 colonis] coloniis *n*, as conjectured
by Garatoni (so a correction in *g*).

viii. 17 ego huic faveo] 'huic *V*: huic vel
illi videlicet *bg*: huic tu illi videlicet *a*:
huic videlicet edd., quamquam nullus codex
sic habet' Halm. As a matter of fact *n*
reads *ego huic videlicet faveo*.

xiv. 38 si vivi vicissent, qui morte vice-
runt. So edd. from the conjecture of
Ernesti: si illi vicissent, *codd. Halmii*: si
illi vixissent *n*, which gives a good sense,
and explains the corruption. This reading
is quoted by Ferrarius from his *liber Scalae*,
which we have seen to be a *gemellus* of *l*,
and therefore was in all probability the
reading of *l*, which fails after xiii. 46.

Like its congener *l*, so also *n* appears to
be a *parens deteriorum*. I instance the
following :—

xiv. 8 crudelissimis exemplis] crudelissimis
n, crudelissime *δ*, a conjecture
based upon the omission of exem-
plis.

9 dicere reformidat] dicere formidat
rell., formidat dicere *nδ*.

14 potius unde] *om.* unde *nδ*.

15 sed suo] quod suo *nδ*.

16 nostra] *om.* *nδ*.

The dislocation reported by Halm from
his *dett.* in § 13 of the corrupt words in
peius crimen invidia quaereretur is found in
n, as also in Harl. 2682.

IV.—Harleianus, 2682, eleventh century.

This MS., which is of such great import-
ance for so many works of Cicero, is of little
use in the *Philippics*. Its chief affinities are
with the *Gudianus* (*g*), the least trustworthy
of Halm's MSS.: and its principal use is to
show the antiquity of the *g* recension. It
is in every way a better MS. than *g*. Thus
there is in it no break at iii. 17 *Hodierno*
die, where *g* has *Explicit liber tertius. In-*
cipit quartus Philippicarum.. It is also free
from many of the corruptions and interpo-
lations found in *g*. It has several good
readings, *e.g.* 1. 13 *usquam* with *bg* (*nusquam*
rell.), ii. 55 *principii* with *g* (*principis Vbt*:
principibus c: *principio ln*), and some peculiar
interpolations *e.g.* ii. 58 *rheda cum leonibus*
as Victorius conjectured (*lenonibus rell.*), and
vii. 3 *feneratores* (*senatores rell.*) *diligentes*.
I only collated it systematically for those
portions of the *Philippics* not found in *l*.
It possesses some value for the last part of
Phil. xiii. and for *Phil.* xiv. on account of
the dearth of MS. evidence (*l* ends xiii. 46,
g xiii. 20, *t* xiv. 25). Its readings here
agree so closely with those of *a* as to super-
sede *a* which is a much later MS.

Whatever value *h* might have possessed
has been largely destroyed, especially in the
earlier *Philippics*, by two *scioli* who en-
deavoured in the fifteenth century to alter
its readings to those of the Italian vulgate
(*δ*). The earlier interpolator was compara-
tively harmless, since he confined himself to
obelisations and superscriptions: his suc-
cessor, however, took more violent measures,
frequently erasing the original text and
scribbling the vulgar readings *in rasura*.
Gulielmius wisely left the MS. alone for the
Philippics, and seldom quotes from it.
Graevius, who neglects those portions of the
MS. for which it is of primary importance,
collated it carefully for the *Philippics*,
minutely recording alterations made by the
sacrilegious interpolators.

I now proceed to sum up the results of
this discussion. The members of *D* which
preserve the purest tradition are the *familia*
Colotiana (*c*), which appear to have come
from an Old-Irish source. They unfortun-
ately contain only the first four speeches, in
which they occupy a midway position
between *V* and *b*. Since, however, the re-
lation of *b* to *V* is exactly the same through-
out the speeches, there is reason for
believing that the good readings of *b* in the
later speeches are drawn from this excellent
source. We must, however, always be

critical when dealing with *l*, since it embodies an intelligently-formed recension. Similar caution is necessary with *n*, a MS. written by a person of some erudition. Halm's MSS. *ag*, and the Harleianus *h* throw no special light upon the text, and call for no particular comment. They represent a degenerate form of the *lt* strain, which the evidence of *h* shows to have been in existence in the eleventh century. The oldest members of *D* are *lt*, and these give us the most faithful picture of the archetype. Of the two MSS. *t* is the least corrupt. Both MSS. were written by ignorant persons, especially *l*.

It is clear that the archetype of *D* like that of *V* was full of variants and notes. I instance the following ii. 27 Quid? duos servilios]. Here *lt* (and *a*) add *nomina propria*, a grammatical note from the margin: in *n* this appears as *nomine proprio*. v. 19 septemdecim dies de me...declamavit, sitim quaerens]. Here after *dies lt* (and *ag*) add *ut digestio potius quam declamatio videretur*, the remark of a simple-minded commentator.

ib. 21 nihil placere ratum esse, quod ab iis actum diceretur] 'quod V: quod elegissent aut quod. D' Halm. The same corruption

is found in *l*, while *n* has *quod egissent aut quod*. It is obvious that in the archetype of *D* was *quod ab iis actum*.

A peculiarly instructive case is x. 15 where the intrusion of *Brutorum actiones*, i.e. 'the achievements of Brutus,' a note from the margin of the archetype, has produced curious corruptions in the various members of the *D* family. I have already, when speaking of *l*, given a selection of cases peculiar to this MS.

These variants frequently were taken from the margin by a copyist and inserted in the wrong place. I instance the following.

ii. 65 omnes tibi deos, non omnes homines esse inimicos etc.] After *inimicos n* adds *et divos*.

ib. 76 nos tum, cum consulatus petebatur] nos tum V: nostrum c: nrin t: nr b: om. ag.: nos tum cum consulatus noster pet. l.

xi. 36 Cassio vero sententia mea dominatum...dari] Cassio vero domitatum sententia mea dominatum...dari l.

This is a fertile source of error, which has not received due attention from critics of these speeches. I instance the following cases from *Phil.* xiv., where we are dependent entirely upon *D*.

xiv. 15 quemquamne fuisse tam sceleratum qui hoc fingeret, tam furiosum qui

crederet.] For *furiosum t* reads *fruit* and Halm conjectures *fatuum*. Two lines further on *t* reads hoc triduo vel *fusum* quadriduo, while *b* has vel *susum* quadriduo. Halm accordingly conjectures *sumum*. Both these conjectures are very perverse. In the archetype of *t* *furiosum* must have been written *fusum*, a simple corruption: this was altered to *fruit*, *fusum* being relegated to the margin. In *b* the corrupt word reappears as *susum*.

ib. 12 an si quis Hispanorum...mille, aut duo milia occidisset, illum etc.] So *n*: unum *ht*: om. *b*, with the variant *unum* for *mille*. It is clear that in the archetype was

mille (as opposed to *duo milia*): *unum* has taken the place of *mille* in *b* and of *illum* in *ht*.

ib. 20 idem P. Ventidium, cum alii pr. volusenum, ego semper hostem. Has in sententias meas, si consules discessionem facere voluissent] volusenum *bt*: voluisse *n*. I take *volusenum* or *voluisse n* to be a corrupt form of *voluissent*, which was first relegated to the margin, and then wrongly inserted after *pr*.

The following cases in xiii. admit of a similar explanation:

§ 23 acerbissimum vero est te, A. Hirti, ornatum.] So edd. from a correction of Gryphius: *ornatum esse* codd. As previously *t* reads *esse* for *est*, it is easy to see that *esse* was first relegated to the margin, and then wrongly inserted after *ornatum*.

§ 29 si haec videret, denique aut vellet, aut fieri posse arbitraretur. 'Prius undis flamma,' ut ait poeta nescio quis, prius denique omnia] I excise the first *denique*. The word appears to have been in the margin of the archetype, and then to have been inserted after *videret* as well as in the proper place. Some bold conjectures have been made here. Madvig suggests *si haec videret*, <*audiret*> *denique*, while Müller prints, *si haec legeret, suaderet denique aut*.

I add a few words concerning the relation to *V* of the *decurtatus* from which *D* are copied. Is this derived from the same source as *V*? At first sight this appears unlikely in view of the wide divergence between *V* and *D*, and the acknowledged antiquity of the *D* recension. On the other hand this divergence tends to become less as more MSS. are collated. I have found a large number of *V* readings, chiefly in *c*, though to a less extent also in *n* and *l*, in place of those which Halm gives as characteristic of *D*. Again, both *V* and *D* have the same

blemishes in many cases: thus ii. 76 they read *caligis* (*Gallicis* Gellius), and iii. 31 omit *fundit apothecas*, words preserved by Servius. A curious *proprius error* common to *VD* is

xi. 6. *cuius taeterrima crudelitate omnis barbaria superata est*] *acuius V*: 'saepius in Vat. voci alicui a male praefixam legimus' Halm: a *cuius D* (*acuius lu*).

A suggestive passage is ii. 93-96. Here *D* omit the passage *sunt ea quidem* to *acta defendimus*, going straight on to the beginning of § 97 *quid ego de commentariis*. In *V* we find *quid ego de commentariis* etc. written twice, viz. in § 93 before *Sunt ea quidem*, and afterwards correctly in § 97. It can hardly be doubted that there was a similar dittography in the archetype of *D*, and that the copyist's eye travelled from § 93 to § 97 leaving out the intervening sections.

It would, therefore, be unsafe to consider the two archetypes wholly independent. We can only say, that, as far back as it is possible to carry the analysis, there appear to be two recensions characterised by well-marked differences. While *V* is superior to *D* in most cases, *D* often contain the true reading against *V*, and where *D* fail, the loss is appreciably felt. On the other hand, where we have *D* only, the loss is irreparable, and it is well to recognise the fact that we are dealing with a very corrupt text. Reverence for the MS. tradition is mere superstition when we have only inferior MSS., and cannot rightly be appealed to in order to silence criticism.

In a subsequent paper I propose to publish some conjectures and other remarks upon the text of the Philippics.

ALBERT C. CLARK.

NOTES ON SILIUS ITALICUS, V.—VIII.

V.

45 at cura umbroso seruabat uertice montis
hostilem ingressum, refugos habitura sub
ictu.

So Ch. F¹. LOV's 'circa' in 45 leaves 'habitura' isolated. But 'cura' itself is not satisfactory, and I think Schrader's 'turma' very desirable. The context shows that Sil. is referring to the troops posted at the entrance to the valley—between the mountains and the lake. For 'umbroso uertice montis' in connection with the entrance to the valley cp. (1) Polybius iii. 83 who describes the passage as *παρὰ τὴν παρώρειαν* (2) Livy xxii. 4 'ad ipsas fauces saltus tumulis apte tegentibus and (3) Sil. himself, who makes Hannibal say (iv. 825) 'ad claustra et fauces ducat per opaca Sychaeus,' and in l. 457 of this book describes Sychaeus as fighting 'tumulis silisque.' Now that cavalry were posted at this point both Polybius and Livy distinctly state, though Silius does not. As Schrader has pointed out, he uses 'turma' in a very similar passage vii. 275.

One may note as points of interest in S.'s description of Trasimene (1) the fourfold division of Hannibal's forces and the curious duty which H. assigns himself in the words 'te Trasymene uago cum milite praeceptis lustrabo'—the duty of occupying the hill

facing the Romans, which, according to Pol. and Liv. fell to Hannibal, being here assigned to Mago. Did Silius feel the difficulty of these writers' descriptions in so far as they fail to explain the way in which the Romans were surrounded on all sides (see Grundy, *Journal of Philology*, No. 47, p. 109)? (2) the strange mistake by which he makes both Hannibal and the Romans have the lake on their left hand (l. 4 compared with l. 95).

66 Signa etiam affusa certant dum uellere mole.

What is the meaning of 'affusa'? Heinsius says 'affusa militum mole,' which seems unlikely. What we require is 'with all their might,' and the Tellerian MS. rightly reads 'effusa.' Silius uses 'tota mole' similarly several times (iv. 385; xii. 39; xvi. 185): cp. Ov. M. xii. 357 'reuellere pinum magno molimine temptat.' As for the use of 'effundo' Ov. M. i. 278 uses 'effundere uires' of rivers, Luc. vii. 344 of men, and we may compare Liv. x. 28 *quantumcunque uirum habuit effudit*. The usual idea of *vain* effort is present.

157 haec sibi quisque: sed est uestrum, cui
nulla doloris
priuati rabies, is uero ingentia sumat
e medio.

Bauer punctuates thus, whilst Drakenborch has the comma after 'Est.' I think, if we keep the text, it should follow 'sed, est' belonging to the relative sentence and 'nestrum' being gen. pl. For late cui ep. xi. 581 sqq. 'ille tuus par Gradiuo, per saecula tellus cui, etc., and 215 sqq. mihi explorare libet, noua bella mouenti cui patuere Alpes.

510 inde aliae cladum facies contermina
caedis
collucet rapidoque inuoluitur aescu-
lus igni.

Heinsius' 'taedis' should be adopted here; for (1) we need an explanation of the 'rapido igni'; (2) the excessive alliteration is thereby avoided; (3) In x. 440, xiv. 565 'taedis' is certainly right, yet in each case three of the four MSS. read c(a)edis.

547. A man is spoiling his fallen adversary when a spear pierces him in his turn:

collapsaque membra sub ictu
hoste superfuso subita cecidere ruina.

This seems generally misunderstood. Ruperti seeing that 'superfuso' cannot govern the ablative assumes that the adversary had not yet fallen, but now does so—on top of his slayer. Silius only implies the man's fall: his words are 'quem poplite caeso dum spoliat': but I think the mere mention of the act of spoiling shews what he means, and R's explanation of 'poplite caeso' 'poplitibus semet excipientem' is absurd. All that is needed is to write 'hoste super fuso'—'his limbs came down on his fallen foe.'

551-4 see below on viii. 509.

VI.

665 exuias Marti donumque Duilius alto
ante omnis mersa Poenorum classe
diebat.

'Ante omnis' is explained by Ruperti as meaning that D. was the first to defeat Carthage at sea. But the phrase can only mean 'in preference to all others,' as in xii. 332 'ante omnes altaria fumant festa Ioui': cp. xiii. 84, 429, Verg. A. iv. 59, Stat. Theb. i. 553 etc. 'Alto' then becomes almost impossible in the sense 'at sea,' and as one would expect Neptune to come in for a share of the trophies I suggest 'dominoque ...alti.' For the use of a periphrasis to

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denote this god cp. ix. 291, where amidst a number of gods including Mars we have 'domitor tumidi maris.' Ov. calls him 'genitor profundus.' An actual parallel to the use of 'dominus' I cannot bring, but the word is so similar to 'tyrannus' (Ov. M. i. 276 calls Neptune 'tyrannus' in respect of the rivers) that it seems to me a perfectly legitimate one. When once 'domino' got misread, 'alto' would be a natural change (cp. 'in altod marid' of the Col. Rostr.).

VII.

201 patrique Lyaeo
tempora quassatus.

So all edd., but LF have 'patrioque' and though OV are supported by Ch, that to my mind only discredits the latter. That 'patrioque L.' should be altered to 'patrique L.' seems intelligible, but not the reverse. Bacchus has given the good Falernus his draught of wine—the first Falernian ever drunk by man (see 192 sqq.), wine for ever to be associated with his country.

269 sqq.
non uacat aegram
inuidiam gladios inter lituosque timere
et dubia morsus famae depellere pugna
donec reptantem et nequiquam saepe tra-
hendo
huc illuc castra ac scrutantem proelia Poenum
... clausit sparsa ad diuortia turma.

Lines 272 sqq. follow ill on what precedes. F. dares not risk a battle until, after many attempts on his part to bring one on, he *shuts up* his adversaries in a place where (278 sqq.) 'nec ferri aut militis usum poscebat regio' and famine stared them in the face. In other words, F. did not dare fight H. until he got him—where he could *not* fight. I believe something has fallen out before 272, describing F.'s policy of keeping on the heights (as in the parallel passage Liv. xxii. 12. 8). That lines have fallen out in the MSS. of Silius is in itself probable, and we have a certain case of it at xvii 290.

Most edd. omit 'et' or read 'trahentem' in 272. I would suggest, as more likely, the omission of 'ac' in 273. It may well have been inserted *metri gratia*, or, if 'trahendo' was taken as equivalent to a pres. part., to complete the sense. It could also be a mere misreading of *castrascrutantem*, 'c' and 's' being often confused. As for the metrical point, cp. Sil. ix. 575

'immanē stridens' and xvii. 546 'diuersā (neut. pl.) spatio.'

For *reptantem* I would read *sectantem* if Livineius' *raptantem* be not accepted.

515.

diuiditur miles, Fabioque equitumque magistro imperia aequantur penitus. cernebat et expers irarum senior, etc.

So the vulgate with LOV. J. F. has 'gemitus,' and 'penitus' does not seem a likely word for 'aequantur.' I would suggest 'gemitus retinebat,' 'c,' 'r,' and 't' being so often confused.

657 summum qua laxa monilia crebro nudabant uersu tramittit cuspide pectus.

The commentators explain 'uersu' of the rows of chains 'quod quoquo uersus inflecti possunt.' But surely 'crebro uersu' is meant to explain 'laxa' (cp. 'fibula crebro laxata ictu in 625). The man has been fighting after the Parthian manner (see 645 *sqq.* 'flexo equo uolucrum post terga sagittam fundit, 654 fraude fugae'), and his frequent turning round to take aim behind him has strained the links of chain mail. For this, I believe, unique, ex. of the literal meaning of the word cp. 'extentus laterum' iv. 617 and Valerius' use of 'passus' for extending of the *arms*. It is to be noted that S's 'cursu' is probably simply an explanation of 'uersu,' intelligible enough if the word be taken thus.

VIII.

50 Iliaco postquam deserta est hospite Dido et spes abrupta e medio, in penetralibus atram festinat furibunda pyram.

So MSS. and most edd. But I know no parallel to the phrase 'spes abrupta e medio,' and do not see what meaning it could have. Barth's 'abruptae medio' is just, and only just, possible. Heinsius is, I think, right in referring the adjective to the next sentence: the objection to his reading is that I see no reason why 'mediis' should have been altered. If we read 'mediam,' the omission of the 'm' is easily explained by the following 'in'; we may cp. Verg. Aen. ii. 508, 'medium in penetralibus hostem.'

509 *sqq.* After mention of the 'Marsi' we have:—

	coniungitur acer	
Paelignus,	gelidoque rapit Sulmone co-	
hortes,		510
haud illo leuior bellis Vestina iuuentus		
		515
agmina densauit, uenatu dura ferarum.		

Three towns are mentioned, then follow the Marrucini 517—523.

¹ Nec Sidicina cohors deficit Viriasius armet mille uiros, nulli uictus uel ponere castra uel iunxisse rates duosque resolvere muros ariete et in turrim subitos immittere pontis¹

² Nec cedit studio Sidicinus sanguine miles quem genuere Cales: non paruus conditor urbi

(ut fama est) Calais, Boreae quem rapta per auras

Orithyia uago Geticis nutriuit in antris.²

Iam uero quos diues opum, quos diues aurorum

e toto dabat ad bellum Campania tractu, ductorum aduentum uicinis sedibus Osci seruabant.³

The above represents the text as I would have it. The changes are (a) transposition of VIII. 511—4 so as to directly precede 524—by this means (1) the Vestini and Marrucini are reunited with their Sabine brethren, (2) 'uicinis' in 526 is now intelligible as meaning near to Cales, whereas before it could only mean near to the Marrucini (and in particular Corfinium or Teate 520)—(b) the insertion of V 551 *sqq.* before VIII 511. The advantages are (1) a passage clearly out of place in bk. 5 here receives a local habitation; (2) 'Sidicinus sanguine' now gets its full force, its duty being to connect Cales with Teanum; (3) we now have both peoples mentioned as in Vergil Aen. vii. 727 *sqq.*

In 515 I read 'illo' with the old edd., as it makes capital sense: the Vestini are as brave as the 'acer Paelignus' (cp. 519 Marrucina simul *Frentanis aemula* pubes).

WALTER C. SUMMERS.

¹ Nec Sidicina . . . pontis = V. 551—554.

² Nec cedit . . . antris = VIII. 511—514.

³ Iam uero etc. = VIII. 524 *sqq.*

AGRICOLA'S INVASION OF IRELAND ONCE MORE.

MR. F. HAVERFIELD has done me the honour to examine in detail (see *C.R.* xiii. p. 302 *f.*) the reasons which led me to interpret *Agric.* ch. 24 as referring to an *actual*, not a *contemplated*, invasion of Ireland and he has come to the conclusion that they must one and all be rejected. I can assure him, that I have perused his article dispassionately, but regret to say that his objections do not seem to me well taken. As the question at issue possesses a general interest, I may be permitted to revert to it once more and I hope to prove, if not to Mr. Haverfield himself, at least to some of the readers of this journal that my interpretation of the passage under notice still holds good.

At the very outset, it may be well to emphasize *two* facts. First, that my explanation rests upon serious internal difficulties involved in the traditional view and, on the other hand, upon the *cumulative* validity of the arguments adduced against this view.

Secondly, that my proof consists of *two* parts which, though ultimately supporting each other, should for the sake of clearness be kept apart. I have tried to show *first*, that the opening paragraph cannot refer to the *Caledonians*, and *secondly*, that the chapter refers to an *actual*, not a *contemplated* invasion of Ireland.

(A) 1. Taking up the questions in this order, I again draw particular attention to the word *transgressus* 'crossed over' as out of place, if understood of a fleet sailing along the coast of England to the Clyde. To this Mr. H. replied: 'I know the coast and should certainly accept and use the word myself.' But with all due respect to Mr. H.'s intimate knowledge of Latin idiomatic usage, I submit that in so using the term he would be guilty of a solecism, unless he can adduce an instance of the use of *transgredi* in the sense of 'coasting or sailing along a shore.'

2. I contended that *nave prima* is incompatible with a statement in ch. 25, to the effect that it was not till the following year that the fleet was utilized as an integral part of Agricola's forces, unless it could be shown that the term *nave* applied merely to *transports*. Mr. H. admits this, but maintains that it is quite 'immaterial, for in ch. 24 Agricola transported his troops somewhere which therefore involves no contradiction.' But the transportation is a

mere assumption not warranted by anything in the text, nor can we conceive of any reason why Agricola should suddenly take to the sea, instead of advancing by land, as in the previous and subsequent campaigns. Again, it must not be overlooked, as we learn from ch. 25, that in the following year the fleet merely *co-operated* with the land forces, whereas we are here supposed to believe, that the *entire* force was transported by sea. Finally, even granting, what is more than doubtful, that *nave* could here stand for *transport*, *prima* would in any case be absurd, for all but the native British troops in Agricola's army had of course been transported at various times. If *nave prima*, therefore, cannot mean 'transporting troops in vessels for the *first* time' the contradiction pointed out will remain, as long as we insist on the traditional interpretation, that this paragraph refers to the *Caledonians*.

3. In the original article I had said 'According to the fixed usage of the Latin language, *que*, when uniting two sentences, *never* adds something that is intimately connected with the preceding.' Owing to an unfortunate oversight in reading the proof, I was made to say exactly the opposite to what I intended, as the very next clause, omitted by Mr. H., clearly proves. 'It will scarcely be contended that a campaign against Caledonians and an expedition to Ireland are so correlated.' But Mr. H. has preferred to attribute to me a demonstrably false assertion and an absurd *non sequitur* rather than to suppose the simple omission of *not* before *intimately*, so evidently implied by the context.¹ I maintain, therefore, that, as what follows *eamque* unmistakably points to Ireland, the previous sentence cannot refer to something so wholly different as a conflict with Caledonians.

4. Mr. H. further objects to my assertion that *velut in aliam insulam*, in the closing paragraph of ch. 23, establishes a skilful

¹ As for the rule itself, the very exx. cited by Mr. H. do not bear out his contention, that it is not fairly absolute. In ch. 22, 4, *ponendisque*, &c., *que* joins the following, certainly correlated, statements: The enemy did not assume the *offensive*, and we Romans had time to put up *defensive* works. In ch. 21, 12, *namque*, being a fixed phrase (for *et* or *atque* *nam* nowhere occurs) and therefore hardly analogous to *eamque* in our passage, joins a *specific* detail to a *general* statement, according to a usage extremely common in Tacitus. Cp. *Lex. Tac. s.v.*

transition to the opening sentence of chap. 24, which in that case cannot refer to the Caledonians, unless we read *velut in insulam*. The alleged transition, we are told is 'so subtle as not to be noticed at all.' But here again, I respectfully submit, that an observation is not invalidated, simply because it has not been made before.¹ 'Besides,' continues Mr. H., 'it does not prove Mr. G.'s conclusion, it is equally appropriate, whether I meant to talk of the invasion of Ireland or of a plan to invade Ireland.' This is perfectly true, but Mr. H. forgot to add that it never was intended to prove either the one or the other. It was merely another link in the chain of evidence to show that the opening paragraph does not refer to the Caledonians.

But if the foregoing reasons are, as I feel convinced, of sufficient cumulative validity to establish my first contention, it follows, as a matter of course, that such independent items as remain in this same opening paragraph can also not be understood of a campaign against Caledonia; in other words, both *ignotas gentes* and *crebris...proeliis domuit* must likewise refer to Ireland.

(B). 1. But if so, then there is but one logical conclusion to be drawn, namely that the entire paragraph in question refers to Ireland in which case the *crebris...domuit* clause in particular becomes quite unintelligible, unless understood of an actual and not of a contemplated invasion of that island. With the acceptance of this necessary inference, *transgressus* will have its proper meaning and *nave prima* is not only unobjectionable, but conveys a true statement, whose importance is emphasized by the position of the attributive.

2. Mr. H. himself admits that the words *in spem magis quam ob formidinem* are senseless, if the Caledonians are meant, but insists that the phrase *copiis instruxit* implies a hope of some day invading Ireland. 'The words proclaim aloud that the invasion was a *spes* not a fact.' Allowing, for the sake of argument, that the conclusion, drawn under (B) 1, is worthless, the words *copiis instruxit* would still not imply, when taken by themselves, anything at all as to an invasion, as they get their meaning solely from the context as a whole. And as for the loud proclamation said to emanate from *spes*, I must confess that its alleged vocal intensity is rendered so completely

ineffective by the intervention of *ob formidinem* as to be quite inaudible to my ears. *Spes* here means hope,—of invading, if the traditional view could be shown to be sound; it means hope,—of reinvading Ireland, if my interpretation is correct. Now apart from the evidence already adduced, I hold that *ob formidinem* precludes the former inference. Fear of what? Not of the Caledonians, for Mr. H. admitted that the phrases under notice do not refer to them; not of the Britons, for they had long since been pacified; not fear of Ireland before its invasion, for that were crossing a bridge before you reach it, it being psychologically improbable that Agricola could under the circumstances have had any apprehensions concerning a wholly unknown country across the sea. There remains the fear which the general might reasonably have felt regarding a possible attack from Ireland, after his first expedition thither.²

3. I had characterized this invasion as a fiasco, which Mr. H. calls a 'pure assumption, disproved by the context, *crebris...domuit*.' But if this statement is to be taken literally (and just here Mr. H. suddenly forgets, that on his own interpretation of the passage, the phrase refers to the Caledonians), he would, if consistent, be also compelled to maintain, that Caesar's invasions of Britain were a pronounced success and not, as universally acknowledged, conspicuous failures, for does not Caesar himself give a favourable account of his expeditions and does not Tacitus in a passage, suspiciously similar to the one under discussion, say of them *quamquam prospera pugna terruerit incolas ac litore potitus est* (Agr. ch. 13)? Tacitus, it is true, immediately qualifies this exaggerated statement by adding *potest videri ostendisse posteris quam tradidisse*. That he did not add a similar qualification in Agricola's case need not surprise us, for he was writing a *liber honori Agricolae soceri mei destinatus*. Nor did he care to omit entirely all mention of what was in reality a fiasco any more than Caesar himself. But both tell us of alleged successes, and both tell the reader what they learned about the respective countries with which

² It has been suggested that we may take the clause in question in a general sense, of an offensive strategic movement, there being thus no motive for any *formido* at all. But if fear is ex hypothesi excluded, I do not understand why Tacitus felt called upon to suggest this very thing as a possible contingency by gratuitously adding *magis quam ob formidinem*. Every reader would know that with offensive tactics, fear was naturally quite out of the question.

¹ For an equally subtle transition, also hitherto unnoticed, cp. ch. 33, extr. *in ipso terrarum ac naturae fine cecidisse* and ch. 34 init. *si novae gentes et ignota acies*, with my note ad loc.

the Romans then for the first time became acquainted.

To conclude, it has been shown that the first paragraph of ch. 24 cannot pertain to the Caledonians. But if so, the statement, *crebris...domuit*, being part of it, must refer to an *actual* encounter in Ireland, the remaining items in the chapter being on the one hand, perfectly in harmony with this interpretation, while, on the other, quite incompatible with the traditional view of a *contemplated* invasion of the island.

ALFRED GUDEMAN.

Philadelphia.

I fear that Prof. Gudeman has largely misread my arguments. To take A 1. and 2. only, I never said that *transgredi* meant 'to coast'—far from it—or that *nave prima* denoted 'transporting troops in vessels for the first time,' and Prof. Gudeman's paragraphs are all beside the point. As to *que*

in A 3, Prof. Gudeman has altered his ground. He first spoke of invariably intimate connexion: at least, he meant to do so, but the printer intervened. Confronted with Agr. 22. 4., he talks about 'correlation.' That is an excellent word which exactly suits the ordinary view of *eamque*. Let me add that I can find nothing in Gerber and Graef to show that *que* must mean intimate connexion. But a controversy about misunderstandings, &c. is a waste of time. I will merely emphasize the crucial point, which I fear that Prof. Gudeman still evades. Tacitus states that Agricola most successfully subdued *ignotas gentes* and would have liked to, and prepared to, invade Ireland, which he thought an easy job. Prof. Gudeman says this means that Agricola did invade Ireland and the invasion was a fiasco. I leave plain men to decide if this seems right.

F. HAVERFIELD.

ON JUVENAL, I. 132-146.

ALTHOUGH Prof. Housman has, I think, successfully demolished the current explanations of 144,

hinc subitae mortes atque intestata senectus, has he not overlooked a natural and—I would add, if I could find that it had occurred to anyone—an obvious interpretation? 'Madvig' (says Prof. Housman) 'impugns as absurd the statement that intestate old age is caused by the habit of bathing after a heavy meal.' Absurd, certainly, if 'intestate old age' means 'the delay of old men to make their wills.' But suppose *hinc intestata senectus* = *hinc, testamento non facto, senes fiunt*: hence they (the luxurious) grow old, before they have made their wills, *i.e.* age prematurely. This seems to me both good Latin and good sense. It may be asked 'why Juvenal should have written *intestata* (an epithet appropriate to *mors*) *senectus*, when he could

so well have written *praematura*, a word he uses elsewhere.' If Juvenal did not write *praematura*, it was because he deliberately chose the more striking word; *intestata senectus* is bold, but not too bold for such a master of pregnant and allusive style. Against Prof. Housman's interpretation of *intestata* it may be urged that the context—old age and sudden death—inevitably suggests a reference to *testamentum*. To employ the extraordinary meaning of an ambiguous word in a place where the ordinary meaning forces itself upon the reader's mind is surely bad art. *Intestata virtus*, unexampled virtue, may well stand in a suitable context: *intestata senectus*, unattested old age, preceded by *subitae mortes* and followed, at a respectful interval, by *plaudendum funus*, cannot stand in Juvenal.

REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.

ON APOLLINARIS SIDONIUS.

APOLL. SIDON. ep. ii 2 2 (*C.R.* vol. xiii p. 434) *concaua municipis Amerini sede compressus*.

municipis amerini NTV, *municipi samerini* L, *municipii amerini* C, *municipii camerini* FMP.

I should have expected *Amerinae*, but about the sense there should be no sort of doubt: the words mean 'cramped in an arm-chair of wicker-work.' The burgess of Ameria is the osier. Pliny n.h. xvi 174 says of willow-withies '*candidiores...supinarum in delicias cathedrarum aptissimae*,' and then proceeds 177 '*Graeca rubens, candidior Amerina*'. For *municeps* see Mart. x 87 10 '*Cadmi municipes ferat lacernas*', xiv 114 '*hanc tibi Cumano rubicundam*

pulvere testam | municipem misit casta Sibylla suam', Iuv. xiv 271 '*municipes Iouis aduexisse lagonas*'. I suppose the commentators have been misled by '*quin tu...raptim subduceris anhelantibus angustis ciuitatis*': that refers to 1 '*te nunc urbe retineri*'.

Apoll. Sidon. ep. vi 8 2 (*C.R.* vol. xiii p. 435) *frigoribus fontium ciuicorum saepe fontem mercatoris anteferat*.

mercatoris FMP, *mercatoribus* CLN, *mediatoris* T.

'*sapientiae (sap^e) fontem mercator bonus*' Mildmay. Read '*sapientiae fontem meracioris*,' comparing ep. iii 10 '*ad meracissimum scientiae fontem*'.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

ON ANTIGONUS' LETTER TO SCEPSIS.

In the important inscription rescued, and published by the zeal of Mr. Arthur Munro (*Journal Hell. Studies*, xix., ii., p. 330 sq.), the lines 26-9 (A) are perhaps the only puzzling ones, and he has rightly pointed out the difficulties of the text. There is certainly a mistake to be rectified, and yet the sense is perfectly plain.

οντων δ' η-
μιν των προς Κασσανδρον και Λυσιμαχον συν-
τετελεσμενων προς Πρεπελαον επεμψαν αυ-
τοκρατορα απεστειλεν Πτολεμαιος προς
ημας πρεσβεις κ.τ.λ.

As Prepelaos appears already (l. 11) as the Ambassador sent to Antigonos concerning this treaty, we have him here sent again *αυτοκρατορα*, with full powers, and the first obvious emendation would be to insert *ημας*, sc. *προς ημας* Π. *επεμψαν*, which would give the right sense, if there were any connecting particle introducing the next clause about Ptolemy.

But here a connecting *δε* is so imperative, that it seems certain the whole preceding

part is merely dependent on the main clause Πτ. *απεστειλεν*.

Hence I take the clause about Prepelaos to have been a relative clause, and propose two ways of mending the error or omission of the stone-cutter. The first is to insert *α* after *προς*, which, though a single letter, will give us the sense—'for which purpose they sent P. with full powers.'

But as the preceding phrase tells us that these affairs were now arranged *προς Κασσανδρον*, &c., I think it most likely that *προς Πρεπελαον* is a continuation of the same phrase: 'our negotiations with K. and L. being settled with Prepelaos *whom* they sent with full powers Ptolemy sent us an embassy,' &c. In this case we shall only have to double the concluding *ον* of Prepelaon to get the sense: *Πρεπελαον ον επεμψαν αυτ.* so assuming the most natural of all mistakes, the omission of a duplicated syllable.

J. P. MAHAFFY.

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.
January 19, 1900.

NOTES ON THE LATIN PROHIBITIVE.

IN an investigation of the force of the tenses of the prohibitive in some of the authors of the Silver Age, the following facts have been noted. The authors covered are Persius, Lucan, Valerius Flaccus, Silius Italicus, Statius, Juvenal, Martial, Curtius Rufus, Pliny the Younger, and Bährens' *Poetae Latini Minores*. I hope, as my engagements permit, to extend my investigations to the whole literature of the Empire, finally making a detailed presentation of the results secured.

Drager, *Hist. Syntax*, i 326, § 153 4, followed by Gildersleeve-Lodge, §271,n, states that *cave* or *cave ne* with the first or third person of the subjunctive never occurs after the classical period. I have noted six instances of the usage, always with the third person: Gratt. *Cyn.* 50; Plin. *Ep.* 5, 10, 2; Stat. *Theb.* 11, 111; Mart. 6, 79, 1, Mart. 7, 15, 6; Mart. 11, 102, 7.

Elmer, in his treatment of the supposed occurrence of *non* with the imperative in Ovid says (*Am. Jour. Philol.* xv. 327): "No other author, I believe, has been suspected of such barbarism." Kühner and Dräger are quoted in support of his view. Lane (§ 1582) says that *non* is used a few times from Ovid on, but gives no examples. In *Ilias Lat.* 1037, (Bährens), 'Non vitam mihi nec magnos concede favores,' there is the authority of at least one manuscript.

In the earlier language *cave* with the perfect subjunctive frequently occurs, there being 30 examples in Plautus and 34 of *ne*. In the Silver Latin, it has almost disappeared. My collections show only one case out of 26.

WILLARD K. CLEMENT.

University of Chicago.

RECENT WORKS ON THE RIGVEDA.¹

I.

A standard English translation of the Rigveda has been looked for at the hands of Professor Max Müller for more than a generation. In 1869 there appeared the first volume of such a translation, entitled *Hymns to the Maruts, or the Storm-gods*: but it included twelve hymns only, from a collection of which the range would be inadequately represented by the title *Book of the Thousand and One Hymns*. In 1891 a further volume appeared, bringing up the number of hymns to 49, and entitled *Hymns to the Maruts, Rudra, Vāyu, and Vāta*. This volume is published by the Clarendon Press, and is again entitled Part I., since it includes the hymns previously translated. In 1897 the Clarendon Press published a second part, containing

130 of the Agni hymns translated by the eminent German scholar Professor Oldenberg with Professor Max Müller's assistance. Professor Max Müller may fairly be congratulated upon having rightly appreciated from the first the conditions of a task of which the fulfilment must be left to others. No one would now deny that a standard translation of the Rigveda should be in prose, and that it requires a full commentary; nor will anyone entertain the hope that a 'complete, satisfactory, and final translation of the whole of the Rigveda' will ever be obtained. Nevertheless, the new volume marks very substantial progress, and may be no unfitting opportunity for a review which, by including in its scope other works of comparatively recent date, may afford some indication of the present position of Vedic studies to those who are not specialists in the subject.

¹ *Die Religion des Veda*, von HERMANN OLDENBERG. Berlin, 1894.

Vedische Studien, von RICHARD FISCHER und KARL F. GELDNER. Stuttgart, 1888-1897.

Vedic Mythology, by A. A. MACDONELL. *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1897.

Vedic Hymns, pt. ii. Hymns to Agni, translated by HERMANN OLDENBERG. *Sacred books of the East*, vol. xlv. Oxford, 1897.

II.

To the scholars of thirty years ago the Rigveda was encircled with a halo of antiquity which seemed to carry them back to the first struggles of thinking men to

confront the problems of the universe. Professor Max Müller could then speak of the hymns as 'the simple though strange expressions of primitive thought and primitive faith': he was convinced that the Veda would 'take and maintain for ever its position as the most ancient of books in the library of mankind.' To-day, although the absolute date assigned by Professor Max Müller to the Rigveda (about 1500 B.C.) may not be questioned, its primitive character no longer impresses the reader. It is recognised that both in matter and in form the hymns rather represent an era of decadence: they mark an effort to retain and stereotype the wisdom of the past. How many waves of continuous poetical or religious development preceded the era of our hymns it is impossible to conjecture: but it is clear that the poets cast their eyes backwards over a long past, which they only imperfectly understood or appreciated. The hymns of the Rigveda may in their present form be a few centuries older than our recension of the Homeric poems: but the two literatures are alike the final shape in which the inspiration of many preceding generations of professional bards has been recorded. The fundamental laws of metre being the same in the Vedic and the Homeric poems, we must necessarily infer that they are the work of two branches of the same family of poets: but we have no reason to conclude that the Rigveda represents to us forms of speculative thought substantially earlier than those that appear in Homer: in each case the earlier conceptions, which we may attribute to an Indo-European period which is at least relatively 'primitive,' have been overlaid by successive strata of religious or philosophical reforms.

In a too violent reaction from the 'primitive' theory of the Rigveda, Professors Pischel and Geldner have recently called upon us to regard the hymns as a 'distinctively Indian' product, and to interpret them far more closely in accordance with Indian tradition. Against this view Professor Oldenberg rightly protests, and he emphasises in particular the hundreds of phrases and the many objects of worship which are common to the Rigveda and the Avesta. 'We cannot conceal from ourselves,' he writes, 'that whole passages that we find in the Rigveda might have been recited, and probably were recited in the Indo-Iranian period in almost identical language.' For the authors of the 'Vedische Studien' an intimate knowledge of the native commentators is an indis-

pensable condition of the profitable study of the Rigveda. Without denying that fresh light may still be thrown upon isolated passages from these sources, experience shows that they are far more frequently the cause of misinterpretation. How can it be otherwise, seeing that the spirit of the Rigveda had been lost even in the times of the Brāhmanas, and that even then its verses were violently torn from their context, and their meaning distorted to suit a creed and a ceremonial that the authors of the hymns would never have recognised as their own?

But if we are obliged to use so much caution in employing outside help in the interpretation of the Rigveda, a danger of the same kind remains in interpreting one Vedic hymn by another. It is now fully recognised that our Rigveda contains a group of hymns, which we may reckon as about one-sixth of the whole, which is of markedly later date than the remainder. 'In this later period,' says Professor Oldenberg, 'the fixity of the ritual left little room and little need for poetical production of the older kind. On the other hand, there begins in this period the poetry of philosophical and cosmogonic speculation. There is an increase in the number of tales, originally composed partly in prose, and partly in verse, but of which the latter part alone is preserved to us. A literary accompaniment is given to a number of the less important ceremonials, as those that are concerned with marriage, burial, and exorcism.' In these later hymns is contained a mass of material of considerable interest to the modern world; but it must always be borne in mind that whilst the folklore, mythology, and cult which these hymns illustrate may be indefinitely old, the literary form is without question relatively modern: that exactly as in Greece and at Rome, the philosophical speculations are no key to the religion that preceded them, but represent a force which is steadily undermining that religion: and that in any case these poems can contribute little to the due understanding of the older part of the Rigveda, which alone consists of 'hymns' in the proper sense of the word.

III.

To the earlier critics of the Rigveda it seemed easy to find a key to its general meaning. The worship of 'nature,' the sky, the sun, the storm, the rivers and the forests, seems intelligible enough to the civilised man, especially when he shakes himself free

during a summer holiday from the trammels which habit and tradition impose upon his own speculations. In the hymns of the Veda, as in the religion of Greece and Rome, there is a certain space occupied by these 'natural objects.' The comparison of Indo-European tongues points to a supreme god, Dyaus, Zeus, or Jove, whose name is identical with that of the sky. The Indian traditions readily resort to similar interpretations of the names of other deities. It was too hastily concluded that Vedic worship as a whole was based upon similar conceptions.¹ In particular, the meaning of the worship of the god Agni has been greatly misunderstood, and its importance overrated, in consequence of ill-founded pre-conceptions of this kind.

One fifth of the hymns of the Rigveda are addressed to Agni, the fire-god; and in the most conspicuous collections these hymns are always placed first. It may seem easy to infer that Agni was the chief or at least one of the highest gods of the Vedic Pantheon. The Indian scholiasts freely recognise the deity in the Sun and in the Lightning: and the former view in particular seems to harmonise with his supposed high rank. Yet Professor Oldenberg rightly states² that such conclusions have but little foundation. 'It is very seldom,' he says, 'that there is any mention of that side of Agni's nature which corresponds to the sun': whilst 'a relationship with the lightning is only an occasional ornamentation of the figure of Agni.'³ The very fact that Agni is so frequently compared to sun and lightning shows that his nature is conceived as essentially different. In the main the Agni of the Rigveda is the ceremonial fire kindled by the priests by means of attrition. He is first of the gods, because he is lowest and nearest to his worshippers: he dwells close by them on earth, others in the far distance. He is most frequently addressed, not so much because the theme is inspiring as because it is simple. An adoration similar in principle, though less

extended, is paid to the stones which press out the sacred drink, the milk with which it is mixed, the mat of grass on which it is placed, and the fee which is paid to the celebrant. Equal in rank with Agni is 'King Soma,' the sacred drink itself, to whom an almost equal number of hymns is addressed. The material instruments of worship have therefore become the objects of worship; we are surrounded already by the pedantry of a priestly caste, destined to reach maturity in the course of time in that gigantic monument of literary folly, the Indian Brāhmaṇas. For an explanation of the original form of this worship we must look to an earlier period, for our poets themselves find it a mystery. They have inherited it from their ancestor Manus, and their highest aim is to perform the rite 'as Manus did.' That worship by means of fire and the soma-drink was inherited from the Indo-Iranian period seems clear, since they occupy much the same place in the Zoroastrian worship. But it was probably not of any such early cult that our poets were dimly conscious as the true aim of their worship, and we can only trace with clearness the stages immediately preceding the Vedic period.

Besides Agni and Soma, the most conspicuous figure in the Rigveda is Indra, and in the earliest hymns he is by far the most prominent of the three. Traces of Indo-European antiquity may be found in connexion with Indra: he wields as his mace the thunder-bolt of heaven, and cleaves the rock to rescue the imprisoned cows. Yet in the Rigveda Indra has little claim to higher rank than Agni. The poets are conscious of him as a rebel deity, who has pushed aside the lawful reign of his predecessor. The Avesta does not recognise him at all as a god: his drunken habits, as Prof. Oldenberg suggests, stood in too violent contrast to the spirituality of Zoroastrianism, and caused his forcible removal from the regions of heaven. But the warrior-princes of the earliest Vedic period delighted to hear the story of Indra; his example stimulated them to force open the castles of their foes, to appropriate their cows, and to celebrate their victories with barrels of intoxicating drink. To this taste the priestly caste accommodated themselves upon terms, and the Indra of the princes and the Agni of the priests swore brotherly alliance. Yet kings and priests alike remained conscious that they had pushed aside deities more wise, more spiritual, and even more powerful:

¹ The 'primitive' character of nature-worship in the sense referred to is of course no longer generally assumed. Cf. ROBERTSON SMITH, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 127. "Among the Semites the worship of sun, moon and stars does not appear to have had any great vogue in the earliest times. Among the Hebrews there is little trace of it before Assyrian influence became potent, and in Arabia it is by no means so prominent as is sometimes supposed."

² *Religion des Veda*, pp. 108, 109.

³ The evidence is also collected by Professor Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 92, 93. This writer candidly admits the comparative rareness of such allusions.

deities whose names they still mentioned with respect, and whose possible anger might yet strike or ensnare them. We are thus brought to the conception of a group of gods which is immediately pre-Vedic, and yet not necessarily primitive: gods in whose honour the fire had been kindled and the soma pressed before Indra and Agni eclipsed their majesty, though even these are not necessarily the gods in whose honour these ceremonies were invented. The true character of this pre-Vedic worship has not, I think, been fully brought out by any recent writers,¹ but Prof. Oldenberg's chapter on 'Varuna, Mitra, and the Ādityas' leads in the right direction. 'We come now,' he writes,² 'to a circle of gods sharply distinguished from all others. They are not characterized by the greatness of their deeds, but by the fixity of their nature, and by the unchanging character of the laws by which they work.' But when he continues: 'two great gods, Mitra and Varuna, stand at their head, and of these the latter is the greatest of all,'³ and when he sums up their attributes in the words 'heaven, light, sun,'⁴ he seems to be going beyond his authority, and to be establishing a new nature-deity or nature-deities in a period to which such conceptions were foreign.

The theory that the Sanskrit Varuna is identical with the Greek Οὐρανός is an etymological guess, which is in no way supported by the description of this god in the Rigveda, in which he appears as Ruler, Lawgiver, and Judge. The Sanskrit Mitra is undoubtedly connected with Avestan 'Mithra,' and so indirectly with sun-worship: but the Mitra of the Rigveda is only the Friend and Ally of his worshippers. With these in the oldest hymns of the Rigveda is joined a third deity Aryaman, whose title, though obscure, at least suggests no physical attribute. But the number of deities in the group cannot be limited to three; the analogy of the Avesta as well as the precisest statements of the later Rigveda fix it at seven: and there is to my mind little doubt that the four remaining names are Savitar (the quickener), Bhaga (prosperity), Dakṣha (wisdom), and Anṣa (share). But whatever the precise names or number of these gods, their general character is clear: they belong to the world of law and moral order, not to the physical universe. They

are not primitive deities, and only one is even Indo-Iranian in name. Yet they present in their general character a close analogy to the Archangels of the Zoroastrian creed, and they point to an analogous reform of religious worship.⁵ The history of their decay may easily be conjectured, and indeed traced in the hymns. The whole group is first referred to by the names of the three first members only: then the name of Aryaman slips out, though in one case at least the plurality of the group is still indicated by the use of the plural, not the dual number, in the corresponding verbs⁶; then Mitra becomes obscured, and Varuna alone represents the old order: whilst a varying number of the old names is still grouped in catalogues by the side of Indra Agni and other gods under the title of Ādityāḥ. But in reality Varuna was never worshipped as supreme god: amidst many changes the old supremacy of Dyaus was still vaguely recognised,⁷ and Varuna was but one of a group of his agents: and the more primitive the hymns we examine, the more fully is the equality of his companions recognised.

IV.

From the evidence of the Rigveda, as summarized above, it is possible to deduce a history of the general development of religious thought within its scope, if a few links may be supplied by the imagination upon the analogy of cognate religions. Upon the basis of a more primitive system, in which folk-lore, nature-worship, and social usage each played their part, some Indian Zoroaster, possessed of the ideas which were more fully accepted by the Iranians, endeavoured to establish a humane and logical creed. The worship of Dyaus, the kindling of the sacred fire, the pressing of the Soma he left undisturbed⁸: but he

⁵ See Ludwig's admirable remarks, *Rigveda*, iii. pp. 314-317.

⁶ *Rigveda*, iv. 13, 2.

⁷ The use of fire as an instrument of worship is certainly very consistent with the supposition that a celestial deity was at the same time its object. Cf. ROBERTSON SMITH, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 107. "In later times celestial gods predominate, as we see from the prevalence of sacrifice by fire, in which the homage of the worshipper is directed upwards in the pillar of savoury smoke that rises from the altar towards the seat of the godhead in the sky."

⁸ The conception of Dyaus is however changed. He ceases to be closely associated with the physical heaven: he becomes 'Father' and 'Lord': and his residence is in 'the highest place.' The history of

¹ The discussion in A. LUDWIG'S *Rigveda*, vol. iii. seems to me still to hold the field.

² *Religion des Veda*, p. 185.

³ *ib.* pp. 185, 186.

⁴ *ib.* p. 189.

gave a more important position to deities of a pronounced moral and law-abiding character, probably to the precise number of seven. A later and more warlike generation revolted against ideas that were too abstract, and rules that were too sober for them. The kings chose Indra as their hero, the priests Agni: by both classes, but for different reasons, the Soma deity was equally honoured. The moral deities were treated with uniform respect, but with diminishing attention, until their names became almost as obscure as that of Dyaus himself. But at the same time nature-worship gradually revived: the Sun, the Wind, the Lightning, the Dawn, and the pair Earth and Heaven¹ came into honour: and (as I hope to show) Agni developed the character of an elemental and all-pervading deity. A little later, and all these gods alike lose their dignity: the ritual limits their power, and a new philosophy explains away their individuality: and the ranks of the degraded deities are joined by a crowd of spirits, some from river and forest, others sprung from vague traditions of the beginning of the human race, and from the fears of those to whom sickness and witchcraft are ever present dangers. Amongst these Agni retains his position, becoming the most skilful of medicine-men: and the religion of Northern India, owing to the collapse of the superstructure raised by men of loftier ideals, assumes a character which corresponds generally to our present conceptions of a primitive religion, and which in many important particulars may well have been identical with the beliefs and cults of a period many hundred years older.

V.

In his *Religion des Veda*, Professor Oldenberg gives his views of the development of the worship of Agni, beginning with pre-Vedic times. In the Rigveda Agni strikes down the evil spirits and consumes their castles. Oldenberg remarks that 'this function of Agni is derived from the oldest of all the functions of fire, in the cult even of the most barbarous peoples².' To the Indo-Iranian period he ascribes the personification

this development is admirably treated in Bradke's pamphlet *Dyaus Asura und die Asuren*. The Dyaus who appears in the Rigveda by the side of Prithivi (earth) appears to be practically a new deity of lower rank.

¹ See the preceding note.

² *Religion des Veda*, p. 128.

of Agni as 'the strong, pure, wise, and generous god, the protector of his worshipper and the destroyer of his worshipper's foes³.' 'Obviously later,' he says, is the conception of Agni as priest. Nevertheless this conception is prominent throughout the Rigveda, and nowhere more than in its earliest hymns, in which the constant prayer goes to Agni as priest to 'bring hither the company of the gods,' so that gods and men may take part in their common feast. It might with advantage be pointed out that the only form of 'sacrifice' prominent in these hymns is that of the sacred feasts, and that the gods who are invited to share it are chiefly those of the group Mitra Varuṇa Aryaman . . . , that is, the gods of the last pre-Vedic period.

In sharp contrast to this strongly personified conception of Agni as king and priest is the mysticism which pervades a great number of the Agni hymns, of which 1140 may be taken as a type. Professor Oldenberg says that the 'anthropomorphism of Agni is less developed than that of Indra⁴.' This is hardly true of the earliest and simplest Agni hymns: and it should be said instead that the anthropomorphic conception at a certain stage gave way to an entirely different view. The influence at work is that of 'priestly speculation, delighting in plays on words, and in fanciful exchanges of names, conceptions and similes.'⁵ Agni is no longer a god, but a divine element: and the subject-matter of the hymns is his 'births,' 'appearances,' or 'homes,' or as we should perhaps say, his manifestations.

The 'births' of Agni are double or triple. The 'two-fold births' are according to Oldenberg, in heaven and on earth: but as the context more often suggests, amongst gods and amongst men. The birth in heaven is explained as the appearance of Agni in the Sun: for Oldenberg rejects the view that the heavenly Agni is, in any appreciable number of instances, the Lightning. But it cannot truly be said that the sun is clearly indicated in such passages: priestly speculation had already convinced itself that the earthly 'sacrifice' or rite was the counterpart of a heavenly sacrifice, or rather an imitation of it. Various myths recount how the fire was brought from heaven to earth: but it is by no means

³ *Ib.* p. 103.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 105.

⁵ Pischel and Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, Introduction, p. xxvii.

plain that the heavenly fire was the Sun any more than the Lightning.

The 'triple births' of Agni are variously enumerated, but amongst them the birth 'in the waters' is always prominent. Again Oldenberg rejects the theory that the Lightning is indicated. That the 'waters' are earthly, not heavenly, is shown by their constant association with the plants: the 'waters' must therefore be those which furnish the nourishment of the plants, and form an essential condition of all animal and vegetable life. These waters are not found in any one place: rather they are elemental and all-pervading: and in the expression 'child of the waters,'¹ we find, even in the Indo-Iranian period, a personification of this element. The identification of the 'child of the waters' with Agni belongs, as Oldenberg points out, to the Vedic period. In what sense then can it be said that fire dwells in the waters? Oldenberg I think is right in supposing that the fire spoken of is 'a vital force residing in the heart of all things,'² an element akin to the ideal 'fire' of the Stoic philosophy, but described as 'breath' in the system of the Brāhmanas, and as 'spirit' in modern times. In this sense the theological statement that 'Agni dwells in the waters,' corresponds to the scientific view that fluid elements maintain and diffuse the principle of life. If this is the interpretation of the birth 'in the waters,' those 'on the earth,' and 'in the heaven' are probably similar in kind, and the last is not in essence either Sun or Lightning, although these material objects may occasionally be chosen as illustrations of the working of a force or element everywhere diffused.

The cult of the elemental Agni is the most striking original feature of the Rigveda. Oldenberg says that 'the conception of "Agni in the water" is living and real to the poet,' and 'no petrified expression borrowed from a myth which has become unintelligible.'³ and to it applies with much force the statement of the authors of the *Vedische Studien* that 'the Agni mythology is distinctively Indian, and altogether modern, the immediate forerunner of the mysticism of the Brāhmanas.'⁴

The same conception will serve to explain a number of terms, of which the majority are left untranslated in the *Sacred Books*, and which have never yet been interpreted on any homogeneous principle. We cannot,

I believe, be far wrong in interpreting Jātavedas as 'he who has all living things as his possession,' Tanūnapāt as 'the principle of bodily life,'⁵ Narācaṇsa as 'the spirit of mankind,' and so forth. Similarly, Agni as 'sūnūḥ çāvasaḥ' is 'son,' that is, personification 'of strength.' That the sacrificial fire is ignited by an exercise of manual strength on the part of the priests is an illustration, not an explanation of the title.

At the end of the Vedic period this conception is, in the main, lost. Agni is in the waters because he has hidden there for fear of the gods, who are summoning him to act as their priest. Philosophy has become petrified in myth.

VI.

The views here summarised can be fitly illustrated and tested from the admirable collection of material to be found in Prof. Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology*. The writer indeed seems personally to incline rather to the theories of the older generation of Vedic scholars in Europe, as, for instance, when he endeavours to sustain the explanation of Varuṇa as a deity of the sky, and the identification of the name with the Greek Οὐρανός. Nevertheless, Prof. Macdonell has produced a book which, without claiming to be an original treatise on its subject, will be of the highest value to all students of the Veda; a book entirely unrivalled both in its fulness of reference, and in the fairness and completeness with which the views of others are summarised, Professor Oldenberg's views, in particular, have evidently received very careful attention from the author, and appear to have won his respect, and, in many points, his approval.

On the other hand, the authors of the *Vedische Studien* take a very strong stand in opposition to the views of Professor Oldenberg, 'even in his latest publications.'⁶ In so doing, they admit that they are opposing the general consensus of European scholars, and they raise the cry, 'India for the Indians,'⁷ or, in other words, 'The Rigveda for Sāyaṇa and the native commentators.' European scholars, these writers urge, have been misled by two false theories, the one, that the matter of the Rigveda can be explained by Indo-European mythology or 'folklore,' the other, that its language can

¹ Apām Napāt.

² *Religion des Veda*, p. 121.

³ *Religion des Veda*, p. 112.

⁴ Introduction to Part I., p. xxvii.

⁵ The 'anima' of Lucretius.

⁶ *Vedische Studien*, ii. p. v.

⁷ *Ib.* p. 322.

be interpreted by comparative philology. Sāyana, on the other hand, 'has grasped the true character of the Rigveda far better than the European interpreters,'¹ because the Rigveda was always 'specifically Indian,' and its ideas were still in force in his own time; and he rightly interpreted the words because tradition, 'earlier than the period of the Brāhmaṇas,'² had been handed down to him. In the first volume of the *Studien* these views were stated with considerable qualifications, and were the occasion of a genuine advance in interpretation. It was then quite true that the theory, which may shortly be called the 'sun-myth' theory, and the practice of explaining words by the 'roots' from which they were supposed to be derived, had been carried by European scholars to extremes which made progress impossible. But it must not be forgotten that for these faults Sāyana and the Indian tradition are directly responsible, and that the 'folklorists' and comparative philologists of the present day no longer follow the views of their predecessors. Again, Professors Pischel and Geldner have had great success in connecting more intimately the elaborate myths which appear in the latest hymns of the Rigveda with those which are found in the Brāhmaṇas. These two periods of literature are at least in direct succession; but it is still an unproved and, indeed, a most improbable, hypothesis that we still possess a tradition of the Vedic hymns, reaching to an earlier period than the Brāhmaṇas. It is, indeed, admitted that the 'Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras can only be used to a very limited extent for the right understanding of the Rigveda'³; in other words, that they embody a huge scheme of pedantic misuse of these documents.

The interpretations of Sāyana give a bewildering freedom of choice to his readers, and amongst them may often be found a suggestion which throws unexpected light on particular words or phrases. But the general views of Sāyana have no such claim on our regard: and unfortunately it is just at this point that our authors abandon the critical attitude which they practice so successfully in details.⁴ I propose to illustrate by three examples the uncritical spirit in which these writers accept the native views of the character of Vedic deities.

1. Aditi, the mother of the group of gods called Ādityās, is according to Max Müller

'The Infinite':⁵ whilst according to the Indian tradition, which Pischel accepts 'without any question,'⁶ she is the Earth. The word as an adjective means, as seems agreed, 'inexhaustibly bounteous,' and it is used as an epithet of various deities, as well as of the streams, and also, very appropriately of the bounteous earth, as in AV. 12. 1. 61. But that the poets of the Rigveda did not think of Aditi as the Earth seems clear from the fact that it is invariably Prithivī, not Aditi, who is coupled with Dyaus. Pischel explains that 'Aditi is the mythological figure, Prithivī the natural element,'⁶ a distinction which seems to me quite foreign to Vedic thought. The Vedic conceptions of Aditi are correctly stated by Macdonell⁷ as two: (1) she is the mother of the Ādityas (2) she has the power of releasing from the bonds of physical suffering and moral guilt. The latter conception, being also prominently connected with Varuṇa the Ādityas, may well be derived from the former. The natural inference seems to me to be that the name of Aditi the goddess is a purely verbal abstraction from the title Ādityāḥ.⁸ Max Müller's attractive interpretation lacks corroboration, and has not been adopted by any other Vedists: whilst the Indian interpretation, far from being shown to be derived from a tradition older than the Brāhmaṇas, merely recalls the later use of the adjective Aditi.

2. With regard to Agni, the *Vedische Studien* accept in numerous passages the native theory that Agni is the Sun or the Lightning: a view acceptable to naturalist interpreters, both European and Indian. The fact that the two interpretations are offered in so many passages must however weaken our belief in both: and it is impossible to agree that 'without hesitation we may accept the views of the commentators that "Agni dwelling in the waters" was conceived in the Rigveda in two forms, as

ii. p. 243. 'If I find that the interpretation of a word or phrase which is established in classical Sanskrit or is given by the lexicographers suits all passages in which the word or phrase occurs in the Veda, I interpret the Veda accordingly: if it does not suit them, I abandon the interpretation and go my way without troubling about classical Sanskrit or the lexicographers.'

⁵ *Rigveda*, vol. i. (1869), pp. 230 seq.

⁶ *V.S.* ii. p. 86.

⁷ *Vedic Mythology*, p. 122.

⁸ So Oldenberg remarks (*Religion des Veda*, p. 203) that the goddess Aditi is, historically considered, younger than her children. How he reconciles this statement with his own view that Aditi is a 'cow-goddess or rather cow-fetish belonging to a very low grade of myth-formation' I do not know.

¹ *Ib.* p. iv.

² *Ib.* p. 268.

³ *Ib.* p. 244.

⁴ The principle is thus stated in *Vedische Studien*,

Lightning in the clouds, and as a suboceanic fire,' and that 'both forms of this Agni are united in the figure of Apām Napāt¹'

3. The high god Varuṇa is according to many European scholars, the sky; according to Oldenberg,² originally the Moon. Neither of these theories finds any distinct countenance in the Rigveda. But in the later mythology Varuṇa was a god of the sea; and this view is now accepted by Pischel and Geldner as true for the whole of the Rigveda. In the preface to Part I, indeed, they speak of him as 'the old king of the gods, who has little by little been pushed from his place by Indra, the head of a younger race of gods.'³ But now we are told that 'from the beginning Varuṇa was a god of the the sea and waters, and did not take up this position only at a later period:'⁴ that he is at all times an 'almost demonic figure,'⁵ that 'he is bald-headed, diseased, with red eyes, and projecting teeth.'⁶ This description, taken from the Brāhmanas, is obviously inconsistent with the Varuṇa of the Rigveda, the mighty ruler of the moral and physical world. But even of the more cautious statement that Varuṇa is a water-god, the evidence is of the slenderest. To show this, and at the same time to recall his true character, I translate here two verses for which a single phrase is

quoted apart from its context to bear out a preconceived conclusion:—

'Ye two that rule over the space in heaven and on earth, let festal offerings of butter be poured forth to you: let Mitra and Aryaman of noble birth, and the king Varuṇa of wide realm accept our sacrifice.

'Ye kings that are guardians of the mighty Orders, lords of the rivers, of royal rank, come to meet us: Mitra and Varuṇa send us rain and sustenance from heaven, for life-giving are your streams.'⁷

It will be observed that the title 'lord of the rivers' is only one of many titles applied to Mitra and Varuṇa, or to Mitra, Varuṇa and Aryaman, and that it is universal, not local supremacy, which is attributed to all three alike.

This passage therefore entirely fails to corroborate the 'Indian theory': and the other passages quoted in the *Vedische Studien* are substantially open to the same objections.

These aberrations, however, affect comparatively little the value of the work of Professors Pischel and Geldner in detail: their learning and acumen have rendered the greatest services to Vedic study, and their fundamental principle, that 'with the prevailing theory that all deities are to be explained as natural phenomena we can make no progress,'⁸ is, in my opinion, thoroughly sound.

E. V. ARNOLD.

¹ *V.S.* ii. p. 271.

² *Religion des Veda*, p. 193.

³ *Vedische Studien*, i. p. xxvii.

⁴ *Ib.* ii. p. 125. ⁵ *Ib.* p. 292. ⁶ *Ib.* p. 292, note.

⁷ *Rigveda*, vii. 64, 1, 2.

⁸ *Vedische Studien*, ii. p. 231.

NOTES.

BACCHYLIDES X. (XI.), 118.

ἄλσος τέ τοι ἱμερόεν

κάσαν παρ' εὐδρον πρόγονοι

νοὶ ἐσσάμενοι, Πριάμοι' ἐπεὶ χρόνῳ κ.τ.λ.

Read πόρον
οἱ ἐσσάμενοι

This is a simpler correction (πορονοὶ could very easily have been corrupted, in such a context, to πρόγονοι) than other proposals with which I am acquainted; it gives better sense; and it improves the metre (πόρον corresponding to κάμον and βροτῶν). 'The founders (of the city) gave you a lovely grove, when,' &c., οἱ ἐσσάμενοι scil. Μεταπόντιον are the Ἀχαιοὶ of l. 115. For the use of ἔπορον with ἄλσος cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 259 ἔπορεν Λιβύας πεδίον.

J. B. BURY.

ON PLUTARCH, *Cic.* 5.—Λέγεται δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς οὐδὲν ἥπτον νοσήσας τοῦ Δημοσθένους πρὸς τὴν ὑπόκρισιν.

Whatever may have been the oratorical shortcomings of the youthful Cicero (see Plut. *Cic.* 3 ff.; *Cic. Brut.* 91, 316), it is demonstrably certain that an *awkward delivery*, such as was noted in the young Demosthenes, was not one of them, nor can Plutarch have thought so, as ch. 3 ext. 4 ext. 5 ext. are sufficient to show. On the other hand, the high importance which *both* Demosthenes and Cicero always attached to an appropriate delivery is amply attested by such passages as Pseudo-Plut. *Vitae X. Orat.* 845 B; *Cic. de Orat.* iii. 56, 213; *Brut.* 38, 142; and it is doubtless this very coincidence of conviction that the biographer wished to point out here.

Now the sense called for will be secured if, instead of the objectionable νοσήσας, we read, with an extremely simple change, νοήσας, i.e. 'It is recorded that Cicero, also, thought no less highly of delivery than did Demosthenes.'

A. GUDEMAN

ON MANILIUS V. 555 sq. and 133.

supplicia ipsa decent : niuea ceruice reclinis
mollior ipsa suae custos est ipsa figurar.

The three *ipsa*'s in two lines are insufferable, and either the second or the third superfluous. Critics have generally removed the last and disagree profoundly about its substitute. But it is the second, which appears to have come from the preceding verse, that should be the object of attack. *Illa* seems an easy and unobjectionable correction. I take this opportunity of stating that the word which I proposed for fundamenta, v. 133, 'illa (the she-goat) Tonanti | fulcimenta dedit' in *Silva Maniliana*, p. 45 had already occurred to Prof. M. Warren (*American Journal of Philology*, xiii. p. 102, in a review of Ellis's *Noctes Manilianae*). Whether Prof. Warren understood it as I do (as meaning *alimenta*), I do not know; but if he did, he should not have illustrated it by 'Phocas Vita Vergili 27 (said of Terra) herbida supposuit puero fulmenta uirescens.'¹

J. P. POSTGATE.

THE ETYMOLOGY OF εὔχομαι.

Εὔχομαι is usually compared (see Prellwitz, *Etym. Wörterbuch* s.v.) with the Vedic *vāghat* 'prayer'

¹ I wish also to correct an error in a detail in my note on Manilius V. 372. Bentley based his *suo* on the reading of a 'Venetus codex' in which he actually found *suos*.

'offerer' and Latin *roveo*; but this derivation fails to account for the sense of 'claiming' 'boasting' &c. in εὔχομαι εἶναι. In Kuhn's *Zeitschrift* xxxv pp. 501-3 Baunack, writing of 'Bhujyu, ein Schützling der Aqvin,' has a discussion of the root *ah*, to which he ascribes two senses, (1) *sich geltend machen vor anderen bei einem Wettstreit* 'to assert one's superiority in any kind of competition,' (2)—transitive—'to assign superiority to.' The former is illustrated by *anyo nct sūrīr ohate bhūridāvattaro janah* 'no other proves himself a more liberal lord' *yayoh catur nakir adera ohate* 'whose enemy no godless man may boast himself,' the latter by *devāh ohānah* 'honouring the gods.' So we have the noun (instrumental) *ohasā* 'in estimation,' and *ohabrahman* 'a proven priest.' Although Baunack has thrown new light on the word, the senses given are neither entirely new nor doubtful, as may be seen by a reference to the dictionaries of Grassman and Böhtlingk and Roth. *Oha* is actually given by the latter as meaning 'devotion' (*andacht*). But Baunack has brought out the double signification in a way which clearly shows the connection with εὔχομαι. The sense of 'praying' is therefore that of εὔχομαι in *πρωτον μὲν εὐχῇ τῇδε πρεσβεύω θεῶν τὴν πρωτόμαντι γαίαν*.

This etymology is mentioned in the form of rejection by Uhlenbech (*Et. Wb. d. Altind. Spr.* s.v. *ohate*), who however has not observed how strongly it is supported by the meaning.

F. W. THOMAS.

REVIEWS.

ADAM'S HESIOD AND PINDAR.

A Comparative Study of Hesiod and Pindar.

By JOHN SCOTT ADAMS. Chicago. The University of Chicago Press. pp. 47. 1899.

THAT Pindar was a close student of Hesiod, whom he once quotes by name and often refers to by indirect allusion, is no secret to readers of the former poet. Not that Pindar stood alone in this respect, for strains of Hesiod's teaching shoot thickly through the web of all succeeding literature. His poems formed the Bible of the Greeks. Along with Homer, to quote a familiar passage of Herodotus, it was Hesiod 'who created for the Greeks their theogony, assigned to be gods their titles, distinguished their prerogatives and functions and specified their characteristics.' And Aeschines, quoting *Op.* 203. f., observes that such *γνώμαι* were learned in childhood that they might be practised in manhood, while from later writers we gather that the 'Works and Days' was still a school-book in the fourth century of our era (*Libanius* 1,

502: iv. 874). But the works of the old Ascræan moralist had a special claim on his fellow-countryman, Pindar; and a clear statement of the relation between the two Boeotian poets would doubtless be welcome to students of either. Such a statement is here attempted by Mr. Adams, and the material he has collected is by no means devoid of value. His methods, however, hardly merit unqualified approval. To begin with, he sows with the sack. Dividing his subject under three main heads—Religious beliefs, Mythology and Language—he proceeds to quote the same passages often twice and sometimes three times under successive divisions. Thus, to take one of many instances, *Op.* 353 τὸν φιλέοντα φιλεῖν is first compared with P. ii 83 φίλον εἶη φιλεῖν to illustrate the view of 'Man in relation to Fellow-men' common to both poets and the same passage recurs a few pages later to exemplify their similarity in language. Again on p. 32-3 the reader is presented with more than forty of the

veriest Homeric commonplaces, 'in none' of which, Mr. Adams naively admits, 'can it be assumed that Pindar was under the influence of Hesiod, although he may have been.' This straining of the legitimate use of evidence proves too much, and, by swelling Mr. Adams's pamphlet to some 45 pages of parallels, enables him to present a more plausible case than the facts warrant. He would have deserved better of his readers had he noted some of the less obvious echoes of Hesiod in Pindar. Thus the *lógos* ('proverb,' of *N.* iii. 29 : iv. 31 : ix. 6) of *P.* i. 35 is surely the familiar *ἀρχὴ δέ τοι ἥμισυ παντός*; and the whole passage (*P.* iv. 79 ff), describing the dress of Iason, is clearly written under the influence of Hesiod: there Iason, who has been ploughing in the mountains (76, cf. schol.) is made to observe the rules implied in *Op.* 388 ff for the dress of mountaineers, as a protection against the 'shivering showers' (*φρίσσοντας ὄμβρους P.* iv. 81 : cf. *Op.* 540).

Further, in many cases an examination of the context will raise a doubt, whether Mr. Adams's alleged parallels are really parallel at all. Thus *Op.* 366 *πῆμα δὲ θυμῷ χρήζειν ἀπέοντος* means something quite different from *P.* iii. 21 *παπταίνει τὰ πόρσω*; nor does *Op.* 25 *κεραμεὺς κεραμεῖ* give the same thought as *P.* i. 84 *ἀκοὰ ἀστῶν κρύφιον θυμὸν βαρύνει κτλ.* So (p. 10) *I.* ii. 11 *χρήματα χρήματ' ἀνὴρ* is not due to *Op.* 686, but is directly referred by Pindar to an anonymous 'Argive,' as Mr. Adams himself remembers in a later citation of the passage (p. 40); and it is surely an error to quote *Op.* 47 to show that 'Zeus was easily deceived by Prometheus': in that passage *ἐξαπάτησε* means 'cheated' of the flesh, not 'deceived' which Zeus certainly was not (*Theog.* 551 : *γῶ δ' οὐδ' ἠγνοίησε δόλον*).

The section on Mythology is less open to criticism: here Mr. Adams gives an

interesting list of cases where Pindar deserts Homer for Hesiod in his versions of the legends of the gods. To his note on Hephaestus (p. 19) should be added *N.* vi. 63, where that god is referred to as Daedalus. He gives a new and probably true interpretation of *N.* xi. 1 *πρώταν θεῶν*, 'first-born of the gods,' quoting *Theog.* 453 : and on *P.* iv. 227, *ὀρθὰς δ' αἰλακας ἐντανύσας ἤλαν'*, he seems right in joining *αἰλακας* with *ἤλαν'* on the strength of *Op.* 443 *ἰθεῖαν αἰλακ' ἐλαύνει*. Elsewhere Mr. Adams is less successful in controverting received views: on p. 38 he rejects the MSS. reading of *N.* iii. 14 *παλαίφατον ἀγοράν*, 'which neither gives an adequate meaning nor satisfies the metre; a spondee, not an anapaest, being required.' Well, it satisfied Bergk's view of the metre, for he keeps *ἀγοράν*, and it may be noted that in this very poem *παρὰ μείβει* (27) corresponds to *κατέμαρψεν* (35); while, as for the meaning, a wholly adequate sense results by comparing *Πυθίου Θεάριον* (70), for that building, the victor's dwelling-place, no doubt stood in the marketplace of Aegina, as did the Temple of Apollo (*Müller* 'Aegina' p. 146).

May it be permitted in conclusion to protest against the old heresy, which dies so hard, that Pindar was an Aegeid? Mr. Adams seems to share in this view, describing the poet as 'an aristocrat' (p. 1). There is really not a shred of evidence to support it, except the erroneous interpretation of *P.* v. 75, where the words *φῶτες Αἰγεΐδαι, ἐμοὶ πατέρες* are clearly spoken, not by Pindar, but by the Cyrenean chorus (cf. *Studniczka* 'Kyrene,' p. 94 : *Paruly* s. v. *Aegeidae*). Pindar was an itinerant singer for pay, and such a position is wholly inconsistent with membership in the priestly and noble caste of the Aegeids.

W. T. LENDRUM.

FENNELL'S NEMEAN AND ISTHMIANS OF PINDAR.

Pindar: The Nemean and Isthmian Odes.

With Notes, Explanatory and Critical, Introductions and Introductory Essays, by C. A. M. FENNELL, Litt. D., etc. New Edition. (Cambridge University Press.) pp. xvi. 275. 1899. 9s.

DR. FENNELL has done a good deal of work in the way of excision and remodelling on

his edition of 1883, but his views in general remain unchanged, with regard alike to points of interpretation and to wider questions such as the organization of the Pentathlon. Among the few passages in which a novel view is taken we may congratulate the editor on restoring sane grammar in *Nem.* i. 8 by taking *ἀρχαὶ θεῶν* to mean 'a foundation of gods (for stones)':

i.e. the gods (or the mention of them) are the foundation-stones on which the ode is to be built. The present writer has independently reached the same conclusion, or perhaps been led to it by some one else. Dr. Fennell has also strengthened his interpretation of *Nem.* v. 44 by regarding ὁμόςπορον ἔρνος as an accusative, and has been wise, we think, in adopting the βλάβεν of the Vatican in *Nem.* vii. 17, where he makes a new point by giving to σοφοί the special meaning of 'poets.'

In other cases he cannot command so ready an assent, for example, when he reads

γόνον (preferring it to γόνον on unsatisfactory palaeographical grounds) for ὕμνον in *Nem.* iv. 16 and when he emends διδάσκειτο for αἰέσεται in line 90: nor is his emendation of *Nem.* vi. 52, 53 βαρὺ δέ σφι νεῖκος Ἀχιλεὺς ἔμπαιε χαμαὶ καταβὰς ἀφ' ἁρμάτων convincing.

The new edition is decidedly better printed than the old; but the title-page still omits to mention the *Fragments*, which occupy forty-eight pages.

GILBERT DAVIES.

FORMAN'S INDEX TO ANDOCIDES, LYCURGUS AND DINARCHUS.

Index Andocideus, Lycurgeus, Dinarcheus, confectus a L. L. FORMAN, Ph.D. Oxford (Clarendon Press). 1897. Pp. 91. 7s. 6d.

THE Index to Demosthenes (1892) and Aeschines (1896) by Preuss, to Lysias (1895) by D. H. Holmes, and to Antiphon (1895) by Van Cleef, is now followed by Forman's Index to three more of the Attic Orators—Andocides, Lycurgus, and Dinarchus. Even a cursory inspection of the Index to Lycurgus and Dinarchus is enough to prove that (as might have been expected) their vocabulary is practically identical with that of their great contemporary Demosthenes; but a careful comparison of the Index to Andocides shows that it includes as many as 112 words not found in Demosthenes. In the following list I distinguish words found in the fragments alone by f., and those occurring only in the fourth speech, *Against Alcibiades*, by (4), this speech being generally regarded as spurious.

ἀγωνοθέταις (4)
ἀμιλλᾶσθαι (4)
ἀνεβίω
ἀνακηρύττονται
ἀνανδρίας
ἀναυμαχίου
ἀνηράσθη
ἀνηλεῶς (4)
ἀνθρακευτάς, f.
ἀνωθεάζον
ἀντεπιθυμοῦσι (4)
ἀντωνεῖτο
ἀπαγχομένη
ἀπεκερδαίνομεν
ἀπωλοφυράμην
ἄπονον
ἀποπειρώμενοι
ἀποτελεσθῇ
ἀποφοράν
δρασάμενοι
ἀργυροκοπέω, f.
ἀριστίνδην
ἀρπαγῆς (4)
ἀρχιθέωρος
ἀρχώνης
βιαιότητος (4)
βύρειον
διαβουλεύσασθαι
διαπεπρασμένος
δισχυρίζεσθαι
ἐδίπλασε (4)
δυσδαιμονιάς
—ἐστερος
δυσπραξία
δυσπυχίαται
ἔδραν
ἐκπορίζουσι
ἐξεστρατευμένοι

ἐμπολεμῆν
ἐξοπλιζόμενος, f.
ἐξάρμει
ἐξωστρακίσσατε (4)
ἐπαναφορᾶς
ἐπεισάγων (4)
ἐπεγήμει
ἐπιδόξειε (4)
ἐπεστράτευσε
ἐπίτριπτον
ἐστῖαν
εὐαδίκητος (4)
εὐθαρεῖν
εὐωχεῖν, f.
θηρεῖν
καταπεπτωκυίας
κατελεῆσαι
κίονος
κλαυμάτων (4)
κληθῶν
κοινότητα (4)
κρατιστεύειν
κνᾶμψ
κῶνειον
κωπέας
λαθραῖον (4)
ἐλῆσω
λογιστηρίαις
λυροποιός
λυχνυποῖεν, f.
μήνυσσι
μηνύτρων
μισοδημους (4)
μισοδημία (4)
μοιχείας (4)
ναυκρατίαν, f.
νότιον
οἰκτος
δόμψηφοι
ὀρχήστραν
ὠστρακισμένον
ὠστρακισθῆναι (4)
παρακινδυνεύω
περικαίονται
πιστότητας
προκηρυκευσόμενον
πρόρριζον
προσπηδῶ
προσεπράξατο (4)
πρόσταξις
προτάξαντες
πρῶ
πωλίον
σάλπιγγι
σελήνην
σιταγωγοί
σκάνδικας, f.
στασιωτείας (4)
στεφανηφόρος
ἐστεγμένος, f.
συγκατέλυσας
συγκατέσκαψας
συμφιλονικάντων (4)
συνεκτραφέις
συννικῶντας
συνωμότας (4)
τειχίρεις
τοσαυταίς (4)
ὑπεραυξανόμενος (4)
ὑπουργημάτων
φάγοιμεν, f.
φιλότητα
φιλοχρήματος (4)
χαλκείψ
χρονισθέντος

It will be observed that among the words characteristic of the author of the speech *Against Alcibiades*, are the abstract terms βιαιότης, κοινότης and στασιωτεία, the poetic κλαύματα and λαθραῖος and the very rare adjective εὐαδίκητος. Thus the evidence derived from the vocabulary of this speech

may be added to the other reasons for regarding it as not written by Andocides.

In Forman's *Index to Lysurgus* it might have been well if the words found in the Oath in § 81 had been distinguished from the orator's own language. Among these words are δεκατεύσω, εὐηκοήσω, Θαλλώ, στοιχήσω, the second and fourth of which it may be safe to say would never have been used by Lysurgus himself. Similarly δαιμόνων, ἐσθλόν, νοῦν, τρέπει, φρενῶν might have been marked as coming from a poetic quotation, especially as the second and the last of these words are hardly ever found in prose, although φρενῶν is found once in Andocides and φρένας only in the peroration of the Speech *On the Crown*. δοκιμασίαν may be added to δοκιμασίαι from frag. 24, Ἑκατόρπεδον from frag. 58, θαλλόν and θαλλοῦ from frag. 88 and 58, χλιωθέντα comes from frag. 11 and κεχλιώσθαι from frag. 55, and ᾠδεῖον from frag. 58. ἰσχνῶς (§ 80) will probably have to give way in future editions to Haupt's emendation ἴχνος, also λειποταξίου (§ 147) to λιποταξίου, and ὀρίους (§ 109) to ἡρίους, and συγγενεῖς (§ 122) to εὐγενεῖς. All these corrections are adopted in the recent edition by Blass (1899). To these I may add γονέων as a correction of the poetic word τοκέων in § 147. I have made the same suggestion in [Dem.] 35 § 48; in both passages it may be supported by κάκωσις γονέων in Aristotle's *Const. of Athens*, 56 § 6 and οἱ περὶ τῶν γονέων νόμοι in Dem. 39 § 33.

In Forman's *Indices* the articles on ἀλλὰ, ἄν, ἅπας and πᾶς, γάρ, εἰ, ἐπειδὴ and ὥς are not a mere string of references, but include a proper classification of the various uses of the words. Thus a distinction is drawn between the passages in which ἅπας or πᾶς precedes the noun and article, and those in

which it succeeds them. The articles on νόμος and ψήφισμα in the Index to Lysurgus would have been more instructive if, instead of a bald list of references, they had similarly been classified under *leges Dracontis*, *leges militares*, *leges frumentariae*, *populiscitum de Phryniacho*, *de Hipparcho*, etc., as in the short Index to the text of Blass.

The Index to Lysurgus by Sergius Kondratiew (Moscow, 1897) is a very painstaking piece of work, but is less accurate than that of Forman. The order is not always strictly alphabetical, and the following items, included by Forman, are omitted. "Ἀγλαυρος, ἄδειαν, ἀράμενον, ἀνάξιον, ἄνοικος, ἀντεῖπον, εἰρεσιώνη, εἰσβάλλειν, ἐντεῦθεν, καταβληθέντων, κατέλευσαν (71 bis), Κοιρωνίδαι, ποιητέον, and σεμίδαλις. The misprints are as follows: ἄψιον for ἄξιον, διήλλαξαν for -εν, ἐλέησεν for ἦλ-, ἐμπεπορτεμένους for ἐμπεπορπημένους, ἐναγγελιζόμενος for εὐ-, ἐπιτελώματα for ἐπιτελεώματα, ἐπετρεπώσαμεν for ἐπετρεπύσαμεν, εὐμολπον for Εὐ-, κατέλυσαν for -έλευσαν, λογοποιεῖν for λωποδυτεῖν, μετακοντίζεσθαι for μετακομιζέσθαι, ᾤχετο for ᾤχετο, παρῆναι for παρείσθαι (s.v. παρήμι), προκτησασθαι for προσ-, προσέδωκα for προσεδόκα, σκέψεως for σκήψεως, σύμβουλον for σύμβολον, Τιμοχάρης for Τιμοχάρης, Φιλόμελος for Φιλόμηλος, and Χαιρωνείας for Χαιρωνεία. Lastly under ὑπέρ (gen.) we have a reference to § 39, where ὑπέρ is really found with the accusative. Both in accuracy and in beauty of typography the printers at Moscow are far excelled by those of the Clarendon Press. The light grey binding of Forman's *Index* adds much to the attractiveness of an excellent piece of work.

J. E. SANDYS.

TWO RECENT TEXTS OF ARISTOTLE'S *RESPUBLICA*.

- (1) *Aristotelis ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ* tertium ediderunt G. KAIBEL et U. DE WILAMOWITZ-MÖLLENDORF. Berlin, Weidmann, 1898. pp. xvii. and 98. 1 M. 80 Pf.
- (2) *Aristotelis ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ* tertium edidit F. BLASS. Leipzig, Teubner, 1898. pp. xxxi. and 126. 1 M. 80 Pf.

IN these two books we have the result of the matured experience gained by more than seven years' close study of the Consti-

tution of Athens, first published just nine years since. Comparing the works together we find that they approach one another more nearly than the second editions by the respective editors; *ut laeti agnoscere possimus*, says Blass, *legendi restituendique progressus magnos non opinione sed re ipsa factos* (p. xxi.). In no small degree this gain is due to the careful examination of the original in the British Museum by Prof. Wilcken, whose merit in particular is recognised in the improved form in which

the fragments of the fourth papyrus roll are to be found in both editions. But in the other parts of the work the palaeographical skill of the first editor has left comparatively little for the gleaner in his field. It is to be observed moreover that the new readings of Prof. Wilcken do not always meet with the approbation of Dr. Kenyon and Prof. Blass: e.g. ch. v. § 2, and other passages which Blass discusses at length, pp. xxi. sqq. of his Introduction.

Professors Kaibel and Wilamowitz, for whose third edition the new collation was made, usually follow it closely: they still read however *φιλαργυρίαν* at ch. v. § 3 where Wilcken now sees $\Phi\text{C}\dots\text{ΕΙΑΝ}$. What this can indicate it is hard to determine. Blass finds $\Phi\text{...ΙΑΝ}$ with Υ or more probably Τ before Ι . His conjecture (*τήν τε φιλοπλουτίαν*, based on this, is, owing to the synizesis at the break in a pentameter, extremely harsh: for the present *φιλαργυρίαν* ought to be retained, *faute de mieux*. To take now the two editions separately, that of Kaibel and Wilamowitz has a useful preface with a short account of the MS., wherein the view of Dr. Kenyon, that it was written by four separate hands, is acknowledged to be true, and the editors' former proposal to identify hands (1) and (4) and hands (2) and (3) therefore abandoned: cf. Sandys p. xxxv. note 2. But they still hold that all the corrections are due to the owner of the MS. who also wrote the contents of the first roll; Blass on the other side maintains as before, (pp. vii. to xi.), that there are several correctors, the four scribes correcting each his own mistakes and one or more the mistakes of the rest. In this connexion it is perhaps too much to say with K.-W. of .ΑΛ. , written at ch. 49 § 1 above *ἀνάγουσι*, 'quid esse uoluerit minime apparet.' It must point to the reading *ἀλλ' ἀνάγουσι* (of fractious horses): *ἀναγωγός* surely is sufficient evidence for this sense of *ἀνάγειν*.

The attitude of Kaibel and his colleague in regard to textual emendation is somewhat different now: 'tulit res ut cum libellum Aristoteleum primum ederemus, nouam rem calidius adgressi maiora saepius ac fortiora moliremur, sed deferbuit animus' (p. xvi.). Also, they are no longer jointly responsible for all suggestions printed in the text. Turning to this, I shall only remark that the reading *πρίν ἢ παράξας κτλ.* in Solon at ch. xii. § 5, (also in second edition), is not so good on any ground as *πρίν ἀνταράξας* (*ἀνατ.*), and that the omission of

καὶ before *γυναικα* at ch. xiii. § 4 is quite unnecessary. At ch. xvi. § 6 *παντελῶς πέτρας σκάπτοντα* is such strange Greek that one is tempted to think that the words *πρεσβύτην ὄντα* have fallen out after *παντελῶς*; cf. Zenobius *Proverb. cent.* iv. 76 quoted in Sandys' note.

There remains an unpleasant task for an English reviewer of this book to discharge. The editors declare in explicit terms (p. xv.) that they have assigned to its respective authors everything that did not belong to themselves. I have no desire to cry *J'accuse*: but my conviction is that the service rendered by English scholars to the text of the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* would never be gathered from the scanty acknowledgements in the *apparatus criticus*. Most certainly had the *Classical Review* of the months March, April, May of 1891 been used as they could easily have been even for the first edition (August, 1891) and as they most decidedly should have been used for the present one, we *diesseit des Kanals* would have no reason to fear comparisons. Some of the corrections the editors would make for themselves: they have acknowledged a few which could hardly escape them: why do they withhold that acknowledgment in similar or more difficult cases? An example will show. At ch. xxxv. § 3 the MS. reads *ἔχαιρον ἢ πόλις* where K.-W. read *ἔχαιρεν* and the *app. cr.* has *corr.* Sidgwick *et* Rutherford: yet at ch. xxi. § 1, the MS. giving *ἐπίστευεν ὁ δῆμος* with .Ο. over—*εν*, the omission of *ὁ δῆμος* with the reading *ἐπίστευον* is not said to be due to Rutherford and Bury. At ch. xiii. § 1 the MS. has (not ΑΙΤΙΑΝΑΡΧΙΑΝ as K.-W. represent but) ΑΙΤΙΑΝΑΡΧΑΙΑΝ . Is it not less obvious to correct here with Campbell etc. to *αἰτίαν ἀναρχίαν* (*διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰ. ἀν. ἐποίησαν*) than, as in the previous instances, to adjust singulars and plurals? Perhaps more striking still are the cases where K-W have altered their views as set forth in their first edition without stating their obligations. Even their *δεύτεραι φροντίδες* as it seems are to count as earlier than the first thoughts of other scholars; see for example ch. 9 § 2 (K-W p. 9 line 6) and ch. 19 § 2 (K-W p. 20 line 8), where the names of Papageorgius and Bernardakis are omitted. Better no names at all in the *apparatus criticus* than such a partial representation of scholars both here and abroad.

Very different is the edition of Prof. Blass in this respect: 'porro plurima contribuerunt

critici Britannici, quae magnam partem collecta exstant in diario *Classical Review*' (p. xxix). See also his *apparatus* where before the edition in which any given reading was first published is placed a statement of the critics, if any, who had proposed it already in the Classical Journals.

The Preface in Blass is more polemical perhaps than before, being directed in part, as stated above, against Wilcken. On rhythm Prof. Blass does not change his views: as regards ch. 55 § 4, cf. Sandys, p. lxxvii.

At ch. xiv § 4 the transposition γυναικα καὶ μεγάλην κτλ for καὶ γ. μ. (cf. above) is

not needed and the combination of height and beauty hardly wanted reinforcing to a Greek reader. Ar. Rhet. A 5 § 7, p. 1361. The solution of the 'lis de Dracontis' (*sic*) quae uidebatur constitutione' on pp. xxii sq. is shewn to depend on the proper translation of a pluperfect.

More need not be said of the merits of this model edition of the Aristotelian text. Of inaccuracies I have only observed τὸ δ' ἀρχαῖον in text at ch. viii § 2, yet the lemma has γὰρ for δὲ: remove too the comma after εἴλετο p. 21 line 3.

J. A. NAIRN.

JOHN'S *DIALOGUS DE ORATORIBUS*.

P. Cornelius Tacitus, *Dialogus de Oratoribus*, erklärt von Dr. CONSTANTIN JOHN: Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung 1899. Pp. vii. + 164. Price 2 Mark 10 Pf.

THIS book comes at the end of a long series of editions of the *Dialogus*; and it is, if not the most pretentious and elaborate, certainly not the least useful of them all. It embodies, as the editor states, the results of a long connexion with the criticism of the treatise; and no one who is familiar with the commentary which Dr. John incorporated with his translation (1886-1892) will wonder that he should now have undertaken to produce an edition of the text itself. In Germany, the present work will in all probability supersede the well-known editions of Peter (1877), Wolff (1890), and Andresen (3rd ed. 1891). Dr. John acknowledges his obligations to these and to some others among his predecessors; but it is significant of his conservative attitude—especially in view of the multiplication of editions within the last ten years¹—that he goes back for the basis of his text to Halm's last revision (1884) in the Teubner series.

The Introduction (pp. 1-61), which deals with everything except the Manuscripts, divides itself into three main chapters,—I. The Question of Authorship; II. Structure, *dramatis personae*, and Aim; and III. Literary Sources. The first section of ch. I. contains nothing new; it is merely a re-statement of the evidence (pp. 2-9)

¹ See an article entitled 'La critica del "dialogo degli oratori" nell' ultimo decennio,' by L. Valmaggi, in the *Rivista di Filologia* for April, 1899.

which has rendered it possible to fix approximately the date of the composition. The second section (pp. 9-36) is a very compact and serviceable compilation. In it the editor addresses himself to the style of the treatise, and seeks to show—without ignoring the recent views of Leo and Norden—how the progress of Tacitean criticism has entirely changed the situation, so that what was at first a stumbling-block has now come, on the theory of a 'genetic development,' to be regarded as the surest proof of genuineness. In the smallest possible compass, Dr. John sets forth the linguistic affinity which subsists between the *Dialogus* and the historical works of Tacitus in regard to phraseology, use of words, syntax, figures of speech etc., while specially emphasising the points of resemblance between the earlier style, as seen in the *Dialogus*, and that of his first historical treatises. The Second Chapter, dealing with the scheme and substance of the work, covers pp. 37-50, and contains matter which will be dealt with immediately below. For Chapter Third, on the models and sources, the editor expresses his great obligations to Hirzel and Gudeman.

For special treatment, the passage (pp. 39-42) may be singled out in which John goes over to the view of those (Heuman, Becker, Andresen, Habbe, and Gudeman) who postulate a second lacuna after the first sentence of ch. 40. The question thus raised may be made to serve as a useful exercise in literary criticism. What is certain is that there is already one lacuna at the end of ch. 35, where some part—probably a small one—of Messalla's speech

is lost, and that the speaker of at least the concluding chapter is Maternus. His last utterance was evidently intended to round off the treatise in the key-note of his first debate with Aper (chs. 11—13). In the part which is conceded to him by all critics alike (40, 8—41) he says that forensic oratory is the product of lawlessness and laxity, a depravation of the *eloquentia* of the golden age. Just as in the earlier debate he sought to prove the superiority of poetry as less restrained and more ideal, so in his concluding words Maternus refers to existing political conditions as having deprived oratory of its appropriate sphere and rendered superfluous the profession from which he had himself determined to turn aside in favour of poetry.

Why then should so many critics agree, by arbitrarily introducing a lacuna of which no MS. evidence exists, to break up a speech which would naturally have been taken as forming one continuous whole (chs. 36—41)? The reason alleged by all is that there are inconsistencies and repetitions in the passage extending from ch. 36 to ch. 40, 7 which make it impossible that it can belong to Maternus. Some argue also that room must be found for Secundus.

It must first be pointed out that, even on their own showing, the place of the supposed lacuna is very infelicitously chosen. The alleged want of sequence between the first two sentences of ch. 40 will not be apparent to ordinary readers. And if it is a question of repetition, the first sentence must be adjudged, equally with the rest, not to belong to Maternus: 'contiones assiduæ et datum ius potentissimum quemque vexandi atque ipsa inimicitiarum gloria' (40, 1) can no more be allowed to stand in the speech which begins at ch. 36 than the other undoubted parallelisms which occur immediately afterwards. For have we not already had, in so many words, 36, 10—13¹ 'hinc contiones magistratuum paene pernoctantium in rostris, hinc accusationes potentium rerum et adsignatae etiam domibus inimicitiae'? As a matter of fact, so far from a lacuna being rightly postulated at 40, 7 what follows in that chapter is an emphasized continuation of what precedes. The speaker has already made much of the point that though the conditions which previously existed produced great orators they were not in themselves desirable; and now in the sentence beginning *Non de otiosa*

40, 8, he proceeds, by way of anticipating what he sets forth as the conclusion of the whole matter (end of ch. 41) to emphasise the view that the acme of eloquence is invariably coincident with a time of civil and political disorder. Thus the reference to excessive freedom of speech and license of personal invective contained in 'ad incessandos principes viros' 40, 4 is immediately taken up and developed in 'effrenati populi incitamentum, sine obsequio.....in bene constitutis civitatibus non oritur,' 40, 10—14.

But why, even if this particular place is unfortunately chosen, should a second lacuna be postulated anywhere at all? As the treatment of this point is generally evaded by reviewers, a somewhat extended statement of it may here be in place. It is undoubted that there are repetitions in the speech contained in ch. 36—41, if we take it as a whole. The author is conscious of this himself: otherwise why would he, in enforcing his point that great eloquence is an inevitable accompaniment of disorder, have used such a phrase as 'ut subinde admoneo,' in a passage (37, 31) which is repeated and emphasised in 40 *ad fin.*? It might almost seem as if he had sought to anticipate latter-day criticism. Similarly the critics urge that the speaker of 36, 3 ('eadem ratio in nostra quoque civitate, etc'), cannot have repeated himself in 40, 19 ('nostra quoque civitas, etc.'). But on the supposition that the speaker is Maternus throughout, the explanation is easy. In the lacuna before the beginning of ch. 36, he had been discussing Greek oratory, and he goes on in the extant part of his speech, to say that at Rome, too, like conditions (*i.e.*, unrest and disorder) produced a like result. He wishes to emphasise the scope of republican oratory, but—being Maternus—he does not fail to throw in at the outset an anticipation of his final judgment in the words 'Nam etsi horum quoque temporum oratores ea consecuti sunt quæ composita et quieta et beata republica tribui fas erat,' 40, 5—6. In 40, 19, on the other hand ('nostra quoque civitas donec erravit . . . tulit sine dubio valentiorē eloquentiam') he is summing up and nearing his general conclusion, viz., that the acme of eloquence is not worth the cost of civil unrest. If we are to make repetition the standard here, it would be fully as reasonable to hold that, within the limits of the speech which all critics agree in assigning to one speaker (36—40, 7), the passage at 37, 19, beginning 'quæ mala sicut non accidere melius est'

¹ The references are to Halm's text (Teubner, 1889).

must be excised as a vain repetition of what we have already quoted from 36, 4.¹

Similarly there is no reason why 'erranti populo' 36, 9, and 'donec erravit, 40, 20, should not belong to the same speaker. In the former passage (as in 'ea consecuti sunt,' quoted in the note) Maternus is pronouncing an anticipatory and incidental judgment, which is repeated and enforced when in ch. 40, he passes from a consideration of the fact (viz., that eloquence is a concomitant of disorder), to his final summing up (viz., that great eloquence may cost a country too dear). This view will account also for such repetitions as 36, 7, 'illa perturbatione ac licentia . . . mixtis omnibus et moderatore uno carentibus,' and 40, 9, 'alumna licentiae,' 41, 12, 'minor oratorum honor obscuriorque gloria est inter bonos mores et in obsequium regentis paratos,' 41, 17, 'sapientissimus et unus.' Compare also 36, 28, 'cum parum esset in senatu breviter censere' with 41, 14, 'longis in senatu sententiis . . . multis apud populum contionibus'; 36, 15, 'exercebant tamen illorum temporum eloquentiam,' 38, 2, 'eloquentiam tamen illud forum magis exercebat,' and 40, 23, 'tulit sine dubio valentiorum eloquentiam;' also 36, 21, 'clientelis . . . provincias,' with 41, 4, 'clientelam . . . provinciam.'

In his effort to differentiate between the speaker of 36-40, 7, and the speaker of 40, 8-41, Dr. John is driven to emphasise even such minor points as 'facilius . . . existit' 37, 32, as compared with 'non oritur' 40, 12. But his main argument is that the first speaker is an orator who dwells sympathetically on the freedom of olden times (36 and 38), and is irritated over the degradation, partly self-caused, of modern rhetoric, and the unfruitfulness of any honest effort to raise it (39): whereas the speaker of the two concluding chapters is a poet who censures oratory as 'alumna licentiae' (40, 9), and as, like medicine, a necessary evil, (41, 9), and who is evidently of opinion that the existing limitations to the full scope of rhetoric are to be considered as inevitable and even desirable results of a monarchical constitution (41, 13, *sqq.*). The one, according to John, is the attitude of regret, the other of acquiescence. But it has already been shown that the

attitude of acquiescence is foreshadowed in the words which occur at the very beginning of the speech as we now have it: 'horum quoque temporum oratores ea consecuti sunt quae composita et quieta et beata republica tribui fas erat.' And it may be doubted whether any of the speakers, save the poet-pleader Maternus, could have risen to the height of the well-known sentence with which ch. 36 begins: 'Magna eloquentia, sicut flamma, materia alitur et motibus excitatur, et urendo clarescit.'² It is sufficient further to quote alongside of each other two substantially identical passages from different parts of the speech to show the impossibility of such a differentiation. These are 37, 29, 'non quia fuerit reipublicae malos ferre cives ut uberem ad dicendum materiam oratores haberent,' and 40, 25, 'sed nec tanti rei publicae Gracchorum eloquentia fuit ut pateretur et leges, nec bene famam eloquentiae Cicero tali exitu pensavit.'

It has been stated that the critics whose theories are under discussion cannot agree as to the speaker to whom they would attribute chs. 36-40, 7. Messalla is rightly set aside by Dr. John: if he had made so long a speech as this arrangement would assign to him, in spite of the fact that he has already finished, at the end of ch. 32, the subject with which he originally undertook to deal (16, 5), he would surely not have rejoined to Maternus, in the closing chapter, 'erant quibus contradicerem, erant de quibus plura dici vellem.' And Messalla is too much of the 'laudator temporis acti' to have been the speaker of 36-40, 7 where, as we have seen, the compensating advantages of a healthier political condition are admitted.

Dr. John's own view is that the first speaker is Secundus. The great resemblance between the two parts he explains by putting forward Secundus as a careful and cautious mediator whose sympathy with Maternus enables him to lead up to the latter's final utterance of conciliation. Secundus is a warm admirer of antiquity in literature and oratory, but he has no quarrel with the existing constitution, and is thus very near in tone to Maternus himself.

In support of this opinion it is urged that otherwise Secundus will make no figure in the treatise as we have it now, and that a speech from him is virtually promised, by

¹ Cp. these passages in detail: 36, 4, 'Nam etsi horum quoque temporum oratores ea consecuti sunt quae composita et quieta et beata re publica tribui fas erat, tamen illa perturbatione ac licentia plura sibi adsequi videbantur, &c. 37, 19, 'Quae mala sicut non accidere melius est isque optimus civitatis status habendus est in quo nihil tale patimur, ita cum acciderent ingentem eloquentiae materiam subministrabant.'

² The personality of Maternus may again, it seems to me, be detected in the phrase 'cum in plerisque iudiciis crederet populus Romanus sua interesse quid iudicaretur,' 39, 19.

Maternus, in 16, 8. But the passage referred to contains no definite undertaking by Secundus himself, though it is, of course, quite possible that some remarks of his have been lost in the undoubted lacuna which follows ch. 35. More conclusive against Secundus is the fact that his name is not mentioned in the closing chapter. If a speech from him had preceded the concluding utterance of Maternus, it would hardly have been ignored both by Messalla and by Maternus,—especially the latter, who says ‘*si qua tibi obscura in hoc meo sermone visa sunt*’ (42, 4).

In a critical appendix extending over barely four pages, John is able to set forth all that he considers necessary to justify the readings which he has embodied in his text. It has been said that his text is distinctly conservative: it is one of the ironies of philological criticism that an edition appearing at the end of a long series should have been so confidently based on the principle of a return to the tradition of the MSS. The following passages may be noted under this head: 5, 11 *et ego enim* with all codd., instead of *ego enim*, edd. following Pithou: *ib.* 24 *ferat* for *feras*: *ib.* 32 *qui accinctus* for *qua accinctus*: 6, 27 *quamquam alia diu* (rejecting all emendations): 10, 18 *ceteris aliarum* (rightly, in all probability): *ib.* 20 *natura tua* (omitting Halm’s *te*): 14, 14 *et sermo ipse*: 17, 19 *Britanniae*: 18, 18 *pro . . . magis*: *ib.* 20 *parum antiquus* for *parum Atticus* Ursinus and edd.: 21, 5 *probant*: *ib.* 23 *olentia*: 25, 28 *solitos et invidere et*: 36, 29 *nisi qui* (for *nisi quis* Lipsius and edd.): 37, 29 *fuit* for *fuert* Nissen and edd.: *ib.* 33 *exstitit* for *existit* Lipsius and edd.

Approval can be given to the following readings: 11, 9, where *in Nerone* is bracketed as a gloss: 13, 3, *ad praeturas et consulatus* (after Vahlen): 13, 24, the acceptance of Heller’s suggestion that the words *Quandoque enim*, etc., are a verse-quotation: 19, 3 *equidem Cassium*: 32, 2 *primum enim*: 33, 20, [*eloquentiae*]: 37, 19, *de expilatis*.

But the following seem to be open to criticism:—2, 16, *maiores quam*: 3, 21, *et Domitium* (a conjecture of the editor’s own, which seems to be no improvement on the traditional *ut Domitium*): 7, 10 *in alvo*: 10, 4 [*rarissimarum*]: 13, 14, *non praestant*, and *ib.* 15, *adligati tamen*: 13, 21, *palantem*: 17, 27, *Asinius . . . Corvinus* (with most edd.): 21, 6, *una aut altera*: *ib.* 11, *et verbis*: 22, 13, *ut nunc oportet* (after Vahlen): 25, 9, *quominus fatear*: *ib.* 13, *omnium tamen*: 27, 1, *Ala parce*: 32, 16, *ius civitatis*: 36, 26,

sibi illi persuaserant: 38, 5 *dicendo*: 39, 13, *importunus* (Weissenborn).

In conclusion, a word or two may be added by way of comment on the following places:—

1, 15 19, ‘*cum singuli diversas . . . causas adferrent . . . neque enim defuit qui diversam quoque partem*, etc.’ John’s explanation of this very difficult passage avoids the mistake of taking ‘*diversas*’ as = ‘*various*.’ On the other hand, he does not make it sufficiently clear that ‘*diversas causas*,’ so far from requiring the following ‘*neque enim defuit*’ clause to interpret it, must refer back to the opening sentence—‘*cur cum priora saecula*, etc.’ And no notice is taken of the alternative explanation that Aper is not included in ‘*singuli*,’ as not admitting any decline of oratory: this view might be shown to derive some support from ch. 16, where Aper is again put in a category by himself.

2, 16 ‘*quam*’ after ‘*maiores*’ ought to be unhesitatingly rejected. Aper’s detractors thought he owed more to ‘*ingenium*’ than to ‘*doctrina*’; the fact was that, while really learned, he affected to disparage learning because he thought that people would give him more credit for painstaking application if he seemed to make light of literary culture. At the same time it is possible that ‘*industriæ et laboris*’ before ‘*gloriam*’ may not belong to the original text.

3, 23, ‘*importasses et . . . aggregares*.’ The conjecture ‘*et*’ seems here to produce an inconcinnity: the impf. subj. could not have been used (co-ordinately with ‘*importasses*’) of works from which Maternus has now passed—going on to his ‘*Thyestes*.’ Perhaps after all ‘*aggregare*’ may be the true reading, forming an appositive infinitival clause: cp. Cic. Brut., § 74, ‘*ad id quod instituisti, oratorum genere distinguere aetatibus, . . . adcommodatam*.’

5, 12. A new conjecture is introduced here, *non licuit non patiur*, the pass. inf. *inveniri* being allowed to stand. It is difficult to follow the reasoning of those who take it as axiomatic that the *quatenus* clause must have contained a negative idea, and that Secundus has formally declined to act as arbiter.

6, 27. John’s conservative tendencies are well illustrated by his retention of the MS. reading *quamquam alia diu serantur*. In such passages, however, *alia* sometimes points to a various reading, and may have come in from the margin: and the conjecture *quamquam grata quae diu serantur* would have been worth mentioning.

7, 10. *si non in alio oritur*. It is depressing to see such a reading revived in what might have been a more or less final edition of the text of the Dialogue. It is certainly not helped out by the quotation from Cic. *Cluent.*, § 34. If the traditional *in animo* cannot stand, I should prefer *ultra*.

38, *ad fin.* That *maxima* (not *maxime*) *principis disciplina* is the true reading here,

is rightly insisted on in the interests of 'concinnity.' The use of *disciplina*, of the administrative faculty of the emperor, ought, however, to have been illustrated: *disciplinae Augusti* occurs, for instance, on altar-inscriptions under the Empire.

W. PETERSON.

McGill University,
Montreal.

GUDEMAN'S *DIALOGUS*.

TACITUS, *Dialogus de Oratoribus*, with Introduction and Notes, by ALFRED GUDEMAN, Professor of Classical Philology in the University of Pennsylvania, Boston, Allyn and Bacon, 1898. Pp. xxxiii. + 168.

THIS useful epitome of Dr. Gudeman's larger edition (1894) will do much to popularise the study of the Dialogue among English-speaking students. The compact and serviceable Introduction contains a statement of the various problems which confront the reader,—the grounds on which the editor adheres to the *lacuna* theory, dealt with in the preceding notice, being succinctly stated in the notes to pp. xxiv.—v. The rest of the volume consists of one quarter text and three quarters commentary.

As the main features of Dr. Gudeman's monumental work have been already discussed in the *C.R.* (August 1895) it may suffice to append here a few notes on special points. And first as to the constitution of the text. The editor declines (p. 166) to accept the results of the fresh investigation which has induced T. Avé-Lallemant (not Lallement) to give in his adherence to the eclectic procedure in deciding between the two families X and Y: here he comes into collision with John, who states in his preface that he cannot accept the arguments which would give an unqualified preference to one as against the other. On the other hand some recognition is now accorded (p. viii.) to the *Harleianus*, in spite of the treatment meted out to it in the larger work (p. cxxi, note). Obvious improvements in the text (duly noted in a critical appendix) are 2, 17 *maiozem* for *maiorem quam* of the larger edition: 4, 22 *colam* for *colam solam*: 5, 22 *praesidium* for *quae est praesidium*: 7, 10 *in animo* for *in alio*: 10,

18 *adepturus* for *adeptus*: 16, 23 *utrique* for *huic utrique*: 20, 2 *fere* for *omnia fere*: 20, 24 *invitatus* for *vitiatus*: 36, 22 *clarescit* for *calescit* (a conjecture which is now properly described as 'not absolutely necessary'): 36, 18 *quin* for *qui quin*. These changes are evidences of the care with which Dr. Gudeman has revised his former work, and also of his readiness to take account of the views of others. In 10, 28, however, he has been induced to reject the MS. reading *offendere* in favour of the unnecessary conjecture *offensae*: while readings which appear to be inferior are still retained in 11, 9 *in Neronem improbam*: 17, 18 *voletis* for *soletis*: 18, 22 *miratus* for *imitatus*: 25, 9 *si cominus fatetur*: 25, 28 *livore*: 29, 18 [*et sui alienique contemptus*]: 38, 29 *maxime* for *maxima*. Changes for the better, made in the text but not recorded with the care one would have expected in the critical appendix, are *venire plerumque* 6, 9 for *plerumque venire* of the larger edition: *ac mihi* 16, 28 for *et mihi*: *illa* 19, 22 for *ista* (and so again 20, 20 and 23, 4): *sic apud* 25, 22 for *sic et apud*: *oratores eiusdem aetatis* 22, 29 for *eiusdem aetatis oratores*,—a silent alteration which might have been worth recording, as the reading now rejected is one of those on which Dr. Gudeman relied for proving the superiority of Y over X. Misprints are rarely met with, but *utilitatum* may be noted p. 29, l. 2: *serviant* at foot of p. 70: *compositae* p. 148.

The commentary leaves very little to be desired, and it is no disparagement to its general excellence to point out that in 5, 20 *utilitatem* should go with *vitae*: that in 7, 3 *favorabili* is not so much 'favoured,' as 'recommending to favour' or 'influential': that the parallel passages quoted at 11, 9 in support of the impossible reading *in Neronem improbam* . . . *potentiam* are really irrele-

vant: that *quandoque . . . veniet* 13, 24 is now rightly accepted by other editors as a verse-quotation: and that 'we do not read of the delivery' is a very doubtful rendering of *ut neque . . . dictus legatur* in 38, 15.

A word of praise should be added for the way in which the publishers have done their

work: the book forms an admirable addition to the attractive series of Latin authors which is being issued by Messrs. Allyn and Bacon.

W. PETERSON.

McGill University, Montreal.

BOTSFORD'S HISTORY OF GREECE.

A History of Greece. By G. W. BOTSFORD, Ph.D., Instructor in the History of Greece and Rome in Harvard University. The Macmillan Company. 1899. Pp. 396. 6s. 6d.

THE history of Greece is a subject on which we want as many good books as possible, short as well as long, and Dr. Botsford has produced a valuable addition to the rather small stock of short histories in English. It does not supersede Oman's useful work, but supplements it. In the first place Dr. Botsford tells us that Oman's account of the Epic Age is antiquated, and in this matter and others he himself gives the more modern views and discoveries. "By the name 'Homer,'" he says, "we mean any one of the minstrels who helped to make either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*." The new material supplied by the *Ἀθ. πολιτεία* is utilised. (But the favourable view of the great Trimmer, Theramenes, is not adopted.) Aristides is a thorough democrat. Lykourgos is a god. And Tyrtaios has ceased to be a lame schoolmaster and an Athenian, though not transported into the fifth century, where Dr. Verrall would have him. But more important than any differences of detail is the difference from Oman's history in plan and aim. The new book is an outline, intended as an introduction to wider reading, and regarded in this light, it appears admirably adapted to rouse intelligent interest and also to supply a framework of knowledge. Details of campaigns, ins and outs of "interstate" politics, are designedly omitted. But the general march of events, the main directions of movement, are presented in a rational and interesting form; the most important points are as a rule marked with excellent precision; and an impression of the spacious spirit of the Greeks is conveyed within small compass. The progress and changes of philosophy, art, literature, and their close connection

with political change and progress, are outlined with especial care and skill. The individual figures of statesmen, generals, orators, to whom brief paragraphs are devoted, stand out really individual, and their several contributions to history or art are clearly indicated. The value of the work is enhanced by the illustrations, a large proportion of which are admirable. Kresilas' bust of Perikles, the metope from the Parthenon, the Euripides, and the view of Sparta may be mentioned as a few among many.

At the end of each chapter is a list of authorities ancient and modern, and at the end of the book a list of "studies," in which it is assumed that the student will work with Thucydides, Grote, Holm, Plutarch, about him. Thus we see that if we find but a meagre outline of the great tragedy of the Sicilian Expedition, it is because we are intended to read the tragedy itself in Thucydides. Again, Dr. Botsford makes large, sometimes perhaps excessive, allowance, for the prejudices of writers belonging to the "better class." Not only is Kleon represented as a highly respectable person, with "a remarkable talent for finance," but "there is no reason for doubting that" Hyperbolos "was a man of integrity and fair ability." But we must remember that this is to be diluted with large draughts of Thucydides and Aristophanes.

Once or twice we feel as if Dr. Botsford were writing about members of the Anglo-American race who had somehow become possessed of eccentric superstitions, as when Zaleukos is said to have "pretended to receive laws from Athena in dreams" (p. 32) or we are told that the "especial fault" of Pythagoras "was attaching to numbers a mystical power unknown to true science" (p. 95). But as a rule persons or states are not blamed for not being quite other than they were, but are discussed from the point of view of principles and aims possible

to them. It is even admitted that the Spartans were probably sincere in that scruple concerning the phases of the moon which kept them from Marathon.

The student of Dr. Botsford's history will not be troubled much with tribal names and migrations, and the Pelasgians are mentioned only once in a note. On the other hand he will learn how Thebes, Athens and Sparta owed their position as foremost powers to their success in welding comparatively large territories into single states. Especially the union of Attika and the union of Lakonia, and the difference between the two, are clearly characterised: "in the former the country had as many rights as the city, and was in fact taken into the city organisation; in the latter the country remained subject to the city" (p. 29). The account of the development of the Athenian constitution is particularly good. We observe that the Council of the Areopagites is regarded as the old council of kingly times; the Ephetai are apparently instituted by Drakon; the extension of the franchise to the heavy-armed is put before Drakon, as also the Council of 401, changed by Solon to a Council of 400.

The Dorian Migration is entirely rejected. The Dorians are said to have been in the Peloponnese "from the earliest times" (p. 28). But apart from tradition and from vexed questions of Mykenian civilisation, this leaves unexplained the existence of Doris and the close connexion of Sparta with the northward-looking Delphic Amphiktyony. The position of the Arcadians, too, relatively to Argos, Sparta and Messene is strongly suggestive of an earlier population thrust back into the mountains.

Occasionally Dr. Botsford seems to represent as suddenly created an institution which we know to belong to wide tracts of time and space. For instance, when he says that "Nausithoüs grouped kindred families into a brotherhood (phratry); several of these brotherhoods into a tribe . . ." (p. 21). The idea formed by the student will probably be that these groups were an arrangement brought in by Nausithoüs and other founders of cities. This doubtless is not what the author means; but the natural tendency is to regard such phenomena as isolated and sudden if the opposite view is not emphasised, and though artificial tribes and phratries may often have been formed, this is not so important as the existence of the ancient kinship groups, which were imitated in the artificial product. Again, it is said that about 280 B.C. "some

Achaean cities, too, began to form a league modelled apparently after that of Aetolia." Would it not be more correct to say that the ancient Achaian League was revived and remodelled? The old tendency to federation, seen especially in the more backward states, at last in this period came to its full birth. Connected with this tendency is the somewhat vague sense of unity, becoming a reality only in time of pressing danger, which appears in Thessaly recurrently, and appears also in the relation between Athens and Sparta in the period between 500 and 462 B.C. Dr. Botsford has recourse to the view that the Athenians entered the Peloponnesian League (p. 86 and elsewhere), though he grants them an exceptional position. But the other explanation seems better to fit the facts. The recognition by Athens of Sparta's leadership occurs only in connection with the Persian danger (first in 491, when the Aiginetans have given earth and water to Dareios) and the language addressed by Athens to Sparta points to nothing less than all Hellas as the ideal whole of which Sparta is considered the head, e.g., Herod., 6, 49: *κατηγόρεον Αἰγινήτων τὰ πεποιήκοιεν προδόντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα* and ch. 106.

The scholarly accuracy of the book is as remarkable as its liveliness. Of misprints and small mistakes I have detected none, except in the maps. "Helicon," in the map on p. 179, must, I think, have taken the place of "Hymettos." Anthely (p. 128), Cynassea (p. 236), Camarinia (p. 243), and a good many more names need correction. With regard to the spelling of Greek names in the text I cannot resist a protest. An occasional "K" and "ai" has found its way into the maps, otherwise the spelling is Latin, except in two points: "ei" is usually kept (but "Pisistratus"), and Gelon, Hieron, Theron are allowed their final "n" (the Athenian legislator, however, is "Draco"). Even "dikasterion" is disguised as "dicasterium" (p. 173), though "nomos" on the next page is not transformed into "nomus." No doubt almost any way of spelling Greek names is a compromise, and it must be so until we can write "Thoukydides" without being pedants (even then such words as "Korinth" and "Korinthian" may present difficulties) or till—but the other alternative is, I hope, impossible. By the present time, however, we have moved further than this on the path of advance. Dr. Botsford certainly does not get his Greek history through Latin. Why try to make it look as if he did? And he does not even avoid compromise, since

"Laureium" and "Hieron" are not Latin. "Laureium" is neither Greek nor Latin. The history is so good and so Greek that it

ought to be relieved of names that are Latin or not even Latin.

M. ALFORD.

P. RIBBECK'S *SENATORES ROMANI*.

Senatores Romani qui fuerint Idibus Martiis
A.U.C. 710. By P. RIBBECK. Pp. 97.
(Berlin, 1899). 2 m.

IN his book entitled *Le Sénat de la République Romaine*, Willems reconstructed, so far as it was possible to do so, the lists of Roman senators for the years 179 B.C. and 55 B.C. The author of this 'dissertatio inauguralis' has, by continuing the investigations of Willems, performed a laborious and useful service. But where his work and that of Willems run parallel to one another, his information is less full, and his plan in some respects is less convenient. In the case, for instance, of the *consulares*, only the dates of quaestorship and consulship are usually given, though the former of the two dates is very often conjectural, and is inferred from the definitely recorded date of some higher office. As a result of this plan, the passages quoted from ancient authors in reference to the quaestorship have often only an indirect application to that magistracy, and it is necessary to verify the passages in order to ascertain whether their application is direct or indirect. The dissertation is somewhat disfigured by misprints; no uncommon thing in these 'dissertationes inaugurales,' whose authors have for the most part had little experience in correcting for the Press. More serious are the inaccuracies in the matter, not often important in themselves, but numerous enough to diminish the usefulness of the work. The senator who is No. 40 on the author's list is A. Manlius A. f. A. n. Torquatus, praetor in 52, well known as one of the interlocutors in Cicero's *De Finibus*. A reference is given

to No. 66 in Willems' list for the year 55; but the senator who figures there is the father of this Torquatus. Of No. 52 the author writes: 'M. Acilius [M. f.] Caninus, Caninis (*sic*) vel Caninianus appellatus Caes. b.c. III., 39, 1 in melioribus codicibus.' One would expect from this to find in the codices the name written as M. Acilius Caninius or Caninianus, whereas the *praenomen* and *nomen* are absent. In dealing with P. Cornelius P. f. Scipio Pomponianus Salvitto (No. 78) the author gives reasons for holding that the Scipio who adopted him was descended from the elder Africanus, rather than from his brother Asiagenus, as Mommsen supposed. Not one of the reasons is sound. (1) Plutarch Caes. 52 says this man was οἰκίας τῆς Ἀφρικάνων. The language is vague, which would hardly have been the case had Plutarch supposed him to be the representative, in the direct line, of the great Africani; nor would Dio and Suetonius have refrained from indicating his lineage, had they known of it. Plutarch might well speak of a descendant of the brother of Africanus the elder, as belonging to the family of the Africani. (2) It is urged that Plin. 38, 5 dedecore (so the author wishes to read, not *dedecori*) inrepentes Scipionum nomini, supports the view taken. But when the context of these words is examined, it is seen that the passage tells the other way, and loses its meaning if the adopted father of Salvitto was descended from Africanus. (3) The fact that Salvitto was consul in 38 seems to be regarded as bearing somehow on the point in dispute, which it cannot in reality affect.

J. S. R.

THE NEW EDITION OF PAULY'S ENCYCLOPAEDIA.

Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, neue Bearbeitung, herausgegeben von G. Wissowa (Metzler, Stuttgart, 1899). Volume III, Part ii, 1567 columns (*Campanus ager* to *Claudius*), 15 Mk.

THIS is the sixth of the twenty half-volumes in which it is proposed to complete the new edition of 'Pauly.' It begins with a short article on *Campanus ager*, and closes with no less than 238 columns on *Claudius*, including articles on as many as 451 members of the Claudian gens, the foremost among them being the Decemvir of 450 B.C.; the Censor of 312 B.C.; Marcellus, the conqueror of Syracuse, and his name-sake the son-in-law of Augustus; and, in imperial times, Drusus and Britannicus, and the Emperors Claudius and Tacitus. Of these last two the former fills 61 columns, while 91 are elsewhere assigned to the 93 members of the gens Cassia, and 38 to the gens Ceionia, the latter including the Emperor L. Aurelius Verus. The main bulk of the present volume is concerned with Rome rather than with Greece. It is only among words beginning with CH that Greek names preponderate. This part of the volume includes articles on *Chrysippos*, on the *Charites* (17 columns), and *Chor* (29 columns), as well as full accounts of *Chios*, *Chalkis*, and *Chalkidike*, and the Tauric and Thracian *Chersonesus*. In the latter we find mention of the speech of Demosthenes on Halonnesus, whereas the extant speech bearing that name is now with practical unanimity assigned to Hegesippus, although Demosthenes is known to have taken part in the debate. In the same column (2249) the interposition of a comma has severed the white cliff of *Leuke Akte* into two parts. Under *Charmides* a single line might have been added mentioning the father of Pheidias, who bore that name. For many other Greek names, commonly entered under their Latin equivalents, we have to wait until we reach the letter K; and, while *Carthago nova* is here found, Carthage itself is reserved for *Karthago*, and for Catullus we shall have to wait for some years, until we arrive at his gentile name, *Valerius*.

Among the most interesting articles are those on *Cusia*, *Ceder*, *Charta*, *Citrone*, and *Citrus*. Of the mythological articles the longest is that on *Ceres*, by the editor himself. There is also an important group on *Censor*, *Census*, *Centumviri*, and *Centuria*. Roman Law is well represented under *Causa*, *Cautio*, *Cedere actione*, *Cessio bonorum*, *Cessio in iure*, and in the article on the jurist of the second century A.D., *Cervidius Scaevola*. Although the work takes the whole range of 'classical antiquity' for its province, it is by no means limited to articles on classical subjects; it includes articles on the *Muratorian Canon* and the *Chronicon Paschale*, and on *Cancelarius* and *Canabae*, the latter being a word for 'huts' or 'barracks' hardly found except in late inscriptions. Among topographical articles are those on the recently excavated Roman station of *Carnuntum* on the Danube, a few miles below Vienna. That on *Cemenelum* oddly describes the modern Cimiez, the most conspicuous suburb of Nice, with its three vast hotels of even more than European reputation, as *ein unscheinbares Dorf*. Among articles concerned with Roman Britain may be mentioned those on *Caratacus*, *Carausius*, *Cassivelaunus*, and *Catuvellauni*. *Cantium Promontorium*, defined as the most easterly point of Britain, is strangely described as now bearing the name of *Cap Paperness*, whereas it is commonly called the 'North Foreland,' north of which are 'Foreness' and 'Whiteness,' while *Paperness* is unknown, and is probably a corruption of *Cap Foreness*.

The illustrations include a plan of the *Capitolium* and the *Circus Maximus*, and maps of the *Furculae Cardinae*, *Chalcis*, *Chaonia*, and the town of *Chios*. The articles on *Chiton* (25 columns), *Chlaina*, and *Chlamys* (7 each) would have been the better for a few illustrations. Indeed, throughout the work illustrations are very scantily supplied. In all other respects it is an admirable work of reference, which may be recommended with confidence as a practically indispensable part of every scholar's library.

J. E. SANDYS.

BLAYDES' *ADVERSARIA ON ARISTOPHANES*.

Adversaria Critica in Aristophanem scripsit
F. H. M. BLAYDES. Halis Saxonum, 1899.
Pp. 128. 3 Marks.

IN this small volume of *Adversaria*—dedicated in affectionate terms to Mr. W. J. M. Starkie—Mr. Blaydes provides a supplement to his complete edition. Many of his former judgments are here revised and there is an abundance of new suggestions. The book contains also a selection of emendations proposed by foreign scholars (chiefly Herwerden and other Dutch critics) during the past few years. We could have wished that Mr. Blaydes had found it possible to give us an exhaustive record rather than a mere selection of such emendations. As the report on Aristophanes in *Bursian's Jahresbericht* is now some years overdue any summary that would lighten the labour of researching in foreign periodicals would be welcome.

Occasionally some of Mr. Blaydes' proposals are to be resisted: e.g. *Aves*. 121 *φράσαις ἂν* for *φράσαις* where the passage is

clearly not paratragedic; *Nub.* 442 *ἐξελκοῦσιν* where the existence of the parallel phrase *ὀρχίπεδ' ἔλκειν* makes the vulgate *ἐξέλκουσιν* beyond all question.

None of the suggestions recorded on *Pav.* 536 *προβατίων βληχωμένων*, | *κόλπον γυναικῶν διατρεχουσῶν* seem convincing. Is it too bold to suggest *βολίτου* for *κόλπου*? The 'dung hill' seems well in keeping with a farmyard scene and the two words are hardly distinguishable in a handwriting such as that of the Venetus. In *Eccl.* 1037 *Ν. ποῖ τοῦτον ἔλκεις*; *Γ. τὸν ἐμαντῆς εἰσάγω* is the reading of all codd. *τὸν ἐμὸν αὐτῆς* (due to the suggestion of a friend) seems to me a neater correction and more probable than *εἰς ἐμαντῆς*—'It is my own lover that I am dragging off, not yours.' The construction is found in *Plutus* 33.

It is impossible to criticise a book such as this in detail. All who admire the editor's larger work will read his 'secundae curae' with interest.

F. W. HALL.

St. John's College, Oxford.

CAPPELLI'S *DICTIONARY OF LATIN ABBREVIATIONS*.

Dizionario di Abbreviature Latine ed Italiane usate nelle carte e codici specialmente nel Medio Evo, per cura di ADRIANO CAPPELLI (Hoepli, Milan), 1899. Pp. lxii., 435. Lire 7.50.

THIS Dictionary of Abbreviations, we are told, has been compiled with the view of assisting in particular students of charters and MSS. written in Italy, as well as general students of palaeography. It is prefaced by a sketch of the system of contraction and abbreviation developed and followed in the Middle Ages: a useful introduction, although in some respects too much refined and with too much prominence given to exceptional varieties of forms. The dictionary is also supplemented with lists of special and technical abbreviations, some of them, however, somewhat superfluous in a handy book of a rather elementary character. The most useful is that of Epigraphical Abbreviations.

To turn to the main part of the volume, the Dictionary of Abbreviations itself, the compiler has more or less followed the

methods of two previous works, viz. the *Lexicon Diplomaticum* published by J. L. Walther as long ago as 1745, and that very useful little compilation, the *Dictionnaire des Abréviations* of L. A. Chassant. But in both those books there is a radical defect which Signor Cappelli has unfortunately repeated. Walther's system is to give the abbreviated word in a so-called facsimile reproduction from the original MS., accompanied with a solution in ordinary type of the actual letters expressed in the abbreviated word, a full extension of the word, and the date of the MS. Chassant is content with giving the abbreviated words in a uniform style, supposed to represent writing of the 13th century, with an extension in ordinary type. Signor Cappelli has here followed Walther's more elaborate method, and has expended enormous labour, to no useful purpose as we venture to think. For it seems to us to be an absolute misconception of the object in view to attempt to give facsimile reproductions in a work which professes not to teach palaeography but simply to

supply a key to the reading of abbreviations. The simpler the form of this key, the better for the mastery of the subject. The beginner requires above all to be instructed in the principles governing the system of contractions and abbreviations, and in the history of their development. Equipped with this knowledge, he will soon recognize the different forms, whatever may be the period of the MS. on which he is engaged at the moment. To present him with so-called facsimile examples (which in fact are no facsimiles in the true sense, being drawn as they are by hand), is only to worry him with a series of irritating puzzles. For the more advanced student such facsimiles are absolutely useless.

Undoubtedly the most practical method

to follow in such a compilation is that adopted by Mr. Trice Martin in his 'Record Interpreter,' in which ordinary type and the special fount of conventional signs used in printing the Public Records publications are employed. The beginner is not harassed by having first to puzzle out the letters of a facsimile, but has his mind entirely free to find the solution of the abbreviation.

At the same time, in spite of the defects we have noticed, Signor Cappelli's Dictionary may be recommended for its handiness and for the copiousness of the several lists of abbreviations contained in the volume.

E. MAUNDE THOMPSON.

CRONIN'S *CODEx PURPUREUS*.

Codex Purpureus Petropolitanus (N), edited by H. S. CRONIN, M.A. (Cambridge Texts and Studies, v. 4). Pp. lxiv., 108. 1899. 5s. net. C. J. Clay.

CODEx N of the Gospels is a magnificent sixth century manuscript written in silver letters upon purple vellum. Until quite recently only 45 leaves of it were known to exist, and of these 33 are at Patmos, the remainder being distributed among the great libraries at the Vatican, Vienna, and the British Museum. But a purple codex, being a very precious treasure, would naturally be preserved with greater care than an ordinary manuscript; and scholars had been alive to the possibility of some fresh leaves of Codex N being discovered. Dr. Hort expressed his confident belief, ten years ago, that they would be found in the neighbourhood of Ephesus; and it is remarkable how nearly his prediction (for which he gave no reasons) has been verified. The existence of a valuable Gospel MS. in Asia Minor has been talked about at Constantinople since the year 1883; and, after much negotiation, all doubts as to its character were set at rest by its purchase at Sarumsahly in Cappadocia for the Emperor of Russia in 1896. The MS. now rests in the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg, it having been previously ascertained that its 182 leaves form a large instalment of the missing portion of Codex N.

Mr. Cronin has transcribed the entire MS.

with minute care, and has furnished in his *Introduction* an interesting account of the various mischances and dismemberments which have befallen it during the 1,300 years which have passed since it was written. It is sufficient to note here that we have now 227 leaves out of 466 which the MS. must have contained in its original state. Mr. Cronin has deemed it unnecessary to give us a facsimile of the MS., inasmuch as one may be seen in the reproduction of the Vienna Genesis. Nevertheless we are sorry that a photograph has not been provided, for the reproduction to which he refers us is not in every one's possession, and the facsimile in Scrivener's *Introduction* is very poor.

Two other purple codices, the Codex Rossanensis (Σ) and the Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae (Φ) have been discovered and edited in recent years, and they both present many interesting resemblances to N, not only in the splendour of their writing, but in the character of the text which they preserve. Indeed N and Σ are so like that Mr. Cronin believes them to be copied from the same exemplar, and (very probably) at Constantinople. He prints the variants of Σ (wherever they are known) at the foot of the text of N; from which arrangement it can be seen at a glance how trifling is the variation of the one from the other. In the 91 leaves which are common to both, there are only 93 differences of text. Thus it is a peculiarly fortunate circumstance that the

leaves of N containing St. Luke and St. John have been preserved, for these Gospels are not extant in Σ, which only contains in its present state St. Matthew and St. Mark. The combined use of N and Σ enables us to determine, with a high degree of probability, what the reading of the exemplar was for almost any passage in the Gospels.

The character of the text of NΣ is, as a general rule, that of the later Greek uncials. It is 'Antiochian' or 'Syrian' in the nomenclature of Westcott and Hort, NΣ thus being the oldest Greek manuscript authorities for the so-called 'textus receptus.' The great interest of the text they present lies, however, in the fact that there are traces here and there that they have been derived from an exemplar which did *not* contain the smooth and polished and full Syrian readings, which afterwards established themselves well nigh all over the Christian world. Thus N omits the verses about the Bloody Sweat (Luke xxii, 43, 44); the verse δύο ἔσονται ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ. ὁ εἰς παραληφθήσεται, καὶ ὁ ἕτερος ἀφεθήσεται (Luke xvii, 36); the word δεῦτε in Luke xx, 14; and reads πάσης for τῆς in Luke xii, 15, and ἡχους for ἡχούσης in Luke xxi, 25. So again in St. John's Gospel, not only has the *Pericope de adultera* (vii, 53—viii, 11) no place in N, but the newly recovered portions of the MS. give us the readings Βηθανίᾳ in i, 28, and

Ἐβραϊστί in xx, 16, while they omit πατρός in v, 30 and ἐκεῖνο εἰς ὃ ἐνέβησαν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ in vi, 22. The truth is that the chief importance of N, now that we have got it carefully edited, does not consist so much in the support which it gives to this or that reading, but in the light which it throws on the gradual formation of the 'Antiochian' text. We have, in fact, before us in N a good illustration, as Mr. Cronin says, of the resistance of the ancient text to change and of one of the ways in which that resistance was overcome and the better readings removed from circulation.

Mr. Cronin has given in an Appendix a collation of the text of St. Mark in the St. Petersburg MS. which Tischendorf quoted as 2^{pe}, and which is numbered 565 by Gregory. It is a ninth or tenth century cursive, of which the texts of St. Matthew, St. Luke and St. John are of the ordinary type, having been carefully corrected so as to correspond with the text then current. But the text of St. Mark has been left untouched, and preserves many old readings. J. Belsheim published a collation of this in 1885, but that most industrious scholar's work is not always to be trusted without revision for minute details; and Mr. Cronin has done good service in going over it, and mending it where necessary.

J. H. BERNARD.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

ANTIQUITIES OF HIERAPOLIS
(HUMANN, CICHORIUS, JUDEICH,
WINTER).

Altertümer von Hierapolis, herausgegeben von CARL HUMANN, CONRAD CICHORIUS, WALTER JUDEICH, FRANZ WINTER. Berlin, Reimer, 1898 (Ergänzungsheft IV des Jahrbuchs des Kais. deutsch. arch. Instituts): pp. 202, price 24 marks.

IN June—July, 1887, the late Dr. Carl Humann, with Drs. Cichorius, Judeich and Winter, spent fourteen days at Hierapolis in Phrygia, studying the ruins, with the aid of engineering skill and machinery, copying the inscriptions, making plans and photographs. As they united their work in the preliminary stages, so they combined their literary effort. The result is the volume

before us, which appeared in the spring of 1898.

The book is appropriately dedicated to the memory of Carl Humann, whose services to the exploration of Asia Minor have been so great.

The volume contains 180 pages of text, and 20 of *indices*. There is a plan of the city, on a scale inconveniently small, in a plate at the end: and a number of photographs and slight sketches of sculptural fragments and plans of buildings are reproduced by an inexpensive process in the text. For this small and plain volume the charge is 24s. The price is excessive, and one feels inclined to repeat and confirm the strong complaints which M. S. Reinach has often made about the expensive character of recent books on Classical Archaeology. That subject is becoming a matter for the rich.

In the chapter on Hierapolis in *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, I expressed the confident anticipation that much would be learned from the explorations of Dr. Humann and his colleagues; and in view of this publication I did not attempt to treat Hierapolis exhaustively, but merely skimmed the surface and quoted very few of the inscriptions. The anticipation of a rich harvest has been realised up to a certain point: the number of inscriptions of Hierapolis has been raised to 363, of which the overwhelming majority have been found or recopied by one or other of the authors of this volume.

No city in Phrygia has been studied so carefully and scientifically and thoroughly. Considering how little has been done in Phrygia, and how its archaeological wealth has been neglected, one must be thankful that one of its cities has been carefully examined; yet one might have hoped that nearly eleven years of combined work on the part of such distinguished scholars would have produced greater results.

The scantiness and the disappointing nature of the results of so much skilled work are due partly to the inadequacy of the material. But there are not many ancient cities for whose history more material is available; and I cannot but suspect that want of sympathy has as much to do with the somewhat meagre outcome as want of material. The able and learned authors have their thoughts and minds directed to more purely Greek subjects and Greek cities. They often seem to regard with some contempt this humble Phrygian city; and, perhaps, have felt their work a toil and a weariness. They have not dwelt with real interest on the problem which such a city as Hierapolis presents, viz., the evolution of Graeco-Roman social forms in an Asian and Phrygian (originally Lydian) people. Their time and care have been given to more important work.

At the same time, it is unnecessary to say that the book is learned and full of instruction; and perhaps I am unreasonable in wishing for more, and in suspecting that it is rather lack of love and sympathy than elaborate study that has caused the long delay in the appearance of this report of the results of the work of 1887. Personally I am indebted to the authors for many corrections and improvements in knowledge of Phrygia.

In the following notes, as it is necessary to select from the mass of material a very few points, I speak chiefly of the inscriptions

which are edited by Dr. Judeich. It is easier to find isolated points, suitable for this short notice, in the inscriptions.

Both Dr. Judeich and Dr. Cichorius are convinced that the population of Hierapolis was divided into *phylai*, because the epithets occur *Μαιωνίδος*, *Μαμωλῆδος*,¹ *Μοταλίδος*. They assume that these indicate *phylai*, whereas I have argued that in Hierapolis the city classification was not according to *phylai* (which were more a Greek idea), but there were in the town various trade-guilds and in the state (in its larger sense) a number of villages. This argument seems confirmed by Mr. Anderson's discoveries (reported in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* vol. 1897, p. 411 f.) and by these inscriptions. Under these epithets, quoted above, we must find names of *κῶμαι* of Hierapolis, not of *φυλαί*. Anyone who reads Mr. Anderson's discoveries and his exposition of them will certainly come to this conclusion. But Judeich is right in condemning my view that *Motalis* is a personal (feminine) name.² He agrees with my view that it is derived from the village name *Motella* (now *Medele*), which makes it all the more strange that he should declare it to be a *phyle*.

The inscriptions are mostly published only in transcription, without epigraphic copies, and with only the scantiest statement as to the forms of letters, commonly with no such statement at all. The arrangement of the lines, the length of the gaps, and many other details necessary for a real critical study of the inscriptions, remain unknown and unknowable, until epigraphic copies are published. This is a most serious defect in such a work, planned on such an elaborate scale. In my *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* where economy of space and cost was a necessity, this method of publishing had to be followed and pardoned; but in the *Altertümer von Hierapolis*, it is not easy to resign one-self to such an unsatisfactory procedure. There are many of the inscriptions, whose text seems to me far from correct; but the conditions for criticism often are wanting. Where an inscription is given on the authority of a predecessor, I have observed some cases where his copy is not correctly stated.

Dr. Judeich dates No. 22 in the fifth or

¹ Misprinted by Cichorius on p. 33: see pp. 97, 101. Judeich accents *Μαμωλῆδος*, taking it as for *Μαμωλίδος*.

² I took it as meaning 'woman of *Motala* or *Motella*,' used as a personal name (like *Lydia*, &c.). For a good example of an ethnic turned into a proper name see *Μαγυδ[ιος]* or *Μαγυδ[εως]* in a Termessian inscription B.C.H. 1899, p. 174, no. 21.

sixth century. It is later than the time when Hierapolis was made an archbishopric, which was done later than 531 by Justinian as we may say with considerable confidence. In this text, line 6, the obvious restoration, ἐκα[ρπο]φόρησ[ε τὸ] κτίσμα, is missed.

The problems presented by the remarkable inscriptions No. 31¹ and 43 deserve much more thorough discussion than they have received. I am not convinced that there was a *consularis* governor of a united province of Caria and Phrygia a full century before the time of Constantine, as is deduced from No. 43. The distinction between the ταμείον of Asia and that of Phrygia in No. 31 is noteworthy. We may connect it with the facts that a *Procurator Phrygiae* existed in the second century, and a κοινὸν Φρυγίας already in the first century, and that there never was a temple of the Κοινὸν Ἀσίας in Apameia. I do not believe that Judeich (approved by Cichorius p. 32) is right in taking ταμείον here as the *fiscus*; the confirmatory example which they quote is ἱερώτατον ταμείον, where the adjective makes all the difference. Ταμείον in no. 31 is the treasury of the *Koinon* of Asia. The subject is touched on in the chapter on Apameia in *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*: and is too wide for this place.

In No. 78 I think Hogarth's copy ΣΕΡΒΗΝΙΟΥ is probably right, and Dr. Judeich's ΣΕΙΚΗΝΙΟΥ less accurate than the rest of his copy. Similarly in several other cases Hogarth seems to me right; but on the whole Judeich's text presents a marked improvement.

In No. 336 the unexplained ΣΕΚΟΥΝΔΑΡΟΥΔΟΥ has recently been explained by Dr. Wolters as a formation from the gladiatorial designation *secunda rudis*.

In No. 118 Κρατίστος is printed as a proper name. It is an adjective, 'best of Archiereis.' As usual, man and wife are Highpriest and Highpriestess in the (Imperial) cultus.

Is No. 65 Christian, with the name Πείρις, i.e. Πίρις?

It seems to result from the references to the Guild of the Porphyrabaphoi that they were a Jewish guild, as were perhaps one or two others. There was evidently a considerable Jewish population in Hierapolis. I have tried to show that the Jews in Phrygia melted into the Christians, that their customs and inscriptions are difficult to keep separate, and that the Pauline

scheme of harmonizing Jews and Christians was comparatively successful in Phrygia. Dr. Judeich seems to me to miss all the light thrown on Hierapolis by these Jewish inscriptions, when he maintains that the Porphyrabaphoi were an ordinary pagan Guild. It seems irreconcilable with all we know of Jews that they would join, or bequeath money to a pagan Guild, with all the religious ceremonies and associations indissolubly connected with those Guilds: the bequests are to be used in ceremonies, undoubtedly of religious character, in memory of the deceased (in No. 342 on Pentecost and Passover), and no theory is reasonable which makes a Jew leave such a bequest to a purely pagan Guild. Dr. Ziebarth, *Vereinswesen* p. 129, rightly declares that the Porphyrabaphoi must be a Jewish Guild. But this is a big subject, on which much has yet to be said, and (it may be added) some important corrections and developments to be made in my published theory on the subject.

Inscription No. 23 is a remarkable one. It is a long dedicatory inscription, repeated from *C.I.G.* No. 8767; and the appended note informs us that it is wrongly given here, and is not taken account of in the *Indices*, but that it has been often wrongly assigned to Hierapolis. M. Cumont, and the collections for the *Vienna Corpus Inscriptionum As. Min.* are mentioned as having made this error. But why does Dr. Judeich give the text of this Peloponnesian inscription at all;² and especially why does he assign to it a separate number, making it a unit to swell the stately total of the 363 inscriptions of Hierapolis? Why not dismiss it in a note? or why not place it in the short final set of 'Inscriptions whose Hierapolitan origin is doubtful or impossible,' which are given in an *Anhang*? Can it be that Dr. Judeich himself made the same error as M. Cumont and the rest, and did not discover his error until it was too late, when the paging was completed, and the inscription could no longer be cut out and relegated to the *Anhang*?

In reading over the published inscriptions of Hierapolis for my account of the city, I discovered the error made by M. Cumont, and took some care to warn future epigraphists (*Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* ii. p. 552), knowing how much influence his

² The inscription belongs to Laconia, and an awkward arrangement in the *Corpus* has led hasty readers to connect it with the wrong number and so class it to Hierapolis.

¹ Wrongly referred to as No. 30 on p. 32.
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valuable lists were sure to exercise. I even assigned a special paragraph and number 417 to this warning. Reading Dr. Judeich's No. 22, I had some hope for the moment that it might have been due to this warning that he was saved from the error, for he had my second volume before him in preparing his commentary;¹ but this hope was disappointed; for he would have acknowledged the service, if he had owed it to me. He does not even mention that I have been right in this detail: he says that many of his predecessors have erred, but does not add that anyone has been right; and leaves the unwary reader to gather that I was not correct, and am to be included in his sweeping 'vielfach.' It is to be presumed that he did not read my paragraph 417; for I did not quote the Greek, and some of my German critics seem to tire of reading my purely English paragraphs (in which I sympathise with them). Yet in his preceding No. 22 he takes considerable notice of my succeeding paragraph 418, and in his succeeding No. 24 he quotes my paragraph 419. But he takes no notice of my paragraphs 415, 416, which do not quote Greek texts, but merely comment in English on texts elsewhere published; and evidently my humble attempts in 415-417 to elucidate various points and help those scholars that succeed me have escaped his attention.

Dr. Judeich has not observed that Inscription no. 2 in the *Anhang*, p. 179, after M. Perrot, is published in my *Cities and Bishoprics* I. p. 352, with a different (and I venture to think) better restoration.

The most useful conclusion to this review will be to add some remarks on a point which is obscure and controverted, and on which Dr. Judeich has changed his mind while printing the book; in his Commentary he interprets on one theory the inscriptions concerned, and abandons this in a footnote on p. 187, leaving to the reader the task of correcting the commentary. He apparently changed his opinion while indexing the names in No. 291 (which is a specially clear and emphatic case); and, from his note recording his change of opinion it might be gathered that change would be needed only in No. 291. But the case is not so simple: change is needed in the text and the commentary on many other of his inscriptions, as will be shown in several examples. I

¹ It evidently reached him after his commentary was in great part written, but in time to be taken notice of in several cases, and sometimes at considerable length (p. 75).

shall also mention a few cases, either specially clear (to establish the rule), or specially difficult (to prove its importance), taken from a wider range of epigraphy.

The point turns on the meaning of Greek formulas of filiation. It is now at last universally admitted that the formulas

Τάρασις β' πρεσβύτερος,
Τάρασις δις πρεσβύτερος,

do not mean 'Tarasis, twice presbyter,' but 'Tarasis twice, presbyter'; and that the expression is abbreviated from

Τάρασις Ταράσιος πρεσβύτερος.

In other words δις is to be taken along with the preceding name.

Further, it is pretty certain (though some still ignore or even deny) that

Τάρασις νέωτερος
Τάρασις νέος

are practically equivalent to the three variants just quoted. All five imply, 'Tarasis, son of Tarasis.'

We may add a third point—which has not been much observed, though I have elsewhere given examples of it and will add some in the following remarks—that sometimes two of these equivalent formulae are incorrectly joined pleonastically, so that

Τάρασις β' νεώτερος

means only 'Tarasis, son of Tarasis.'

But now we approach the real crux: what is the meaning of

Μένανδρος β' τοῦ Ἀρχατείου
Μένανδρος δις τοῦ Ἀρχατείου.

It seems clear that the meaning of the first two words remains as in the previously discussed formulae, that δις is to be connected with the preceding name, and that the whole expression means

Μένανδρος Μενάνδρον τοῦ Ἀρχατείου.

Dr. Judeich, while compiling his *Indices*, has come to the same conclusion; but, as he says, *die herrschende Meinung* (which he followed in his commentary) is that these formulae mean

Μένανδρος Ἀρχατείου τοῦ Ἀρχατείου.

That may be the ruling opinion in Germany; but it is not the common opinion elsewhere. I cannot at the moment quote an example from Waddington; but my memory tells me that he regularly follows the opposite principle (which may be seen in all my work on epigraphy from the beginning). I have, however, noticed several examples of the false principle in German writers recently, and one at least in a French writer.

Dr. E. Hula in the *Erano Vindobonensis*, p. 100 f., partly takes the right view, interpreting

Πτολεμαῖος β' τοῦ Λευκίου

as meaning 'Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy and grandson of Lucius'; but partly he goes wrong, taking the article τοῦ as attached to Λευκίου, saying that the article is thus commonly attached to the name of a grandfather or remote ancestor, but is not often used with the father's name. But, surely, here τοῦ is attached to Πτολεμαίου (understood from β') and implies υἱοῦ, so that the sense is

Πτολεμαῖος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ (υἱοῦ) Λευκίου,

i.e., 'Ptolemy, (son) of Ptolemy, the (son) of Lucius.' The practice in epigraphy seems to have been to say Πτολεμαῖος Λευκίου, never Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λευκίου, but generally Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λευκίου (at least in Asia Minor inscriptions).

It is not to be supposed that anyone will doubt that the grammatically true interpretation is as we have stated, and that *die herrschende Meinung* is wrong in point of Greek construction and grammar. But it may be said quite plausibly that there are some serious faults in the Greek spoken in inner Asia Minor, and that the Phrygians, Lydians, etc., used the longer formulae in a false grammatical construction. It must be admitted that there are some difficult and delicate cases; but we can quote several cases, where the proper grammatical construction is obligatory, while I know none where the solecistic construction must be adopted.

As an example take first No. 291 in Dr. Judeich's inscriptions: ὁ πάππος μου Κάσμος Κάσμου τοῦ Διοδώρου καὶ ἡ μήτηρ μου Ἀμμία Κάσμου β' τοῦ Διοδώρου. Here, clearly, Ammia is daughter of Κάσμος β' τοῦ Διοδώρου, and her father is also called Κάσμος Κάσμου τοῦ Δ. Dr. Judeich, in commenting on it, drew up and printed a

genealogical *stemma* according to the *herrschende Meinung*, but on p. 187 warns the reader against that view and asks him to correct the *stemma*.

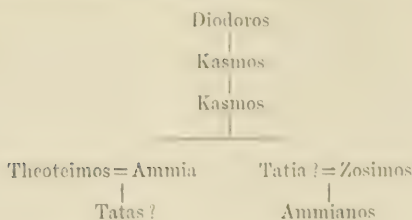
In the beginning of that same No. 291 Judeich restores a phrase [ὁ] βωμὸς [β'] τοῦ Θεοτίμου, i.e. 'the altar (i.e. sepulchral monument, regarded as a place of worship) belongs to (Theotimos) son of Theotimos.' The restoration is certainly false. I have never seen any such formula. One can understand why Judeich might suggest it in his commentary, when he was still under the '*herrschende Meinung*' that δὲς or β' must always be connected with the following personal name; but it is hardly conceivable that he should still cling to it after recognizing on p. 187 that δὲς is regularly connected with the preceding personal name. Yet so it is: he maintains that impossible restoration and interpretation, and founds on it (as sole example) the rule '*die Stellung des Zahladverbs bei allein-stehenden Mannesnamen wechselt.*' The symbol which he restores as B is shown in Dr. Winter's copy as Γ (like a *gamma* with the horizontal bar separated from the vertical); and, if it is rightly copied, it is not consistent with the restoration [B]. But what is it? That cannot be certainly stated; but the probability is that we have here an error of the engraver (who has also omitted PA in ἀντίγραφον, and added a false symbol after B in line 2). The engraver, perhaps, had to write a short genitive ending with IOY or TOY and followed by the article TOY, and he omitted the greater part of the first name: possibly he should have written ΓΑΙΟΥΤΟΥ or ΤΑΤΟΥΤΟΥ or ΠΙΟΥΤΟΥ, and he wrote only ΓΤΟΥ.

Further, the probability is that two daughters of Kasmos with their husbands are mentioned: Dr. Judeich restores the same feminine name in both cases, and says that this woman married two brothers.

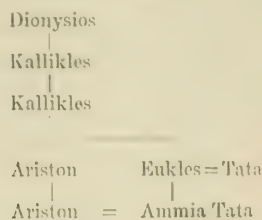
The inscription then should perhaps read: (291) [ὁ] βωμὸς [Τ(άτον)] τοῦ Θεοτίμου, ἐν ᾗ κεκήδεται ὁ πάππος μου Κάσμος Κάσμου τοῦ Διοδώρου καὶ ἡ μήτηρ μου Ἀμμία Κάσμου β' τοῦ Διοδώρου. ταύτης τῆς ἐπ. α. α. ε. τ. α. (292)¹ [Ἀμ]μιανοῦ τοῦ Ζωσίμου ἐν ᾗ κεκήδεται ὁ πάππος μου Κάσμος [Κάσμου] τοῦ Διοδώρου [καὶ] ἡ μήτηρ [μου Τατ]ία Κάσμου β' τοῦ Διοδώρου. ταύτης τῆς ἐκ. α. α. ε. τ. α.

¹ No. 292 follows 291 immediately, on the same stone and the same side of it.

Two names *Tatas* and *Tatia* are restored *exempli gratia*. The stemma is



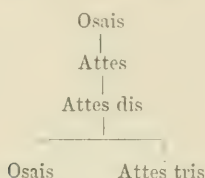
this is contrary to the usual rule); but I was wrong. The stemma is



In *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, I have followed the rule of connecting *δῖς*, *τρίς*, with the preceding name. In the genealogies which can be gathered from the Ormelian inscriptions¹ many instances proving the right principle occur: e.g. we find²

Ἀττῆς δῖς τοῦ Ὁσαεῖ
Ὁσαῖς Ἀττῆδος δῖς τοῦ Ὁσαεῖ
Ἀττῆς τρίς τοῦ Ὁσαεῖ.

Here *Attes* the elder evidently had two sons, *Osais* and *Attes*; and the stemma must be



In one case, on p. 333, I have 'raised the question,' whether *δῖς* should not be connected with the following name (saying that

Ἀπολλωνίου (δῖς) τοῦ
Μενάνδρου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ΣΕΚΟΥΝΔΑΡΟΥΔΟΥ

implying that *ΒΤΟΥ* occurred in the epigraphic text at the end of line 1; but there appear no letters after *Ἀπολλωνίου* in line 1 in the copy of *C.I.G.* which I have consulted, and the order and spaces show that there could not possibly be any letters lost at the end of that line or the beginning of the second line. The evidence is clear that the name must be read *Ἀπολλωνίου Μενάνδρου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου*, to which we should add *Σεκουνδαρούδου*,³ as an epithet of the younger Apollonius (placed, according to the common custom, after his father's and grandfather's name). Later in the inscription the son of

Eukles is mentioned with his wife *Tata* in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1898, p. 92.

Again in No. 274 the dominion of the *herrschende Meinung* has led Dr. Judeich astray. He reads *Αὐρ. Ἀμμειανοῦ β' Τεχνεῖ- του*, and censures M. Waddington for reading *τεχνεῖτου*. Obviously, his reason is the fixed belief that *δῖς* must refer to the following name; but when he has cleared his mind of that prejudice he should follow Waddington and translate 'Aur. Ammianos, son of Ammianos, artisan.'

No. 336 is taken from the very bad copy given in *C.I.G.* No. 3916: unfortunately the German explorers of 1887 did not find it; nor have I seen it. The epigraphic text is not repeated by Dr. Judeich, but a few specimens of it are given in the critical notes. It is therefore specially important here to mark all restorations distinctly. Yet at the end of line 1 Dr. Judeich adds two important words, without brackets, giving the reader to understand that there are symbols corresponding to them in the epigraphic text. His text is printed thus:—

this Apollonius is mentioned. The copy is very bad there, but it should probably be read *Ἀ[π]ολλωνίου [β']*⁴ *Ἀ[π]ολλωνίου*⁵ τοῦ *Μενάνδρου*: the engraver has used *β'* and then unnecessarily repeated the name of the father; but examples of this are not infrequent.

In Prof. Sterrett's *Epigraphic Journey* No. 53 C 1, 2, the name occurs *Μῆνις τρίς Μῆνιδος Νεκάδου*. Here probably we should not understand that the name was used in four successive generations, but only in

⁴ The copy has P, an obvious mistake for B.

⁵ There is a fault in Dr. Judeich's report of the epigraphic text of this name: he omits N. After the name the copyist inserts E by another mistake: the copy is full of mistakes, and some passages are hopeless. Dr. Judeich takes E as wrongly copied for B, and therefore forces *ΒΤΟΥ* into line 1, where there is no space for it.

¹ Specimens are given on p. 315; but I had prepared many more, which would have taken up too much space.

² See Sterrett, *Epigr. Journey*, No. 53, c 5, 34, 37.

³ On this epithet see an earlier paragraph.

three, the genitive Μήνιδος being unnecessary: render 'Menis, son of Menis, the son of Menis, the son of Neikadas.'

Now take some more difficult cases. In No. 40 we have a certain board of magistrates τῶν περὶ Μαρ. Αἵρ. Ἀπολλώνιον δις Πυλῶνα¹ [κὲ] Μαρ. Αἵρ. Ἀμμιανὸν Ἀμμιανοῦ δις τοῦ Γλύκωνος. Here it is certain that we cannot understand Ἀμμιανὸν Ἀμμιανοῦ (Ἀμμιανοῦ) τοῦ Γλύκωνος. Are we then to follow the *herrschende Meinung*, and understand Ἀμ. Ἀμμιανοῦ (Γλύκωνος) τοῦ Γλύκωνος? I think not: this is one of many cases in which a double formula is used pleonastically, and δῖς is simply otiose and unnecessary. Translate 'M. Aur. Ammianus, son of Ammianus, the (son) of Glykon.'

With M. Αἵρ. Ἀπολλώνιον δις Πυλῶνα compare Le Bas-Wadd. No. 649 and 656, Φλ. Αἵρ. Ἡφαιστίωνα δις Παπιανόν.² In each case the name of the son agreed with the name of the father in everything except the last *cognomen*, by a common custom. In view of the customs followed in the personal names of the period, it would be absurd to say that the father of Flavius Aurelius Hephæstion Papianos was called Papianos but had different *praenomen* and *nomen* and first *cognomen*; yet so the *herrschende Meinung* asserts.

In this connexion it may be added that the restoration of an inscription of Attaleia in Lydia, given by MM. Radet and Lechat in *B.C.H.* 1887, p. 400, should be altered in one slight detail: read ἐπὶ στρατηγῷ Ἀρτέμωνο[s] β' τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τὸ β' (not Ἀρτέμωνο[s] τὸ β', etc., as restored in *B.C.H.*), i.e. 'when Artemon, son of Artemon the son of Apollonius, was strategos for the second time.' The expression τὸ β' is never used in formulae of filiation, but only in making the statement of a repeated magistracy (Latin *iterum*). It may be added that the word εὐφημία, at the end of the following inscription on p. 401, is explained by Dr. Wilhelm in *A. E. Mitth. Oest.* 1897, p. 62 (though he does not mention this case).

While I have ventured to give here a few of the corrections that occurred to me in reading over the inscriptions, let me acknowledge thankfully the great amount of trouble and skill expended by Dr. Judeich on the

inscriptions. I fear only that he felt the task an ungrateful and irksome and thankless one; and that this feeling in his mind has sometimes caused him to weary of the task, and thus to fail occasionally in reaching the high standard of excellence which his other work has taught us to expect from him.

W. M. RAMSAY.

TAYLOR'S HISTORY OF THE ALPHABET.

The History of the Alphabet: An account of the Origin and Development of Letters. By ISAAC TAYLOR, M.A., Litt.D., Hon. LL.D., Canon of York. New edition. Edward Arnold, London.

WHEN the first edition of this attractive work appeared, in 1883, its merits and its defects were sufficiently dwelt upon by the various reviewers. It was recognised as one of that class of works which cannot adequately be undertaken by any single scholar or specialist. While the author was not denied a liberal measure of praise for his ambitious attempt to bring under a comprehensive view the history of all the alphabets under the sun, including certain species of written character, such as Chinese and the Cypriote syllabary, which cannot strictly be called alphabets at all; yet the criticism passed on the detailed accounts of individual alphabets was severe.

Most of the work lies beyond the scope of the *Classical Review*; we propose, therefore, not to venture beyond the consideration of the alphabets represented by the Classical languages. How far the treatment which these alphabets receive is an indication of the quality of work in the rest of the treatise is a question which must be left now, as in the case of the first edition, to the specialists.

Now, as regards the first edition, complaint was made that, while the author in treating of the Greek alphabet, had referred to, and used the original *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum* of Boeckh, there was no indication that he had used or knew the existence of the *Inscriptiones Graecae antiquissimae* of Roehl, which had been published at least a year before the appearance of *The Alphabet*. In consideration of the enormous number of authorities to be consulted up to the last moment in a work of this kind, the author is entitled to every indulgence for his first edition, especially if

¹ Judeich reads Πυλῶνα, while he was under the *herrschende Meinung* that δις must refer to the following name (which in that case must be in the genitive here): I read an accusative like Wadd. 656 (quoted in next paragraph).

² Παπιανόν 656, Παπιανόν 649: one or other is an error: Π and ΙΤ are easily confused.

his pages were already in the hands of the printer. We turn then with all the more curiosity and expectation to this 'second edition,' published some fifteen years after the first. Will it be believed that in the section dealing with the Greek alphabet, not one single alteration has been made? Not one single recent work has been quoted, the edition of Kirchhoff's *Studien* referred to is still the third, though the fourth appeared as long ago as 1887, and there is not even an allusion to the most archaic of archaic Greek writing, the older inscriptions of Crete discovered many years ago. If we turn to the historical account of the Latin alphabet, we find that in the first edition there was no hint of the existence of retrograde, or right-to-left, and boustrophedon writing, though the Duenos-inscription was brought to light in 1880. Nor does this new edition contain any allusion to discoveries, vital to the accurate history of the Latin alphabets, which have been familiar to scholars for many years. The revelation of this singular lack of enterprise prompts to a rough and ready mechanical examination of the whole work. A comparison of the new with the old edition shows that, with a few insignificant exceptions, the new edition is a word for word and page for page reprint of the old. Even the index at the end of Volume ii retains the paging of the original, an interposed page of notes being, for purposes of pagination, ignored. The amount of new or altered matter is as follows: in Volume i (1) a short preface in which the author congratulates himself, perhaps too confidently, that several novel theories advanced in the first edition, such as those relating to the origin of the Glagolitic alphabet and the Runes have, to judge from the approval or silent acquiescence of experts, stood the test of criticism; (2) a page at the end of the volume containing a few corrective notes. In Volume ii, we observe on p. 190 the cancelling of a somewhat hasty derivation; on p. 332 and p. 346 a reference is added; pp. 347-349 (on the vernacular alphabets of India) are remodelled, and before the Index is inserted a page of notes.

The first edition would seem to have been stereotyped—a fatal error in a work claiming to be scientific and dealing with departments of literature in which almost daily discoveries were being made and are likely to be made. We cannot but conjecture that the author who had spent years of patient research in elaborating his first edition must have been hurried by his publishers into the

issue of a second edition, which in fairness to the possessors of the old edition ought to have been described as a reprint; and that he was throughout 'cribb'd, cabin'd and confin'd' by the exigencies of type already too unalterably set up. To the general reader who desires only a convenient and delightful introduction to a study, in which so far as it gives a bird's-eye view Dr. Taylor still holds the field, this new edition will present all the charm of the first. But to the scholar who might have expected to find in it the résumé of the latest that has been said and discovered in his own department, the work is a grievous disappointment. If Dr. Taylor could prevail upon his publishers to consider even now the possibility of a third edition, and would associate with himself in the work a company of younger specialists who would be responsible for bringing the historical matter up to the present standard of knowledge, he would confer upon scholars an obligation not inferior to that which they already gratefully acknowledge.

E. S. ROBERTS.

THE 'BRIDGE' AT ARICIA.

Juv. iv. 117.

caecus adulator dirusque a ponte satelles
dignus Aricinos qui mendicaret ad axes.

Readers of this Review may remember an attempt to identify Juvenal's *pons* with a 'causeway' on the Via Appia, near Aricia (vii. 400; viii. 16). Mr. Owen has since reexamined this work, and I have lately examined and measured it with Mr. T. Ashby. We had at first wished to write a joint article on the subject, but we found it would be clearer to put them in two consecutive notes. I begin, therefore, with a statement of facts and my deductions, and Mr. Owen follows with his deductions. Canina's plans, to which I shall refer, are in *Mon. Ined.* ii. (1837), xxxix.; *Annali* ix. (1837) and *Edifici* vi. (1856) lxxv. Canina apparently excavated on the spot in 1835 on behalf of Lord Stanhope and the Institute.

The situation is as follows. The Appian Way, on its course southwards, descends from the heights of Albano and skirts the eastern edge of the little plain—once a lake—called Vallericcia: here it traverses the area of Roman Aricia, of which the ruins are clear. Leaving that town by its

southern gate, part of which still stands, the road mounts the opposite slope, climbing along the hillside in a great curve, as a modern railway might climb. Immediately after the commencement of the ascent, on a gradient of 1:25 or 1:30 is the 'causeway.' Here, for 666 feet (as we measured) the outer side of the road, that is, the side away from the hill, is supported by massive *opus quadratum*, which is in places 25 feet in height. Canina says that at one point it is 40 feet high, but we noted nothing beyond 25 feet. On the inner side of the road there is at present a cultivated field, nearly level with the roadway, but this has been artificially levelled, as a glance at it shows, and there are signs that part of the 'causeway' once had its inner face banked with masonry like the outer face. Canina indicates this, probably as a result of his excavations and evidence can still be detected. The visible, outer face of *opus quadratum* is pierced by four arched apertures placed at irregular intervals and passing right under the road. Two of these are about 15 feet wide at the base and equally high: the third is a drain, 3 feet wide and 4 high, and Canina mentions a second drain, noticed by Mr. Owen. Now, one of the larger apertures is 29 feet long and has at its inner end traces of facing stones, though it is now banked up with earth and stones. That is, the causeway here originally stood free, and the same was likely enough the case at the other larger aperture, which we could not examine properly. Both apertures are apparently paved: that is, they are apertures in the 'causeway' and not spans across a space of ground. One of the drains we traversed to its end, but could not decide whether it originally opened into the air like the large aperture, or (as I think) drained the land-springs in the hillside on to the fields below, as it does at present. Neither of the drains, however, has any bearing on the present question of the interpretation of Juvenal, and for our purposes they may be disregarded.

The meaning of the whole is not hard to conjecture. The 'causeway' carried the road up broken ground: parts of it were walled only on one side and otherwise rested on the hill, while at two points it stood free and two arched apertures let through the surface water. At these two points the 'causeway' was 29 feet wide. The roadway on the top is consistently 15 feet wide, the usual measure of the paving along the Appian Way. The two apertures do not constitute bridges: they are too small for

that, especially when viewed in relation to the size of the whole work, and are simply openings in an embankment at irregular intervals. It would be more correct not to speak of a 'causeway' but of an embankment on a gradient. The whole is good work, but in no way surpasses some other stone embankments on the Via Appia, and it is misleading to call it magnificent or celebrated or anything extraordinary.

I am inclined, therefore, to conclude that the 'causeway' cannot be Juvenal's *pons* (1) because two smallish apertures, placed irregularly in a large and long wall of masonry, do not constitute a 'bridge' in an ordinary way, and (2) because the whole thing is not distinctive enough to be thus mentioned casually and without explanation. If the great Papal Viaduct up above the site of the 'causeway' had been in question, that might unquestionably have been called *Pons*. You can see that for miles, and when you drive over it, you know you are on a magnificent bridge. But if you drove up the 'causeway,' you would never even guess you crossed an aperture of any sort, not even a *ponticulus*. Besides, the passage translates quite well without this theory. A *ponte* can be taken like *pastor ab Amphryso* and the rest of such expressions — 'hailing from a bridge' that is, a beggar, or like (*servus*) a *rationibus*, a *libellis* and the rest. The context suggests the latter. This point, however, is not material to the interpretation of *pons*, for it is obvious that whatever difficulties of Latinity beset the rendering 'from a bridge,' beset equally the rendering 'from The Bridge.'

F. HAVERFIELD.

The meaning 'hailing from a bridge,' elsewhere expressed by Juvenal by *de ponte* (14, 134) can hardly be elicited from a *ponte*, in the absence of exact parallel. The expressions *pastor ab Amphryso* &c., which I quoted *C. R.* vii. 401, are from other authors, and rather different: while the analogies produced by Mayor, a *theatro*, a *manu*, &c. are misleading, for these phrases all denote an office or dignity, and though a beggar has his beat, that beat cannot be regarded as an office or a dignity. Therefore as no other explanation seems satisfactory, I still hold that a *ponte* refers to the stone-faced causeway along which the Appia passes as it proceeds to climb the hill towards Genzano. The level of the ground has risen, as is usual,

since ancient times. That it has greatly risen is attested by the fact that the arch of the southern gate of Aricia is now deeply embedded in earth. I have little doubt that the part of the causeway where the arches are, stood clear on both sides in Roman times: the valley on the eastern side has filled up since. There are two large arches on the causeway in the middle, and a small one beyond each, at the northern and southern extremities. The fourth arch, the small one nearest the town, is much overgrown and banked up with earth, but was clearly visible when I saw it to my great joy in April, 1898. The causeway in question then contains four arches: such a structure I still consider might be described by Juvenal as a *pons*. Indeed how else could a poet describe it? The correct architectural word is *substructio* (Frontinus, *De aquaed.* i. p. 227; Keuchen, 'substructionibus aut opere arcuato.'). But against such an unmetrical word, Juvenal might well have exclaimed

lex pedis officio fortunaque nominis obstat,
quaque meos adeas, est via nulla, modos.

He would then be driven to use the word *pons*. This word, connected by Vaníček (Etymologisches Wörterbuch, p. 152) with *πάτος* a track, *πατέω* I tread, means a thing one goes over: cp. *perpetuus* = going on, *compitum* = a going together. *Pons* then signifies a means of going from one side to the other. The Arician *pons* fulfils this requirement; it goes from the town to the hill. Though the sense of *pons* is generally restricted so as to mean a bridge going over water, the word is also used in the sense of a causeway across a morass. Hirtius, *B. G.* 8, 14, *pontibus palude constratis legiones traducit*. Tac. *A.* 1, 61, § 2: 63 § 5. The *pons longus* of Colonia (Catull. 17) appears to have been a kind of causeway across a marsh. Statius *Silv.* 4, 3, 125 (speaking of Domitian's road near Cumae) uses the word of a causeway *ueniet fauente caelo | qui foedum nemus et putres harenas | celsis pontibus et uia leuabit*. I think then that *pons* in Juvenal refers to the structure in question. The poet says that Catullus the courtier, whose place is in the Alban Palace of Domitian on the hill above, ought, if he got his deserts, to join the brotherhood of beggars, and beg on the causeway in the valley below the palace.

G. OWEN.

WARDE FOWLER'S *ROMAN FESTIVALS*.

The Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic, by W. WARDE FOWLER. 8vo., 373 pp. Macmillan.

THE years 1899–1900 bid fair to be as notable for contributions to the study of Roman religion as were the years 1883–1885, when Jordan revised Preller's *Römische Mythologie* (finished in 1883), Roscher founded his memorable *Lexikon* (1884), and Wissowa revised the *Sacral-alterthümer* in Marquardt's *Handbuch* (1885). The present work opened the year 1899, it has already been followed by Emil Aust's *Religion der Römer* (Münster i. W. Aschendorff), and we may expect Georg Wissowa's book on Roman religion for Iwan Mueller's *Handbuch* before many months.

A study of Roman religion based on the calendar is no new idea which needs an introduction; it is as old as the Augustan age when a scholar and a poet both wrote on this plan. For the Romans it was the most natural and convenient method, but from our standpoint it is neither natural nor convenient and has, especially in an introductory text-book, serious disadvantages, caused principally by the necessary scattering and consequent separation of kindred topics. The author frankly acknowledges this (p. 19) and strives to reduce the evil to a minimum by adding a concluding chapter of a general character and good indices. The evil is there, however, and yet if we examine the book closely, I think we shall acquiesce in his choice, for there is a supreme advantage gained by following the calendar. It lies in the fact that in a book of small compass, we can thus best fulfil the first demand of real scholarship, the preservation of a sharp line of demarcation between *fact* and *theory*. The student may need to read a book thus planned more often and more slowly, but eventually he will have a hold on the subject greater than would ever be possible from the perusal of a merely ideological presentation.

Any attempt to criticise a book containing such a mass of small points as the one in hand, must meet detail by detail, and one of the strong points of the 'Roman Festivals' is that like any well written book in a field as disputed as Roman religion, by its very lucidity and thoroughness it arouses a spirit of antagonism, and in many cases provides the weapons with which to fight. This is, undoubtedly, part of the author's

purpose, as it ought to be of everyone who realises the eternally unfinished state of our knowledge concerning the religious beliefs of the Romans. Before descending to minor criticism which, to be profitable, must be mainly adverse, it is fair to examine the general purpose and spirit of the book, which merit very high praise. In his preface the author tells us of years of labour intermittently applied to his subject, and we are more than ready to believe him, for his work bears every mark of having slowly ripened into its final form and of not having been 'forced' for the market by a kind of literary 'hot-house culture' so common in these days. There is no haste and no superficiality about it. This is attested among other things by his command of the literature of the subject. It is a real pleasure to see the faithful work, notably of German scholarship, published unobtrusively in *Programme*, *Indices Lectionum*, and inaugural theses, brought into its merited place and used to the full. The older works, those for example, of Merkel and Lobeck, are often referred to, as well as the latest contributions to the subject, *e.g.*, by Wissowa, Roscher, Aust, Peter, De Marchi. I shall take occasion below to mention one or two omissions. In his use of this vast mass of literature the author has employed a method which is abundantly deserving of imitation. He has not contented himself with mere dead citations, but has enlivened and enriched his quotations by giving the gist of the matter in a sentence or two, following this in many cases, in a foot note, by a criticism not only of the particular work, but of the author as well. As these criticisms seem to me, in the main, just, they cannot fail to profit the beginner, by putting him on his guard and giving him what our German friends call a '*genaue Orientierung*.' For the advanced student they lend a very decided piquancy to the flavour of the book, for they are never lacking in boldness, though they are always kindly. The quotations, as far as I have tested them, are accurate; there is, however, a rather too free use of the formula '*op. cit.*' a practice as inconvenient for the reader as it is convenient for the author. As the book is intended for reference quite as much as for consecutive reading, it is extremely awkward to have to look back through footnotes, *e.g.*, on p. 90, note 4, where the reader has to go back two pages to find what 'Hugh Macmillan, *op. cit.*, p. 121,' means. The articles in Roscher's *Lexikon* are usually cited with the author's name; they ought

always to be, in a work where the quality of the contributors varies as much as it does there. On p. 333 I am delighted to find a favourite treatise of mine (L. Krahner's *Grundlinien zur Geschichte des Verfalls der römischen Staatsreligion* Halle 1837), highly recommended, but as neither the place of publication, nor the German title is given, it is to be feared that the reader who hears of it for the first time, will have some difficulty in getting hold of it—a footnote would have saved trouble. But this is a great exception, and a very pardonable one, in a book offering so many chances for such slips, of which so few actually occur. It is to be regretted that the author did not add one more rubric to his admirable indices, and give us a collected bibliography—after the fashion of E. A. Gardner's in his *Greek Sculpture*, another book of the same series—a mere catalogue of the books he has incidentally cited would make a very complete list of the most valuable works on the subject. In that case an extended system of abbreviations might have been employed, similar in plan to the small one printed on the page back of the table of contents, with a decided gain in clearness and space.

Judged by 'the company he keeps,' the author seems to stand where three ways meet—he is in full sympathy with the patient *Detailforschung* of the Germans, inclined to supplement this by a judicious use of the masses of material, without form and void, which the folk-lorists have heaped together, and disposed to keep on a broad gauge by the use of books dealing with other fields of religious history, *e.g.*, Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites*. This is a combination as desirable as it is rare. He never manifests impatience with the most minute points, for example, the discussions regarding the *dies natalicius* of an obscure temple, and on the other hand, he seldom lets the glittering hypothesis of the folk-lorists carry him off his feet. There is undoubtedly much to be said for the use of folk-lore in interpreting Roman religion, as enabling us to pass from the cult-practices about which we are often informed to the underlying motives of which we usually know nothing, yet possibly the reader may feel the need of an *ἀποτροπαιον* against the 'Corn-spirit' in the book (*cf.*, index s. v. *Corn-spirit*), though a foot-note on p. 118 shows the author is on his guard. In two places only do we find traces of Spenserian Euhemerism (in the treatment of *Favrus*, p. 258, seq., and that of *Carmenta*, p. 292); in both of these cases his *pietas* in following

an old teacher makes us ready to forgive, though I doubt if the arguments adduced will prevail to convince us that the *Fauni* and the *Carmentes* were apotheosized recollections, the first of 'wild men from the hills,' the second of 'wise women whose skill and spells assisted the operation of birth.' At least one difficulty is that the plurality of *Fauni* and *Carmentes* seems to belong to a comparatively recent epoch, whereas the earliest cult knew only of *Faunus* and *Carmenta* or *Carmentis*. In the latter case, two attributes of the birth-goddess originally expressed in a pair of cult-titles *Porrima*, *Postvorta*, (cf. *Patulcius-Clusivius*, *Panda-Cela*, and the other instances collected in my pamphlet *De deorum Romanorum cognominibus*, *Quaestiones selectae*, Leipsic, Teubner, 1898), afterwards attained to an individuality separate from *Carmenta* and from each other. Yet as the author himself says (p. 265), 'on such questions certainty is impossible, and dogmatism entirely out of place.' The one road which the author avoids, and by his avoidance, will, I venture to say, win the approval of all sober scholars, is that of etymology (cf. p. 35, 258, and esp. 163 ff.). The inability of etymology as employed in the study of religion, to carry a man anywhere except into the ditch, does not need much demonstration since Usener's *Götternamen* showed what havoc it could wreak, even in the hands of a scholar who, in point of brilliancy and learning, has few peers.

I turn now to certain details. P. 37 ff. In connection with the discussion of Mars, the conservatism displayed in regard to Roman mythology is very refreshing, but on the question whether Mars had to do originally with *vegetation*, the last word has not yet been said. P. 53 note 2. The quotation from Varro Sat. Men. fr. 506 *te Anna ac Peranna* which is supposed to offer 'some ground for believing that the two words implied two deities on occasion or originally' seems to me to indicate the opposite. Were not *Anna* and *Perenna* or *Peranna* simply two cult-titles, embracing from two sides the functions of a goddess, whose name is to us unknown, *Anna* as the goddess of the year at its beginning, *Perenna* as the goddess of the year at its end? P. 55. In support of the thesis that *Liber*, the god of fertility in general, was originally *Juppiter Liber*, possibly a reference might be given to the other epithets of *Juppiter*, which indicate his relationship to fertility, though to be sure they seem all of them comparatively young, i.e. *J. Almus* (Augustin, *de civ. dei* vii. 11)

J. Frugifer (C.I.L. xii. 336 and Apul. *de mundo* 37.) *J. Maius* (Macr. Sat. i. 12, 17). P. 56. Of a goddess *Pubertas* I have been able to find no trace. Is this not a misstatement for *Juventas* (cf. note 4 on the same page). P. 68. The absence of *Venus Verticordia* from the *Fasti Praenestini* and its presence in *Lydus* may possibly be accounted for by the fact that *Lydus*'s statement goes back directly or indirectly to *Verrius Flaccus*'s *Commentarii de feriis* of which the *Fasti Praenestini* was merely an abbreviation. *Fortuna Virilis* the more important goddess is alone met in the *Fasti*, while the *Commentarii*, being fuller, added the less important *Venus Verticordia*. P. 80. The suggestion *Pales (urbana) = Palatua* is ingenious, but I doubt if it will gain much of a following. P. 89 note 5 add *Prell.* Rob. i. 260, 4. The same page (n. 2) contains a very valuable definition of *indigitatio*. P. 100. On the *Lares Praestites*, *Wissowa's Analecta Romana Topographica* (p. 18, 19) Halle 1897 should have been used. *Wissowa* shows that this day (May 1st) was the original dedication day of the *Aedes Larum in summa Sacra Via*, which was restored by *Augustus* and rededicated on June 27 (cf. *Ovid F.* vi. 791). The *Lares Praestites* are merely dragged in here by *Ovid* in order to tell the *aitov*. P. 121, 2. Is *Mercurius* anything else but the Roman equivalent for (Ἑρμῆς) ἐμπολαῖος? P. 124. In as much as *Fortuna Primigenia* does not seem to have had the cult-title of *Publica*, it seems preferable to me to consider the *Fasti Venusini* in error at this date. The correct dedication day of the temple of *Fortuna Primigenia* was probably Nov. 13 (cf. *Fasti Arv.*), a date especially appropriate, being the *ides*, a day sacred to *Jupiter* whose daughter this very *Fortuna Primigenia* was (cf. my *Cognomina* p. 53 s.v. *Primigenia* and *Publica*) P. 130 n. 4. For the derivations of *Moneta*, *Jordan Top.* 2, 109 might be added. I doubt whether *Livius Andronicus*'s translation Μνημοσύνη = *Moneta* gives us much more help than his other famous parallel Μοῖρα = *Morta*, P. 131. On *Janus* and *Cardea* might be compared *Wissowa Philol. Abhandl. M. Hertz dargebracht* p. 165. Since the publication of the 'Festivals' we have *Aust*'s articles in *Pauly-Wissowa* s.v. *Cardea* and *Carna*. P. 142, 2. The scepticism in regard to the age of the term *Juno = Genius muliebris* is well in place. P. 156. On the veiled statue in the temple of *Fortuna in foro Boario* compare *Wissowa Anal. Rom. Top.* p. 8, 9. P. 160 n. 4. If, as the author

asserts, the *Jovis signum*, of Livy's epit. 14, is a confusion with a statue of *Summanus*, he has no authority for the statement that the foundation of the temple of the latter 'was the result of the destruction by lightning, no doubt at night, of a figure of Juppiter on the Capitol.' But altogether aside from this minor point, it is at least possible that *Summanus* was a function of Juppiter originally attached to him in the form of a cult-title, which gradually separated itself from him and took on an individuality of its own (cf. *Terminus* and *Juppiter*.) Possibly the presence of two inscriptions to *Juppiter Summanus*—*C.I.L.* v. 3256 (Verona), v. 5660 (Ager Mediolan.) may indicate a survival of the old cult, but not much weight can be attached to them, as they are late and may indeed be merely a local contamination, *P.* 171. On the tomb at Vulci, G. Körte's article in the *Jahrbuch des deutsch. Archaeolog. Instituts* xii. (1897) p. 57 ff. should be cited. *P.* 196. we may ask whether 'the genuine Italian Hercules' ever existed. *P.* 197. The interpretation of the bronze vase from Capua, as *Hercules* and *Cacus* is extremely doubtful, cf. C. Robert in *Hermes* xix (1884) p. 480. *P.* 209. In the quotation of the mutilated fragment from the Arval calendar to Aug. 23, there is a curious (intentional?) inversion of the orders given by Mommsen *C.I.L.*² I. p. 215. *P.* 229. The most authoritative derivation of *Juppiter Feretrius* and worth quoting, even if one does not agree, is that of Osthoff in Domatzewski's *Religion des röm. Heeres* p. 120. *P.* 233 n. 5. Add Plut. Numa 15 and Arnob. v. 1, but the latter passage mentions the swindler Valerius Antias as the source—a fact which ought to be mentioned as a decided check on its credibility. *P.* 239. The sceptical attitude toward the existence of a goddess *Meditrīna* in the face of R. Peter's article in Roscher is highly commendable. *P.* 266. On the *Septimontium*, Wissowa in the *Satura Viadrina*, Breslau 1897 should be compared. *P.* 289. May not *Janus Junonius* be simply the designation of that particular arch (Janus) worshipped at the *Tigillum Sororium* along with *Juno Sororia*? *Quirinus* seems to be an eponym rather than a genuine ἐπίκλησις (see below). *P.* 303. He accepts unhesitatingly the 'spear' derivation for *Juno Quiritis*, but it is anything but sure. Why may not *Quiritis* be connected with *Quirinus*, both as Eponyms, when we should have *Quiritis*: *Quirinus*: *Quirium* (the town or region) in rough similarity to *Samnitis*: *Sabinus*: *Samnium* (cf. Th. Birt

Ind. Lect. Marp. 1887. p. xiv, xv). *P.* 309. The phrase 'Lares of the family' is unfortunate (even if Ovid does use it in the passage quoted). The author would probably be the last to support a theory of the plurality of the *Lar Familiaris*; he is using the phrase as the Romans themselves did *i.e.* as an equivalent of *Lar* and *Penates*, yet it is apt to be misleading to a beginner. *P.* 324. Is the identification of *Flora* and *Horta Quirini* intended; or is *Flora* merely a printer's slip for *Horta*?

The following typographical errors have caught my eye: p. 47 (middle) Varrius > Verrius: p. 72 (middle) June 25 > June 24; p. 167 (last line) Primogenia > Primi-genia; p. 217 (two thirds down) B.C. 230 > B.C. 220 (the correct date is given on p. 252); p. 231 n. 3 Retzel > Ratzel (?). On p. 18 and 243 the home of Prof. Wissowa is given as *Berlin*, it should be *Halle a/S.*

To serve as an 'Introduction' the book is well fitted in spite of its difficulty. The inevitable severity of treatment has been relieved as much as was possible without loss of dignity. Yet it is not for the beginner alone, and it is safe to predict that the 'Roman Festivals' will be woven into the web of scientific investigation by being frequently quoted in the future. The only sad feature about the book is one for which the author is not responsible, except in a way flattering to himself; it is the added proof, which his work affords, of the limitations of our possible knowledge of the subject. When an author so equipped with the natural gift of shrewd judgment and the acquired one of great learning is compelled again and again to bring in the Scotch verdict of *non liquet* it shows us the poverty of the Testimonies, and the untrustworthy character of many of our witnesses, to say nothing of the general difficulty of dealing with purely circumstantial evidence. But we are the richer for the book, both for what it contains in itself, as well as for the stimulus to investigation which it ought to afford.

JESSE BENEDICT CARTER.

Princeton University.

MONTHLY RECORD.

ITALY.

Rome.—On the 17th of November a hidden treasure of gold pieces, nearly 400 in number, came to light close to the Church of S. Maria Liberatrice, near the house of the Vestals. The majority (over 300) belong to the Emperor Anthemius, who died A.D. 467, and

there are nine rare specimens with the name of his wife Aelia Marcia Euphemia, daughter of Marcianus. The oldest dates from Constantius II. (337-361), and bears figures of Rome and Constantinople supporting a shield inscribed GLORIA REIPUBLICAE; there are also *aurei* of Valentinian III. (425-455), representing the Emperor crushing a dragon, of Libius Severus, of Marcianus, and of Leo I. (457-474). They were probably hidden at the time of a barbaric invasion in the last quarter of the fifth century.¹

The Curia of Diocletian (A.D. 283) is fast being brought into evidence in the Church of S. Adriano by the demolition of the surrounding houses and the removal of the rubbish from the façade. The discovery of the foundations of the intervening steps shows that the area of the later Comitium was many feet lower than that of the old Curia. A pedestal found opposite the door of the Comitium bears two sets of records, the first of A.D. 154, in the consulship of L. Verus and Sex. Lateranus, the other being a dedication to Mars by Maxentius in A.D. 312, just before his defeat by Constantine the Great.²

Fano, near Pesaro (the ancient Fanum Fortunae). Remains of a great public edifice have come to light, possibly the basilica described by (pseudo-) Vitruvius in Book V. Embedded in a later wall were several fine statues of members of the gens *Iulia*, which had probably been set up in the local Augusteum.¹

GREECE.

Andros.—Among the recent acquisitions of the new local museum are: (1) a marble *stèle* representing a man and seated woman, inscribed: *.....ίου χρηστοί χαίρετε*; (2) a sepulchral relief of a youth and a boy, inscribed: *Ἀσκληάπαν' Ἀσκληάπωνος χαίρε*; (3) a head of a youth in marble, of the Roman period; (4) a slab of grey marble inscribed with a decree, similar to one given in *Athen. Mittheil.* i. (1876), p. 237.³

Paros.—The excavations have been completed, and the whole of the Asklepieion thrown open. Near the temple on the Acropolis were found remains of apparently prehistoric dwellings, with painted and monochrome pottery. Some old tombs had been used again for later burials; these contained articles of jewellery, also a new type of sarcophagus, with cover like the roof of a temple and a place in the middle for the portrait of the deceased. Ross appears to have seen similar sarcophagi from Rheneia (*Reisen*, i. p. 36; *Arch. Aufs.* ii. p. 290). A shrine was found, with inscriptions to Artemis *Δηλὴν* and Athena *Κυθηρῶν*, consisting of a quadrangular temenos with altars, etc. Among the dedicatory offerings were bronze pins, terracottas, fragments of vases, and Egyptian figures.³

Thessaly.—Two new bee-hive tombs have been discovered near Marmaryani, but of a small and poor type. They contained vases with geometrical decoration and small iron objects. Traces of older (neolithic?) settlements were also visible, consisting of fragments of unpainted pottery, bones of animals worked into rude tools, querns, and stone implements, but absolutely no metal.³

BULGARIA.

Philippopolis, Eastern Roumelia.—M. Georges Seure, of the French School at Athens, has made an interesting discovery in the shape of a Thracian triumphal car of about the fourth century of the Empire. It was excavated in a tumulus, in which the servants and belongings of some general who fell in a battle close by, appear to have been interred. All the metallic fittings of the chariot were found, with small bronze decorative figures, the harness for one horse, five human skulls, and several weapons. The whole has now been put together in perfect order and exhibited in the local museum. It is said that only two other Roman chariots have been discovered, one of which is now in the Vatican.⁴

H. B. WALTERS.

Numismatic Chronicle, Part 3, 1899.

G. F. Hill. 'Olba, Cennatis, Lalassis. A study of the coinage and history based on a much fuller and more critical list of the coins than any hitherto published.—J. Maurice. 'Essai de classification chronologique des émissions monétaires de l'atelier d'Antioche pendant la période Constantinienne.'—G. F. Hill. 'Bibliographical notes on Greek numismatics.'—C. J. Rodgers. 'Roman coins found in India.' Denarii of the Republic and of early Emperors found in the Panjab.

Zeitschrift für Numismatik (Berlin). Vol. xxii. (1899), Parts 1-3.

R. Weil. 'Pisa.' On the connexion of the Pisatans with the Olympic Games and the gold coins supposed to have been struck by them in B.C. 364.—H. Dressel. 'Numismatische Analecten.' 1. Representations of the Temple of Vesta on Roman coins (with good photographs). 2. The well-known medallion of Antoninus Pius, with reverse, Tiber welcoming the serpent Aesculapius, represents the *navalia* (not a bridge) and Mons Aventinus (not the Tiber-Island itself). 3. ΕΡΩC on coins of the Constantine period. In some combinations of mint-letters this word appears. Dressel suggests that it is equivalent to ΑΜΟΝ which, read backwards, gives ΝΟΜΑ.—E. A. Stückelberg. 'Die Münzfunde von Vindonissa.' Roman coins, chiefly bronze, discovered in 1897 and 1898 at Windisch (*Vindonissa*) in Aargau, Switzerland. Many specimens were found cut in two (like our early silver pennies) for convenience of small change.—A. Dessau. 'Die Familie der Kaiserin Sulpicia Dryantilla.' From the inscription in the Heroon at Oenoanda Dessau gathers that this Empress was the daughter of one of the sons of the Roman Senator Sulpicius Pollio by his wife Claudia Ammiana Dryantilla.—*Reviews*. Macdonald's *Hunterian collection*; Wroth's *Coins of Galatia &c.*—*Obituaries* of A. Chabouillet (*d.* 5 Jan. 1899) and of Jan Pieter Six, the well-known numismatist of Amsterdam, who died 17 July, 1899. WARWICK WROTH.

¹ *Athenaeum*, 2 Dec. 1899; cf. *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 9 Dec.

² *ibid.* 16 Dec.

³ *Athen. Mittheil.* xxiv. (1899) p. 357, ff.

⁴ *Daily News*, 10 Jan. 1900.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

American Journal of Philology. Vol. xx. 3. Whole No. 79. 1899.

The Greek verbal in -TEO, part iii., C. E. Bishop. *Semasiological Possibilities*, ii., F. A. Wood. *Servius and the Scholia of Daniel*, part i., R. B. Steele. *The Manuscripts of the Letters of Cicero to Atticus in the British Museum*, S. B. Platner. *The Structure of Dionysii Halicarnassensis Epistula ii. ad Ammaeum*, Winifred Warren.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES. Lane's *Latin Grammar for Schools and Colleges* (E. P. Morris). Masqueray's *Traité de métrique grecque* (C. W. E. Miller).

Hermathena. No. 25. 1899.

The Second Temple of the Pythian Apollo, J. B. Bury. *Notes and Corrections to Varro's R. R.* ii. iii., Robinson Ellis. *The Guest of Maecenas*, A. A. Burd. *The Sixty-seventh Ode of Catullus*, W. A. Goligher. *Sophocles Interpreted by Virgil*, A. A. Burd. *Notes on Cicero, Ad Atticum* xiii., J. S. Reid. *On Some Passages of Bacchylides*, F. Blass. *Professor Ellis's Edition of Velleius*, L. C. Purser. *Mr. E. A. W. Budge's Edition of the Lives of Mabá Sēyón and Gabra Krēstós*, R. H. Charles. *A new Fragment of the Laches of Plato*, J. G. Smyly. *Palmer's Heroides of Ovid*, A. Leeper. *Mr. Kenyon's Palaeography of Greek Papyri*, J. G. Smyly. *Notes on Aristotle's Parva Naturalia*, J. I. Beare. *The Alcestis at Melbourne*, T. G. Tucker.

Revue de Philologie. Vol. 23, 4. October, 1899.

Perse a-t-il attaqué Néron?, E. Haguenin. The question is reduced to two irreconcilable terms, and has consequently two solutions, (1) if value is attached to the third sentence of the last paragraph of the *Vita* it follows clearly that Persius never attacked Nero, (2) if this sentence is rejected then the coincidence of certain lines in Persius (i. 93 99-102, 105) with a historical remark of Dion Cassius (lxi. 20) seems to confirm the opinion of which the trace is found in the second sentence of the *Vita*, viz. it is probable and only probable that P. has by allusions criticized Nero, but only as a poet. *Notes d'épigraphie millésienne*. *Θυσία...θεορία...θεορία*, B. Haussoullier. The text of several inserr. The word above given is rightly explained by Hesychius s.v. *θυωρόν* *τράπεζαν τὴν τὰ θύη φυλάσσουσαν* i.e. *θυορία*=*εὐωχία*, see also Suidas s.v. *θυωρός* and Et. Magn. s.v. *θυωρίτης*. *Cicero*, Fin. i, §§ 61-72, L. Havet. Critical Notes. *Πελασγοί*, J. Lévy. Admitting the equation *πελασγός*=*πελαργός*, it is probable that *Πελασγός* denotes the man with white hair, the old man. The Pelasgians are to the Greeks nothing but those who have preceded them. In fact the Pelasgians only appear in order to be replaced by others, they are only the antecedent of what is known. *La prose métrique et le Dialogue des orateurs*, H. Bornecque. The author of the *Dialogus* and *Tacitus* are both opposed to a certain metrical prose which was sought after by Cicero and his followers. At the same time both knew the laws of metrical prose while not applying them. There is then much probability that the *Dialogus* is the work of *Tacitus*. The metrical prose also helps us to determine the date of the composition of the *Dialogus*. *Tacitus* wrote it about 81 but kept it in his drawer till he had become a celebrated author, and published it not earlier than 96. The

metrical prose thus confirms the hypothesis of Boissier put forward in the *Journal des Savants*, 1887, in a criticism of Goelzer's edition.

Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, etc. Vol. 3. Part 8, 1899.

Der Landmann des Menandros, U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf. Menander's comedies are much more closely allied to the Euripidean tragedies than to the unrestrained licence of the old comedies. The *γεωργός* was a serious piece whose attraction lay in the contrast of character. From this fragment we can appreciate the true character of the plays of Menander which have been manipulated by Plautus and Terence. *Der Dichter Lucretius*, F. Marx. Seeks to fill up the gaps in our knowledge of the poet and deals especially with our information about his death, the dedication to Memmius, and the invocation of Venus. He lived from B.C. 96 to B.C. 55, and through his poem sought to become a client of the Memmian gens. The invocation of Venus was motivated by the fact that Memmius was the son-in-law of Sulla who was especially devoted to that goddess. It was probably composed in the year of his death when Pompey dedicated the Temple of Venus Victrix together with the new theatre. *Zum gegenwärtigen Stande der Platonischen Frage* (continued), O. Immisch. Agrees with Usener that the *Phaedrus* was composed in 403, though 409/408 may be taken as the assumed date, which will suit the opposition to the leaning of Lysias in rhetoric and democracy as well as the prophecy concerning Isocrates. Nothing in the subject matter conflicts with the early date, since the tri-partite division of the soul does not agree with that put forward in the Republic. *Die Urheimat der Germanen*, A. Hedinger. This is to be sought in Scandinavia. In an appendix H. Hirt from an historico-philosophical standpoint agrees with this result. *Zu Horatius, Carm. i. 20*, A. Teuber. Suggests *tu iubes uiam* for *tu bibes uiam*.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1899.

22 Nov. C. Fredrich, *Hippokratische Untersuchungen* (R. Fuchs). 'A good book in spite of some weaknesses.' M. Hodermann, *Xenophon's Wirtschaftslehre* (A. Döring), favourable. *Mythographi Graeci*, III, 1. *Pseudo-Eratosthenis Catasterismi*, rec. A. Olivieri (G. Thiele), favourable. A Uhl, *Quaestiones criticae in L. Annaci Senecae dialogos* (W. Gemoll), unfavourable.

29 Nov. J. Hampel, *Was lehrt Aischylos' Orestie für die Theaterfrage?* (M. Maas), favourable. W. Ruge and E. Friedrich, *Archäologische Karte von Kleinasien* (A. Körte), very favourable. *Dionysii Halicarnassi opuscula*, edd. H. Usener et L. Radermacher, I (G. Ammon). 'A model of learning, acumen, and accuracy.' J. Szczepanski, *Beitrag zur Therapie des Galen* and F. Meyer, *Beitrag zur Therapie des Galen* (R. Fuchs), favourable in both cases. E. Aust, *Die Religion der Römer* (H. Steuding). 'Deserves a hearty welcome.' E. Diehl, *De M. finali epigraphica* (M. I.), favourable.

6 Dec. Th. Boreas, *Das weltbildende Prinzip in der platonischen Philosophie* (A. Döring). Shows learning and ability, but is misconceived. *Aristotelis Ars rhetorica*, it. ed. A. Roemer (M. Wallies), favourable. L. Cohn, *Einteilung und Chronologie*

der Schriften Philos (R. Asmus), very favourable. H. Doege, *Quae ratio intercedat inter Panaetium et Antiochum Ascalonitam in morali philosophia* (Hoyer), favourable. Horatius, *Die Oden und Epoden*, erkl. von E. Rosenberg, 3. A. (J. Häussner). 'Highly to be recommended for school use.'

13 Dec. R. Meister, *Beiträge zur griechischen Epigraphik und Dialektologie*. I. (P. Cauer), favourable. S. Reiter, *Die Abschiedsrede der Antigone* (H. Morsch). 'Smoothly written, simple, and modest.' L. Horton-Smith, *The Establishment and Extension of the Law of Thurneysen and Havel* (Bartholomae). 'Carries the problem no further.' G. L. Hendrickson, I. *The Dramatic Satire and the Old Comedy at Rome*. II. *A Pre-Varronian Chapter of Roman Literary History* (J. Tolkiehn). 'Shows acuteness and learning but does not convince on all points.' F. Ramorino, *Ligdamo e Ovidio*. C. Pascal, I. *Un titolo di un poema di Cicerone*. II. *Lezioni di alcuni passi di Cicerone* (J. Tolkiehn), unfavourable. Quintiliano, *Il libro X della Istituzione oratoria*, comm. da D. Bassi (H. Steinberg), very favourable. P. Wessner,

Untersuchungen zur Lateinischen Scholien-Litteratur (O. Froehde), favourable.

20 Dec. Ph. Martinon, *Sophocle, Oedipe à Colone*, traduit en vers (H. Morsch). Chr. Kirchhoff, *Dramatische Orchestik der Hellenen* (M. Maas). Much learning and labour misdirected. W. Koeh, *Kaiser Julian der Abtrünnige* (R. Asmus), very favourable. *Horatii carmina*, Textausgabe von G. Krüger (O. Weissenfels), favourable. W. Dennison, *The epigraphic sources of the writings of Suetonius* (B. Kübler), favourable. *Commentationes philologicae Jenenses* vi. 2 (Klotz), favourable.

27 Dec. *Sophokles*, erkl. von F. W. Schneidewin und A. Nauck. 8. Bändchen. Anhang, von E. Bruhn (H. G.). *Imagines inscriptionum graecarum antiquissimarum*, it. composuit H. Roehl (O. Kern). Good, in spite of some strange omissions. C. E. Bishop, *The Greek Verbal in -reo*. I. (P. Cauer). 'No new results obtained.' F. Götting, *De Flavio Capro Consentii fonte* (O. Froehde), favourable. W. Sieglin, *Schulatlas zur Geschichte des Altertums* (R. Oehler), favourable.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

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Archiv (Byzantinisches). Vol. II. See Strzygowski. *Aristoteles*. Commentaria in Aristotelem graeca. Edita consilio et autoritate Academiae litterarum regiae Borussicae. Vol. v. Pars 3.: Themistii in libros Aristotelis de anima paraphrasis. Ed. Ric. Heinze. 8vo. xi, 174 pp. Berlin, Reimer. 7 M. 20.

Bacchylidis carmina cum fragmentis. Iterum ed. Fr. Blass. 12mo. 75,207 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. 2 M. 40.

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ADDENDUM.

‘AGRICOLA’S INVASION OF IRELAND ONCE MORE.’

PROF. ALFRED GUDEMAN desires the following additional corrections (which arrived too late to be incorporated) to be made in his paper on the above:—

On p. 52 cancel note 2 and substitute:—

The presence, finally, of the deposed Irish King in Agricola’s camp is far more plausibly accounted for if he came there after Agricola’s invasion, than if we suppose him, on hearing of Agricola, to have taken refuge with the Roman general. Again, Agricola, if he had not yet carried out his intention of invading Ireland, would have had every reason for retaining an exile embittered against his countrymen, *amicitiæ causa* not *specie amicitiæ*. After his return, however, there were good grounds for suspecting anyone who came from Ireland.

P. 53. To end of first paragraph (‘acquainted’) add the following note:—

All previous knowledge of the island, acquired through traders, is expressly said to have been confined to the approaches and harbors. The immediately preceding item of information, meagre though it be, was, therefore, clearly due to another source, namely to Agricola, who, if *domuit* etc. have any reference to Ireland at all, must have proceeded farther than the *aditus et portus*.

The Classical Review

MARCH 1900.

Universities multiply, and London treads hard upon the heels of Birmingham.

The Statutes made for the new teaching University by Lord Davey and his colleagues, and embracing 136 Clauses were signed on Feb. 13, and become effective so soon as they have received the Royal Assent. We would cordially endorse the conclusion of the official Report. The Commissioners state that—'They cannot but feel that statutes and regulations will not make a living University—large funds will be required for the remuneration of University Professors and Lecturers, and the provision and maintenance of Libraries, Museums, Laboratories, and Workshops; that it is not for them to suggest the source from which the funds shall be derived; but they venture to suggest a hope that Parliament, no less than the municipal authorities of London, will recognize the claims of the re-constituted University, and that national and municipal resources may be supplemented by the private munificence of those who desire a University worthy of the capital of the British Empire.' It may be questioned whether the 'large funds' of which the Report speaks will be voted by Parliament whilst, as Ennius has it, *Africa terribili tremat horrida terra tumultu*; but we commend to the City Companies and to all whom it may concern, the maxim of the same author, *da, quidquid des, celere*.

The *Classical Review* has long declined the melancholy office of chronicling the losses of learning: but the death of a contributor before his contribution could be published may well be held to justify some deviation from practice. In Sir W. D. Geddes we lose a trusty and eager friend of classical education and scholarship. His advocacy of the Elmerian doctrine of the Latin prohibitive, into which he threw himself with

all the ardour of a neophyte, was to have been completed by a tabulated account of the Ciceronian usage. A summary of the evidence for this portion of his thesis, will appear in our next issue.

Another proof of the re-awakened interest in the question of a Universal language is to be found in the address of Professor H. Diels to the Royal Academy of Berlin. It is a *Festrede* delivered on the birthday of Leibnitz and does full honour to the contributions of the great savant towards the solution of the problem. Prof. Diels passes under review the various possibilities. From the standpoint of practical politics Prof. Diels concludes that 'apart from the enormous political influence which North America and Great Britain with her colonies exert in the history of the world, and apart from the preponderance which is given to the English-speaking peoples through their mere numerical superiority, the English tongue seems, from its whole structure, predestined to be a universal language.' Then follows an admirable characterization of the qualifications of our language, from which we may quote the noticeable remark that it is 'durch die Zurückziehung auf die Wurzeln eine für ein Herrschervolk vorzüglich geeignete Commando-sprache geworden.' From the same page we learn that English has been adopted as the official language by a 'neighbouring academy.' The end of the address deals with the claims of neo-Latin (which Prof. Diels most rightly refuses to identify with Ciceronian or any literary Latin) to be the medium of scientific communication. Its adoption is recommended with a 'perhaps,' and as it would seem, as a counsel of perfection. We are glad to see that the subject may be dealt with at the Inter-University Congress which is to meet at Wiesbaden.

THE PLATONIC LETTERS.

In a subsequent article I hope to say something on the difficult question of authorship. At present I confine myself to some remarks on the text and meaning of particular passages. The *Letters* have not received very great attention from scholars, and they therefore still contain many things to be set right. I have been helped not only by the ordinary editions, but by Hercher's *Epistolographi Graeci*, the translation (by Müller) and notes in vol. 8 of Steinhart's *Plato*, a few notes by Badham in *Mnemosyne*, vol. 10, and very greatly by H. T. Karsten's *Commentatio Critica* (1864), a valuable study of both the language and the contents.

1.—309 B. ἐγὼ οὖν περὶ ἐμαντοῦ βουλευσomai τὸν λοιπὸν τρόπον ἀπανθρωπότερον. τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον has naturally been suggested. It seems more likely that we should keep τρόπον but read τὸ λοιπόν or τοῦ λοιποῦ (310 D).

310 A. In the verses quoted, οὐδ' ἀδάμας οὐδ' ἀργύρου κλίνει πρὸς ἀνθρωπὸν δοκιμαζόμεν' ἀστράπτει πρὸς ὄψεις, the πρὸς ἀνθρωπὸν can hardly be right, especially with πρὸς ὄψεις following. πρὸς ἀνθρώπου (or ἀνθρώπων) going with δοκιμαζόμενα seems most probable: possibly we should read πρὸς ἀνθρώπων...προσόψεις, and for προσόψεις there actually is some insignificant MS. authority.

2.—310 E. The intercourse of Plato and Dionysius will not be forgotten, τοιούτοι οἱ παραδεγμένοι εἰσὶν αὐτῇ. Read τοσούτοι. It is not the quality, but the number, of the people who have heard of it that will make its memory last. Cf. 320 D.

So in letter 11, 358 E κινδυνεύειν...οἶα ἀπαντᾷ, we should alter οἶα to ὅσα.

312 A. Plato, when he went to Syracuse, aimed at getting philosophy honoured in his person among the people: τοῦτο δ' οὐκ εὐαγές μοι ἀπέβη. In view of 8, 357 C μὴ ἀποσπῆτε πρὶν ἢ τὰ νῦν ὑφ' ἡμῶν λεχθέντα, οἷον ὀνειράτα θεία ἐπιστάνα ἐγρηγορόσιν, ἐναργῇ τε ἐξεργάσθητε τελεσθέντα καὶ εὐτυχῇ, I suggest ἐναργές for εὐαγές. Compare also the obscure passage in 3, 319 B as to the ὕβρισμα which ὕπαρ ἀντ' ὀνειράτος γέγονεν. The regular meaning of εὐαγής, pure, holy, is quite inappropriate here, and I do not see how Ast and others can twist it into meaning *successful* or *favourable*. Εὐαγής or εὐανγής comes nearer to the sense we

need, but does not appear really to give it. It may be noticed that ἐναργής and ἐναργῶς occur frequently in these letters.

313 B. οὐ μὲν ἄλλω γε ποτ' ἔφην ἐντετυχηκέναι κ.τ.λ. According to Attic usage ποτε should be πώποτε, as in C just below. See however L. and S. s.v. οὐδέποτε.

3.—316 B. οὐκ ἐμὴν ταύτην εἴρηκας συμβουλὴν οὐδὲ διακώλυσιν. Ἀλληθῶς seems to have dropped out after οὐκ or elsewhere in the sentence. The necessary meaning can hardly be got without it.

316 E. τοῦτ' αὐτὸ ξυντείνων οὐκ ἀνῆκα πώποτε. Perhaps a preposition (εἰς, πρὸς, ἐπὶ) should be added before τοῦτο.

317 E. Should not a σε be added to ἡξίουν...κατάγειν? The subject of κατάγειν can hardly be Plato himself. So in 7, 349 E με seems necessary with ἐκέλευε...σοι φράζειν.

318 D. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ταύτῃ περὶ τὰ πολιτικά κοινωνίας τῆς ἐμῆς καὶ σῆς. Perhaps περὶ <τῆς εἰς> τὰ πολιτικά. Or ταῦτα μὲν ταύτῃ <τῆς> π. τ. π. κοινωνίας might be defended on the analogy of such genitives as Riddell illustrates in his *Digest*. 27 E, e.g. Ar. Pol. 1, 4, 1253 a, 27 ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς ὀρισμέναις τέχναις...οὕτω καὶ τῶν οἰκονομικῶν. To his examples add *Laws* 804 E: Ar. Phys. 8, 8, 263 a, 1, and *Met.* 1, 993 b, 17: Eur. *Suppl.* 465. Cf. Kühner, § 417, 5 *Anm.* 11. The omission of τῆς after ταύτῃ would be easy.

ibid. καὶ εἴ τινα ἑτέραν ἀλλοτριότητα ἐνείδες ἐν ἐμοὶ πρὸς σέ, εἰκότως οἶε ταύτῃ πάντα ταῦτα γεγενῆσθαι. καὶ μὴ θαύμαζε. οἶε ought, I think, to be οἶον. The εἰκότως here answers to the εἰκότως of 316 B. He is showing that his own conduct was natural, not saying what interpretation Dionysius naturally put upon it. The imperative μὴ θαύμαζε also points directly to οἶον. For οἶον cf. e.g. *Rep.* 339 E, if not 336 E.

319 A. The editors have not heeded Stephanus' admonition that an infinitive is wanted with μεμφόμενον. It might be τυχεῖν or something like εἰπεῖν. There is also the possibility of reading μεμψεσθαι instead of the participle.

319 B. εἶπες δὲ καὶ μάλ' ἀπλάστως γελῶν, εἰ μέμνημαι, ὥς παιδευθέντα με ἐκέλευες ποιεῖν πάντα ταῦτα ἢ μὴ ποιεῖν. The sense clearly requires ὥς to precede, not follow, εἰ...μέμνημαι, for εἰ...ποιεῖν are the quoted words of Dionysius, as the comment ἔφην ἐγὼ κάλλιστα μνημονεῖσθαι σε shows. The words should therefore be transposed, unless indeed ὥς is an error for ἢ (ἢ παιδευθέντα...ποιεῖν...ἢ

μὴ ποιῆν). Karsten, p. 99, seems to fall into some confusion here.

Editors have disregarded the μάλα πλαστῶς of one Vatican MS. (Bekker's Ω), and it may well have been an accident there. Yet surely it is right. Dionysius answered Plato μεμνημένως καὶ ὑβριστικῶς, and his laugh was much more likely to be very forced than perfectly natural.

'You laughed,' says Plato, μεμνημένως καὶ ὑβριστικῶς εἰς ἐμέ, ὥς ῥον· διὸ τὸ τότε σοι ὑβρισμα νῦν ὑπαρ ἀντ' ὀνειράτος γέγονεν. The phrase is obscure here and seems unskilfully used. I suppose the meaning is that D.'s sneer at παιδεία, which he thought (ῥον) told against P., has in the end, through his neglect of παιδεία and true philosophy, recoiled on himself. It was ὄναρ as regards P., ὑπαρ as regards himself. With ὑβριστικῶς...ὥς ῥον compare 7, 335 B καταγελῶν, ὥς οἶται.

The writer goes on κἀγὼ τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ ἐπῆμει μοι εἰπεῖν οὐκ εἶπον, φοβούμενος μὴ σμικροῦ ῥήματος ἔνεκα τὸν ἔκπλουν ὃν προσεδόκων μὴ μοι στενὸς γίγνοιτο ἀντ' εὐρυχωρίας. The conjectures στενός and στενόν rest, I fancy, on the mistaken idea that τὸν ἔκπλουν is the accusative after φοβούμενος, which it cannot be unless we banish the first μὴ. Nor is there any anacoluthon, as though he had meant to say τὸν ἔκπλουν...στενὸν ἐμαυτῷ ποιῆσαιμι and then changed to a μὴ στενὸς γίγνοιτο. The proper antecedent ὁ ἔκπλους is attracted into the case of the relative, as often happens, e.g. *Lys.* 19, 47 τὴν οὐσίαν ἣν κατέλιπε...οὐ πλείονος ἀξία ἐστίν: *Ar. Pol.* 2, 9, 1271 a, 9 τὴν αἵρεσιν ἣν ποιοῦνται...ἐστὶ παιδαριώδης: *Plat. Pol.* 271 c τὸν βίον ὃν ἐπὶ τῆς Κρόνου φῆς εἶναι δυνάμεως πότερον ἐν ἐκείναις ἣν ταῖς τροπαῖς ἢ ταῖσδε, and very many other passages, verse and prose. As a rule, the attracted case comes more prominently at the beginning of a sentence or clause, but it need not; cf. *Plat. Meno* 96 c: *Xen. An.* 3, 1, 6: *Hell.* 1, 4, 2: *Dem. Ol.* 2, 2, (4): *Ar. Plut.* 200. This being so, there is no difficulty about the repetition of μὴ: see Kühner, § 516, 1 *Anm.* 2, who cites among other passages *Anab.* 3, 2, 25 δέδοικα μὴ, ἀν ἄπαξ κ.τ.λ., μὴ ὥσπερ οἱ λωτοφάγοι ἐπιλαθόμεθα τῆς οἰκάδε ὁδοῦ. Finally ἀντ' εὐρυχωρίας is not 'instead of ample sea-room,' as though ἐ. like στενός was a possible predicate of ἔκπλους, but 'instead of my enjoying ample sea-room.' Words with ἀντί are often to be expanded in this sort of way, e.g. *Wasps* 1268 ἀντί μῆλου καὶ ῥοᾶς δειπνοῦντα μετὰ Λεωγόρον: *Ar. Poet.* 1449 a 4 ἀντί τῶν ἰάμβων κωμωδοποιοὶ ἐγένοντο, οἱ δὲ ἀντί τῶν ἐπῶν τραγωδοδιδάσκαλοι.

4.—320 c. ξυμφαίη τις ἂν τοὺς ἀντιποιοῦν- μένους τὰ τοιαῦτα τιμᾶν εἰκότως τῶν ἄλλων διαφέρειν. The point should be, not that they do excel in the qualities specified, but that they may reasonably be expected to do so. In that case ἂν should be inserted after εἰκότως. It is very likely that it ought to be inserted also in 319 d in the words ὥς ἦν ταῦτ' ἄριστα παραχθέντα, but in such a phrase Greek idiom sometimes dispenses with it. In 7, 347 e Bonitz was certainly right in adding it after οὐδὲν γάρ.

ibid. If τοὺς οἶσθα δήπου is right, it would be better to write it τοὺς—οἶσθα δήπου, showing that οἶσθα δήπου takes the place of a participial phrase or other description. In 3, 318 a we have οὗς οἶσθα σύ. Why the persons in question should not be plainly specified here, does not appear.

5.—322 b. With Stephanus insert περί before τὴν ἐμὴν ξυμβουλίην (which means of course 'about giving advice to me'; cf. ἡ διαβολὴ ἡ ἐμὴ *Ar. Pol.* 24 a).

6.—322 d. οὔτε ἱππων πλῆθος οὔτε ἄλλης πολεμικῆς συμμαχίας οὐδ' αὖ χρυσοῦ προσγενομένου γένοιτ' ἂν μείζων εἰς τὰ πάντα δύναμις. We seem to need either Müller's πλῆθους...προσγενομένου or πλῆθος...προσγενόμενον.

323 d. The repetition of ἐπομνύντας indicates that something is wrong: neither however can be simply omitted. Perhaps the first arose from a mistake, such as we are apt to make in writing, that of putting too soon a word we are going to use later, and the real word was e.g. χρωμένους.

7.—324 b. τίς δ' ἦν ὁ τρόπος τῆς γενέσεως αὐτῆς, οὐκ ἀπάξιον ἀκοῦσαι νέω καὶ μὴ νέω, The precise meaning of the phrase may easily be missed, and has actually been missed by some scholars. It is important for the structure of the letter. Plato's correspondents have written to him that their views are those of Dion. He answers (or is made to answer) that he can himself say better than anyone what those views were, and in the words above quoted he adds that it is worth while to set forth how Dion came by them. Αὐτῆς here refers to ἡ ἐκείνου διάνοια καὶ ἐπιθυμία nine lines above, and γενέσεως has nothing to do with the γενέσθαι just before it. The same is the force of the aorist in ἦν ἔσχε τότε δόξαν: cf. 327 b ταύτην τὴν διάνοιαν ἣν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρθῶν λόγων ἔσχε, 'the views that Dion then acquired.' Plato's point is that he himself had indoctrinated Dion with these views by sound teaching (ὀρθοὶ λόγοι), and that they were exclusively his own to start with. So he says (327 a) 'it would seem

that I did not know I was unconsciously in some sort contriving a future overthrow of tyranny'; i.e. his first intercourse with Dion in 387 led to the eventual overthrow of the younger Dionysius thirty years later. This is the reason and the justification, such as it is, for the long letter that follows, purporting to be an account of the way in which Dion came to think as he did, but really forming (if genuine) a decidedly egotistical narrative of Plato's own part in the Syracusan story, while Dion remains quite in the background. This narrative is meant partly for the young Hipparinus, whom Plato hopes to inspire as he inspired his father Dion: hence *νέω καὶ μὴ νέω*. We must in justice to the writer, whether Plato or not, take the letter as meant not to be read only or chiefly by Dion's own friends and comrades, to whom much of the story would be already known, but by others, partly younger, partly less familiar with Dion and the facts. Of course too Plato is justifying himself to his own circle, perhaps to his own mind.

A German translator is actually driven by the want of clearness in all this to argue that *ἐκείνῳ* (324 B) means 'me,' because by *ἐκείνον* in 334 B Plato means himself.

326 C. *σώφρων δ' οὐδ' ἂν μελλήσαι ποτέ γενέσθαι. ἐθελήσαι* need not have been suggested for *μελλήσαι*, if a passage of Aristotle had been kept in mind: *Eth.* 2, 4, 1105 b, 11 ἐκ δὲ τοῦ μὴ πράττειν ταῦτα οὐδεὶς ἂν οὐδὲ μελλήσκει γενέσθαι ἀγαθός.

ibid. *διαπονουμένας* (passive) is perfectly right. The men are indolent at everything except a few things which are elaborately attended to.

ibid. *ἀναγκαῖον δ' εἶναι κ.τ.λ.* There is no construction for the infinitive *εἶναι*, and it may be conjectured that we should read *εἴη ἂν* or *ἂν εἴη*, just as in 337 C (*ἀριθμὸν δ' εἶναι*) *εἶεν ἂν* has been conjectured and seems necessary. It will be observed that there are four optatives with *ἂν* preceding the clause we are now concerned with.

327 C. *ὦν καὶ Διονύσιον ἡγήσατο ἕνα γενέσθαι τάχ' ἂν ξυλλαμβανόντων θεῶν, γενομένου δ' αὖ τοῦ τοιούτου κ.τ.λ.* Read *αὐτοῦ* for *αὖ τοῦ*.

327 E. *καταλέγων δέ.* Read *δή*. The participles look back to *ἔφη*.

328 C. *αἰσχυρόμενος μὲν ἔμειπεν τὸ μέγιστον μὴ δόξαιμι κ.τ.λ., κινδυνεύσειν δὲ προδοῦναι πρῶτον μὲν τὴν Διώνος ξενίαν κ.τ.λ.* The infinitive *κινδυνεύσειν* has no construction. Sense forbids it to depend on *δόξαιμι*: moreover the *δέ* clearly answers to the *μὲν* with *αἰσχυρόμενος*. Perhaps a participle has

dropped out, e.g. *κινδυνεύσειν δὲ <νομίζων> προδοῦναι*. Nothing ever answers formally to *πρῶτον μὲν τὴν Διώνος κ.τ.λ.*, but the antithesis in E shows what was in the writer's mind when he wrote *πρῶτον μὲν*. So, if in 331 D *μὲν* is a correct alteration of *μέντοι*, its force does not really appear until we reach 332 D, E.

329 B. *τῆς φιλοσόφου ἀνέγκλητον μοίρας* is a curious phrase. Compare however 332 D *ἀνομιλήτῳ μὲν παιδείας, ἀνομιλήτῳ δὲ συνουσίῳν*, and still more [Dem.] 61, 54 *καμὲ τῆς σῆς φιλίας ἀνεπιτήμητον ποιῆν*. τ. φ. μ. is only a somewhat awkward periphrasis for *τῆς φιλοσοφίας*: see Ast, s.v. *μοῖρα*.

329 E. *πέμπων αὐτὸς τὸν κελεύοντα*. Attic idiom would be in favour of *κελεύσοντα*, and no mistake is commoner than the substitution of present for future, when the two forms are very similar.

330 B. *καὶ ὁ πρῶτος δὴ χρόνος τῆς εἰς Σικελίαν ἐμῆς ἐπιδημίας τε καὶ διατριβῆς διὰ πάντα ταῦτα ξυνέβη γενόμενος*. These words cannot mean either 'my first time of visiting, my first visit, was due to these causes,' or 'the earliest part of my stay was spent in this way.' *χρόνος* never means *time* in the above sense (first *time*, second *time*, etc.), and *διὰ ταῦτα* certainly does not mean 'in these occupations, circumstances, etc.' Plato's stay with the younger Dionysius is looked at as one whole, though a return to Athens broke it into two distinct parts. It seems to me that the predicate to *ξυνέβη γενόμενος* is missing, and that the words were 'the earliest part of my stay in Sicily turned out for all these reasons *what I have described* (<τοιοῦτος>) or 'useless' or some such expression.

330 C. *ἵνα μὴ τὰ πάρεργα ὡς ἔργα μοι ξυμβαίνει λεγόμενα*. Why *λεγόμενα*? Clearly we should read the common *ξυμβαίνειν γι(γ)νόμενα* or *γενόμενα*, a phrase which occurs many times in these letters, e.g. in the sentence last quoted, as it does in the *Laws*. In 341 E Bonitz has, I find, anticipated me in reading *γενομένην* (*γνωσμένην*?) for *λεγομένην* (οὔτε ἀνθρώποις ἡγοῦμαι τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν περὶ αὐτῶν λεγομένην ἀγαθόν): Karsten suggests the change of *γενομένων* in 352 A to *λεγομένων*; and the occasional confusion of the two words is well known; e.g. in Thuc. 8, 14, where *Vat.* alone has *γενομένων* against the *λεγομένων* of other MSS.

331 A. *περὶ τίνος τῶν μεγίστων περὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ βίον*. Perhaps the double *περὶ* would be less awkward if we might suppose that a *τῶν* had fallen out after the last letters of *μεγίστων*.

331 B. *ἂν μὲν μοι τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν ἔν τι*

τρόπῳ δοκῇ ζῆν. Unless there is any reason for thinking that ἐν (τινι) τρόπῳ was used in a sense like that occasionally belonging to κατὰ τρόπον (*rightly, regularly*; so in 330 D), an epithet to τρόπῳ seems missing. The parallel expression ten lines below, ἐάν τινα καθεστῶτα ζῶσι βίον, suggests καθεστῶτι or μετρίῳ.

331 D. βίαν δὲ πατρίδι πολιτείας μεταβολῆς μὴ προσφέρειν may quite well be right, but perhaps βία...μεταβολήν is worth suggesting. μεταβολῇ has also been proposed.

I rather suspect that before the first ὅπως in this sentence a participle like μηχανώμενον or σκοπούμενον has dropped out. It would make the double ὅπως less disagreeable.

332 B. κατοικίσαντες πολλὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων πόλεις ὑπὸ βαρβάρων ἐκβεβλημένας. Surely ἐκβεβλημένων. Men can be ejected, not cities or states.

333 E. ἦν (ἐταίρειαν) ἐκ τοῦ ξενίζειν τε καὶ μνείν καὶ ἐποπτεύειν πραγματεύονται. ξενίζειν and μνείν are transitive verbs, but ἐποπτεύειν is only known as neuter, and τὸ ἐποπτεύειν is not in itself a basis for friendship. ξυνεποπτεύειν would make sense: or is it possible to give ἐποπτεύειν an active meaning parallel to that of μνείν? I do not think this probable.

334 A. καὶ τὸ μὲν αἰσχρὸν καὶ ἀνόσιον οὐτε παρίεμαι ἔγωγε οὔτε τι λέγω...τὸ δ' Ἀθηναίων περὶ λεγόμενον, ὡς αἰσχύνῃ οὗτοι περιῆσαν τῇ πόλει, ἐξαιρούμαι· φημὶ γὰρ κ.τ.λ. ὥστε οὐκ ἄξιόν ἐνείδους γεγόνατον τῇ πόλει τῷ Δίῳ ἀποκτείναντε. In these ten lines there are, I think, three mistakes, which seem to have escaped the notice of editors and critics. In the first place παρίεμαι is not used in this way (Dem. 15, 15 is another thing), and the word is certainly a mistake for προσίεμαι. So in this same letter (346 A) οὐδὲν με τοῦ καταμένειν προσίεμεν. Xen. Mem. 2, 6, 18 has the very words of this passage, πόλεις αἰ...τὰ αἰσχρὰ ἥκιστα προσίεμεναι: so Cyr. 7, 1, 13 κακὸν οὐδὲν οὐδ' αἰσχρὸν ἐκὼν εἶναι προσήσομαι. Secondly ἐξαιρούμαι, very strangely used, should be altered to ἐξαρουόμαι. Finally for ἄξιόν we should read αἰτίῳ, which is equivalent to the αἰσχύνῃ περιῆσαν above. Cf. 339 E αἴτιον γείεσθαι...δνειδούς. In the same way we have to read αἴτιος for ἄσιος with Bentley in Ar. Ach. 633, as 641 shows, and with Blass in Andoc. 2, 12.

The text of Pausanias 2, 28, 2 runs: ἐς δὲ τὸ ὅρος ἀντιοῖσι τὸ κόρυφον ἔστι καθ' ὁδὸν στρεπτῆς καλουμένης ἐλαίας φυτὸν, αἰτίου τοῦ περιαγαγόντος τῇ χειρὶ Ἡρακλέους ἐς τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα. For αἰτίου, which is deficient in

construction and in point, should we not read ἄσιον? As it stands, αἰτίου τοῦ is wholly superfluous.

334 D. Read πιθόμενος for πειθόμενος in both places. The error is common.

335 E. It may be worth considering whether instead of bracketing ἐπὶ τό we should read ἐπὶ τῷ and take the words that follow as explanatory. Cf. 351 A when properly punctuated.

336 B. αὐτῇ, for which Badham proposed αἰθῆς, should perhaps be ταύτῃ, a word often used in the letters. Just below, where he would omit Δίῳνα, I suggest Διώνος.

336 C. τὸν δὲ μὴ δυνάμενον ὑμῶν Δωριστὶ ζῆν κ.τ.λ. We must take ὑμῶν as meaning not 'you friends of Dion' but in a wider way 'you Sicilians.' So apparently in 352 C ὑμῖν is used in the narrower, ὑμῶν in the wider sense. Otherwise we should expect here ὑμῖν.

337 A. φόβῳ μὲν διὰ τὸ κρείττους αὐτῶν εἶναι δεικνύντες τὴν βίαν, αἰδοῖ δὲ αὐτὰ διὰ τὸ κρείττους φαίνεσθαι περὶ τε τὰς ἡδονὰς κ.τ.λ. To get rid of the rather questionable phrase δεικνύντες τὴν βίαν and to secure parallelism with the next clause, I am inclined to read not εἶναι δεικνύντες but ὄντες δεικνύναι or δεικνύναι ὄντες, i.e. 'show that they are.' There are several instances forthcoming of such accidental inversion. The nearest known to me is in Ar. Ach. 91, where the Ravenna codex has ἦγοντες ἄγομεν for ἄγοντες ἦκομεν.

337 B. στάσεις καὶ ἔχθραι καὶ μίσση καὶ ἀπιστίαι...γίγνεσθαι φιλεῖ. The singular verb is defended by the parallel of Symp. 188 B καὶ γὰρ πάχναι καὶ χάλαζαι καὶ ἐρυσίβαι...γίγνεται, but it is extremely unusual after plural substantives. ἀπιστία is made improbable by all the other nouns being plural.

337 C. νέμειν should be νεμεῖν. It follows ὁμόσαντας.

338 E. Before ξυμβουλή insert the article, which perhaps fell out through the η of τύχη.

338 A. Omit ἔφη and make μεταπέμψεσθαι (so we should read for μεταπέμψασθαι: cf. 317 A) depend on ξυνωμολόγησάμεν, which is otherwise incomplete in meaning. In the second clause ὁμολόγησα is actually inserted.

338 D. οἱ δοκοῦσί μοι Διονυσίῳ πειρᾶσθαι διαλέγεσθαι τῶν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. Rather than adopt διαλέγεσθαι περὶ τῶν τοιούτων I would have recourse to the less heroic measure of assuming an omission, e.g. διαλέγεσθαι <ζητοῦν-τές τι> τῶν κ.τ.λ. A simple τι could hardly stand.

339 B. ἦν παρεσκευασμένη τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχουσα

ἡ ἐπιστολή, τῇδὲ πη φράζουσα. Perhaps *παρσκευασμένην* or (with Müller) *φράζουσαν*.

339 E. If *καὶ πάλιν* is right, *καί* seems to emphasize *πάλιν*, as it so often (e.g. 340 B) does *μάλα*. A few lines below, a comma should be placed after *ἄνθρωπον*, so as to get the three points needed as a minimum in such an asyndeton: *νέον ἄνθρωπον, παρακούντα ἀξίων λόγον πραγμάτων, εὐμαθῇ*: unless there is something wrong with the words. For *αὐτό* just following should we read *αὐτόν*? *τούτου* in 340 B is however neuter.

341 A. οὐδὲν ἐτι δέονται *τινων πραγμάτων*. With *τινων πραγμάτων* an adjective (*καινων*? *μειζόνων*?) seems wanted.

ibid. ἡ μὲν δὲ πείρα αὐτῇ γίγνεται ἡ σαφής τε καὶ ἀσφαλεστάτη. Read ἡ σαφεστάτη καὶ ἀσφαλεστάτη.

342 A. ἔστι γάρ τις λόγος ἀληθῆς ἐναντίος τῷ *τολμήσαντι* γράφειν. Perhaps *τολμήσονται*. It may refer to Dionysius and others who had written (341 B), but with *ἐναντίος* and much of the last page the future seems more suitable.

343 D. ἀναγκάζωμεν. ἀναγκάζόμεθα?

343 E. The construction is (*τὰ μὲν*) *πέφυκε, τὰ δὲ διέφθαρται*.

344 C. Agreeing in principle with Karsten, I would write <οὐ> *τῇ καλλίστῃ*.

344 E. Insert *ἐκ* or *διὰ* before *τῆς μετοχῆς*.

345 B. ἡ φαῦλα εἶναι *τὰ λεχθέντα*. Something like *οἶεται* seems to have fallen out. *ικανῶς οἶδεν* coming between makes it impossible to carry on the force of *οἶεται* above.

345 C. τοῦ νείος, ὄντος μὲν ἀδελφίδου αὐτοῦ, κατὰ νόμους ἐπιτροπεύοντος. Read ὄντος μὲν ἀδελφίδου, αὐτοῦ δὲ κ.τ.λ.

345 D. τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς Διονυσίου φιλοσοφίας. For *τῆς* read *τὴν*, as in 328 A.

347 C. Should *ἀρκεῖ* be *ἀρέσκει* as in 346 C?

348 A. ὅμως δὲ ἔφαμεν *ἐταῖροί γε εἶναι* πρὸς *πάσαν Σικελίαν*. Is there any meaning in *γε* so placed?

348 E. There should be no stop after *συγχωρῶ*.

ibid. τῇ δὲ μετὰ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν δειλὴς κ.τ.λ. Is τῇ μετὰ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν, i.e. ἡμέρα, good Greek? There are two or three obvious ways of correcting it.

350 D. οὐ πειθόμενοι ταῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ διαλέξεσι. Instead of the very improbable *διαλέξεσι* (with which too we should expect *ἐμαῖς*, not *ὑπ' ἐμοῦ*) ought we not to read *διαλλάξεσι*, 'my attempts to reconcile them.' Cf. *κατηλλάγη* two lines below and *πρὸς ἀλλήλους δεηθέντες* *φιλίας* above.

351 A is probably not quite sound in its text, but by the most perverse punctuation the editors have made it appear worse than it

is. In the first sentence a colon should be put after *πόλεως τῆς αὐτοῦ*. In the second the comma should follow not *πούση*, which leaves *ἐταίρους* and *πόλιν* without construction, but *πόλιν*. The words *τὰ μέγιστα ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις* can hardly be right as they stand: *τὰ μέγιστα* is too much cut off from *εὐεργετῶν*. If the long sentence beginning with *ἔστι δέ* stands as it was written, it is anacoluthic, since *διαφορῇ* and *παρακελεύεται* ought to be participles. So in the words *πάντων δὲ...μὴ κατὰ δίκην*, though the grammar is not faulty, *διανέμη* ought in logic to be a participle, like the *διανέμων* just above it, and subordinate to *τιμᾶται*.

351 C. οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ οὔτε Δίων οὔτε ἄλλος ποτὲ οὐδεὶς ἐπὶ δύναμιν ἐκὼν εἰσιν ἀλιτηριώδη *ἐαυτῷ* τε καὶ γένει εἰς τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον, ἐπὶ πολιτείαν δὲ καὶ νόμων κατασκευὴν τῶν δικαιοτάτων τε καὶ ἀρίστων, οὗ τι δι' ὀλιγίστων θανάτων καὶ φυγῶν γιγνομένην.

If a word like *μέτριος* has not fallen out with *οὐδεὶς*, we must at any rate understand that the limiting force of *ὅστις μέτριος* above in A is carried on to this sentence.

I do not see how *οὔτε δι' ὀλιγίστων* can be right. It could only mean, if anything, 'not by a very few deaths,' i.e. by a good many, and this is the very reverse of the sense wanted. The phrases *ἄνευ σφαγῶν καὶ θανάτων* (327 D) and *ἄνευ φυγῶν καὶ σφαγῆς ἀνδρῶν* (331 D) indicate what that sense is. Perhaps *οὐδὲ δι' ὀλιγίστων* or *οὗ τι οὐδὲ δι' ὀλιγίστων* may be conjectured. Cf. *Phil.* 65 C *νοῦν οὐδὲ τὸν ὀλιγίστον κεκτημένῶν*.

Oddly enough *δι' ὀλιγίστων* occurs again some ten lines below and seems to make no sense (*ταῦτόν* δὲ καὶ Δίωνα ἐσφῆλε δι' ὀλιγίστων). Perhaps we should read *δι' ὀλιγίστου*, 'after a very short time.'

8.—353 E. *ἐάνπερ τῶν ἐκόντων γίγνηται* τε καὶ *ἀπευκτῶν*. So all editions I have consulted except Bekker, whose *τι* for *τε* is of course right. But neither he nor anyone else says anything on the subject.

354 D. οἱ γὰρ πρὸ Διονυσίου καὶ Ἰππαρίνου ἄρξαντες Σικελιώται τότε ὡς ῥοντο εὐδαιμόνως ἔζων...οἱ καὶ τοὺς δέκα στρατηγοὺς κατέλευσαν...κατὰ νόμον οὐδένα κρίναντες, ἵνα δὲ δουλεύειεν μηδενὶ μῆτε σὺν δίκῃ μῆτε νόμῳ δεσπότη. It is strange that, when common sense suggests and Paris A actually gives (Bekker) *ἀρξάντων* for *ἄρξαντες*, editors have all adopted the latter. It would be absurd to say that οἱ ἄρξαντες stoned the generals, and it is perfectly clear that the whole sentence refers to the mass of the people, to whom Plato is now tendering advice. With *πρὸ Δ.* καὶ *Ἰ. ἀρξάντων* cf. *Thuc.* 6, 3, 3 *μετὰ Συρακούσας οἰκισθείσας*: *Herod.* 1, 9, 4 *μετὰ δ' ἐμὲ*

εἰσελθόντα, Plat. *Rep.* 451 c μετ' ἀνδρείον δρῶμα παντελῶς διαπερανθέν: *Laus* 781 λ διὰ τούτου μεθιμένον. This construction of the participle, so familiar in Latin, is a good deal commoner in Greek than grammars indicate. But I do not know any example of it with πρό.

The sense of μήτε σὺν δίκῃ μήτε νόμῳ δεσπότῃ is very unsatisfactory, until we read μήτε <ἀνθρώπῳ> σὺν δίκῃ, comparing 334 c μὴ δουλοῦσθαι Σικελίαν ὑπ' ἀνθρώποις δεσπόταις ...ἀλλ' ὑπὸ νόμοις.

355 λ. After φίλοις I think ὥς has fallen out, as it easily might. Four lines below ὑμῖν should be ἡμῖν, if it is a quotation of the words of τις.

357 B. ταῦτα δὲ σχδόν. Should not δέ be δῆ? cf. note on 327 E.

11.—359 λ. Put a comma after ἀνδρική.

359 c. διαπράξασθαι should of course be διαπράξεσθαι.

13.—360 λ. Πλάτων Διονυσίῳ τυράννῳ Συρακουσῶν εὖ πράττειν. Ἀρχή σοι τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἔστω. All the editions I have looked at punctuate in this unintelligent way, but it is perfectly clear that Πλάτων...πράττειν is the subject of ἀρχή ἔστω and that there must be no stop between them. Compare the beginnings of letters 3 and 8.

362 c. οἱ προσαγγέλλοντες ἐκάστοτέ σοι, ὅ τι ἂν οἶωνται ἀνάλωμα εἰσαγγέλλειν, οὐκ ἐθέλουσι προσαγγέλλειν. On grounds of both sense and euphony read εἰσαγγελεῖν for εἰσαγγέλλειν.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

CALLINUS AND TYRTAEUS.

AN altogether special interest attaches to the few lines which Stobaeus and Strabo have preserved to us from the lost elegies of Callinus, who according to a well-attested opinion, which however has been disputed in favour of Archilochus, was the father of Elegiac poetry.

The only fragment of any considerable length is that which is preserved by Stobaeus (Flor. 51. 19.), *Fr.* 1 in Bergk.:—it consists of 21 lines, with either a lacuna of one line after the fourth or a conscious omission, on the part of Stobaeus, of some larger number of lines, omitted as less relevant to his purpose. In other words it is not quite certain whether we have here two separate fragments, or one mutilated fragment of Callinus.

The uncertainty thus caused as to the exact inter-relation of the parts (1–4, 5–21) has proved too severe a temptation for the ingenuity of certain scholars, Thiersch Bernhardt, Hartung, and others.

Thiersch proposes to rob Callinus of all but the first four lines of the quotation, assuming that the name of Τυρταῖος has dropped out of the text of Stobaeus before the words καὶ τις κ.τ.λ.

This is one of those hypotheses which it is impossible absolutely to disprove. Bernhardt and Hartung, however, by denying to Callinus on purely subjective grounds the authorship of the remaining four lines,—Bernhardt because he thinks them unworthy, Hartung because he cannot believe that Callinus would have written a

martial poem,—have unwittingly done their best to re-establish his claim to the whole fragment. Their criticisms having been answered by Bergk,¹ it is almost superfluous to add anything in opposition to them.

It may however be useful to point out internal evidence which makes against the attribution to Tyrtaeus of any part of the fragment in question.

A careful perusal of the undoubted 'poems' of the Athenian elegist will perhaps produce in every mind apt to discern styles a moral conviction that Tyrtaeus could not have written these 21 lines, any or all. Whether we accept or reject, and there seems to be no sufficient reason for rejecting, the story of the loan of Tyrtaeus by Athens to bardless Sparta, it is at least evident that the greater number of his elegiac battle-songs were written expressly for the encouragement and moral fortification of the defensively steady but none too dashing infantry of Lacedaemon. Soldierlike, prolix, as though to beguile a long march, severely monotonous, and ethically unexceptionable, the 'elegies' of Tyrtaeus are essentially artificial and surely betray the hand of a clever and high-spirited Athenian, who has learnt unusually well the art of verse-making, lately imported from Ionia, and knows how to serve, by the exercise of it, his country and his country's allies.

Let us turn to the lines of Callinus (as I take leave to persist in calling them), and we

¹ And by Sitzler: Callinus oder Tyrtaios.

read and hear and feel the passionate emotion, half-wailing, half-defiant, of the Ionian poet and patriot, caring little for symmetry of thought or for shapeliness of diction, striving only if by any means he may nerve his countrymen to the bitter struggle, no struggle for conquest disguised under the pretence of patriotic necessity, but a struggle in defence of 'land and children and wedded wife,' in defence of these, yes, and against 'relentless foemen' (v. ll. 6 and 7 and note the effect of *δυσμένεσιν* standing alone in l. 8).

Tyrtæus imitates now 'Homer,' now Callinus, and probably in other lines other original artists, his predecessors.

Callinus imitates neither 'Homer' nor any one else, so far as we have means of judging; the coincidences of his language with the 'Homeric' being due, rather, to the fact that he was born, and sang, in that same Ionia, in which the 'Homeric' poems were born or Ionized.

A few examples will indicate the relation of Tyrtæus to Callinus.

Compare first:—

Callinus l. 14.

πολλάκι δῆϊοτῆτα φυγὸν καὶ δοῦπον ἀπόντων
ἐργεταὶ ἐν δ' οἴκῳ μοῖρα κίχεν
θανάτου.
with

Tyrtæus 7.

δεσπότης οἰμῳζόντες ὁμῶς ἄλοχοί τε καὶ αὐτοὶ
εὔτε τιν' οὐλομένη μοῖρα κίχου
θανάτου.

Did Tyrtæus feel, any more than we feel, the force of *οὐλομένη*, or did he know merely that it was 'Homeric' and minstrel-like, and fitted for a pentameter?

Again in Callinus l. 10.

ἔγχος ἀνασχόμενος καὶ ὑπ' ἀσπίδος ἄλκιμον ἦτορ
ἔλσας, τὸ πρῶτον μιν γυνυμένου πολέμου

'Lifting aloft his sword and 'neath his shield mustering his doughty heart when first the battle...'

ἄλκιμον is predicative, is part of the exhortation, is therefore indispensable.

Not so in the well-known piece of Tyrtæus, beginning:

Τεθνήμεναι γὰρ καλὸν ἐπὶ προμάχοισι πεσόντα

in which, not to speak of the repetition, no feeling echo, merely a repetition of *προμάχοισι πεσόντα* in l. 21, we come suddenly (in l. 24) upon *ἄλκιμον*, where, howsoever it be in one sense strictly 'Homeric' and altogether after the manner of orthodox ballad

for a *fallen* hero to 'breathe away in the dust his doughty soul,' the epithet is emotionally superfluous and psychologically paradoxical. For *ἄλκιμος*, be it observed, means not 'patient' or 'heroic' or 'manly,' but 'strong in defence,' 'forceful,' implying 'courage and vigour' unsevered. Thus in *Il.* 3, 338:—

εἴλετο δ' ἄλκιμον ἐγχος ὃ οἱ παλάμῃφιν
ἄρῃρει,

we have the pure primitive meaning 'strong in defence.'

That the relative position here assigned to Tyrtæus is not beneath his desert will, I think, be evident to anyone who has studied his method of 'making' by a comparison of his fragments with certain parts of the *Iliad*, particularly Tyrt. *Fr.* 10 (Bergk) with *Iliad* 22, 71 sq., as suggested (on *Il.* l.c.) by the late Prof. Paley.

Il. 22, 71.

νέφρ' δέ τε πάντ' ἐπέοικεν
ἀρηϊκταμένφ, δεδαϊγμένφ ὀξεί χυλκφ
κεῖσθαι· πάντα δὲ καλὰ θανόντι περ, ὅττι
φανήη·
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ πολίον τε κάρη πολίον τε
γένειον
αἰδῶται αἰσχύνωσι κύνες κταμένοιο γέρον-
τος,
τοῦτο δὴ οἰκτιστον πέλεται δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι.

Tyrtæus, *Fr.* 10.

αἰσχρὸν γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο μετὰ προμάχοισι πεσόντα
κεῖσθαι πρόσθε νέων ἄνδρα παλαιότερον
ἤδη λευκὸν ἔχοντα κάρη πολίον τε
γένειον
θυμὸν ἀποπνέοντ' ἄλκιμον ἐν κοίῃ,
αἱματόεντ' αἰδοῖα φίλοις ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντα,—
αἰσχροῦ τὰ γ' ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ νευροσπῆγόν
ιδεῖν,—

καὶ χροῖα γυνυθέντα· νέοισι δὲ πάντ'
ἐπέοικεν
ὄφρ' ἐρατῆς ἥβης ἄγλαον ἄνθος ἔχη.

It is significant that all the verbal coincidences of Tyrtæus with the passage from the *Iliad* are found either in his hexameters or in the first words of his pentameters. When Tyrtæus wanted to put something equivalent to the *οἰκτιστον* (of *Il.* l.c.) he happened to be labouring at a pentameter, of which only the first word *αἰσχροῦ* (suggested by *αἰσχύνωσι* in his treasury) was ready; *οἰκτιστον*, though not impracticable, was somewhat unproductive towards a pentameter; so in a moment of inspiration or, haply, of reminiscence, he thought of the eminently pentametric word *νευροσπῆγόν*. For his previous pentameter, as we have seen,

he had laid Callinus under contribution somewhat unseasonably, even as in l. 6 he had remodelled Call. 1, 8¹

γῆς περὶ καὶ παιδῶν κουριδίης τ' ἀλόχου,
and as in l. 9 (*ἰνφρ.*) ἀγλαὸν owes its situation to the homologous ἀγλαὸν in Callinus 1, 6.

τιμῆν τε γάρ ἐστι καὶ ἀγλαὸν ἀνδρὶ μάχεσθαι.

Again read Tyrtaeus 10, 29, 30.

ἀνδράσι μὲν θηητὸς ἰδεῖν ἐρατὸς δὲ γυναιξίν
ζῶος ἑών, καλὸς δ' ἐν προμάχοισι πεσών.

This is Callinus watered. Hear Callinus (1, 10 sq.)

λαῶ γὰρ σύμπαντι πόθος κρατεροφρόνος ἀνδρὸς
θνήσκοντος ζῶων δ' ἄξιος ἡμιθέων.

The pentameter of Tyrtaeus reproduces the contrast so simply and so powerfully presented by that of Callinus, but without either its simplicity or its power. For ζῶων of the poet the versifier writes ζῶος ἑών, while in lieu of θνήσκοντος he gives us his favourite hack-phrase ἐν προμάχοισι πεσών. In his hexameter Tyrtaeus, business-like poetaster that he was, classifies the 'whole people' of his poet into 'men' and 'women,' whom he then decorously separates as far as the beginning is from the end of his line; while with the minute precision of a man of the world he assigns to the two sexes distinct and characteristic sentiments regarding the *living* warrior. To the gentlemen he is 'worth looking at,' but to the ladies 'lovely.'—Dead, he is the same to all, καλὸς—These are the plagiarist's improvements upon the 'yearning' with which 'all the people', in Callinus, regret the slain warrior who, living, was to all ἄξιος ἡμιθέων.

Tyrtaeus had, as we know, already used up the ἄλκιμον ἦτορ | ἔλσας . . . of Callinus (1, 10 sq.). But the words immediately preceding in the same sentence

ἀλλὰ τις ἰθὺς ἴτω
ἐγχος ἀνασχομένος καὶ ὑπ' ἀσπίδος

as yet remained unused and were too good to leave; and hence, not to mention the ἀλλὰ τις with which he starts l. 31, Tyrtaeus is able to offer us, in what doubtless was really a continuation of the poem of *Fr.* 10, though in Bergk numbered separately (*Fr.* 11), and in the second pentameter of it

ἰθὺς δ' εἰς προμάχους ἀσπίδ' ἄννηρ ἐχέτω.

The prototype of the next two lines, which are striking, is not extant, so far as I know;

¹ The first part of which he, moreover, reproduces verbatim in 12, 34.

but neither are the complete poems of Callinus. Tyrtaeus did not indeed confine himself to the method of imitation proper. In l. 27 of *Fr.* 10, having apparently no obvious model, he is found, first among many writers of 'elegiacs' Greek and Latin, adopting the expedient of 'expanding' a word in the original, in this case νέφ (*Il.* l.c.), which, though already represented by νέοισι in his foregoing hexameter, was susceptible, by the aid of one more ἀγλαὸν, of efflorescence into

ὄφρ' ἐρατῆς ἥβης ἀγλαὸν ἄνθος ἔχη.

But in *Fr.* 12 he again, once at least, has direct recourse to Callinus.

For l. 27:

τὸν δ' ὀλοφύρονται μὲν ὁμῶς νέοι ἡδὲ γέροντες

the context shows that Tyrtaeus had been studying Callinus, l. 17:

τὸν δ' ὀλίγος στενάχει καὶ μέγας, ἦν' τι πάθῃ

'but *him* (sc. the man painted in vv. 5–11), if aught befel him, little and great bewail,'—a line whose vivid, pictorial pathos has fallen dead upon the soul of Bernhardt, who actually censures the combination ὀλίγος—καὶ μέγας (v. Bergk's note).

Roughly speaking, then, Tyrtaeus appears to have been a not unskilful verse-maker, who got many of his hexameters, or parts of hexameters, from the *Iliad*² and most of his pentameters from Callinus.

At any rate, enough has been said, I think, to show the difference in kind discernible between one and all of the lines vindicated for Callinus and any of the acknowledged verses of Tyrtaeus. Tyrtaeus *could not* have written any one of these lines.

The theory that the name of Tyrtaeus has dropped out at that point in the text of Stobaeus, where otherwise there is a lacuna in the quotation from Callinus, has not been very widely adopted since it was promulgated by Thiersch and Hartung. But it is countenanced (in vol. 7 of Iwan Müller's 'Handbuch,' 1889) by W. Christ; who, however, on the strength of a note in Suidas Τυρταῖος. Λάκων ἢ Μιλήσιος, suggests that Tyrtaeus may have lived for a while in Miletus, and have there learned 'the art of Ionic Elegy.' This inference

² It has, of course, been suggested that the compiler of our *Iliad* borrowed from Tyrtaeus, and not *vice versa*. But it is difficult to think that any one can seriously maintain this opinion with regard, for instance, to the passage above discussed, from *Il.* xxii. compared, point by point, with the text of Tyrtaeus.

from Suidas is not improbable; but it in no way supports the attribution to Tyrtaeus of these lines, which Dr. Christ recognises as written 'in the spirit of' Callinus, an admission pointing to their authenticity. For it cannot be conceded that any of the other poems which he includes in this appreciation, that is, any of the undoubted poems of Tyrtaeus, are written 'in the spirit of Callinus'; they are written, largely, in his words; his spirit, his inspiration is exactly what they lack.

Having sought to show *how* Tyrtaeus made his elegiacs, I have not ventured here to touch the question *when* he wrote them; a question which has recently been raised by Dr. Verrall in his interesting articles on 'Tyrtaeus' in a form involving the reconsideration of historical data, but not necessarily affecting the discussion of the literary relationship between Callinus and Tyrtaeus.

Whether Tyrtaeus lived twenty years or two hundred years after Callinus, his debt to him is the same. It may, perhaps, be allowable to say that, as a result of fresh investigation of the date of Callinus, I am

inclined to suspect that Tyrtaeus lived neither in the seventh century, nor in the fifth, but in the sixth; a supposition, which, I think, may possibly meet some of Dr. Verrall's objections to the traditionary view, and at the same time satisfy the requirements of Mr. Macan's very able argument in reply.

But leaving Tyrtaeus, I would return, for a moment, to Callinus. Whether he actually invented Elegy, or adopted the form from some earlier unknown¹ poet or minstrel, he wrote it in words which were part of the vocabulary of his own native dialect. He was an original poet. His theme was his own; and he said what he said out of the fulness of his heart. Except the metre there was nothing artificial in the process.

Of the majestic rhythm and all the music of his lines when taken together, it has not seemed needful to speak. On such a matter argument is either superfluous or unconvincing.

J. M. SCHULHOF.

¹ That is, of course, apart from the old claim, which requires separate discussion, of Archilochus to the fatherhood of Elegy as well as of Iambics.

UPON AESCHYLUS—I.

PROMETHEUS

370 Τυφῶνα θοῦρον πᾶσιν ὃς ἀντέστη θεοῖς

EVER since I began to study the phenomena of texts, I have felt sure that πᾶσιν is an interpolation; for on the slightest warrant the text-makers were as ready to insert πάντες as modern printers to insert commas. The way to learn the nature of corruptions that take place is to study various readings; the way to understand their reasons is to study scholia. This is the kind of thing you find: Eur. *Phoen.* 685 φίλα Δαμάτηρ θεά] schol. πᾶσιν. *Med.* 1185=1196 πλὴν τῷ τεκόντι κάρτα δυσμαθὴς ἰδεῖν] schol. λείπει τὸ πᾶσι: and thus in Soph. *O.T.* 118 a late MS. gives θνήσκουσι γὰρ πάντες πλὴν εἰς τις. But it was only the other day I discovered that Blomfield p. 31 quotes from Porson a cloud of examples of this word inserted into texts. Thus if a word had dropped out after θοῦρον, πᾶσιν was ready to their hand to patch the metre with; just as a well-known fragment of Euripides appears thus in Apostol. XV 81 C σύ δ' ὦ κάκιστε πάντων θεῶν τε κἀνθρώπων, ἣ μὴ δίδασκε . . . "Ερως being omitted and πάν-

των foisted in. Now what is the likeliest word to have been omitted here? Nothing would be easier to omit before OC than ΘC, that is θεός, which gives good rhythm and sense, for θεός ὃς ἀντέστη θεοῖς is a peculiarly Greek manner of expression, as φίλος φίλοις, μόνος μόνῳ, ἴσον ἴσῳ, κοινὸς ἐν κοινοῖς, ἀξί' ἀξίῳ and so on; e.g. in this play, 29 θεὸς θεῶν γὰρ . . . , 92 οἷα πρὸς θεῶν πάσχω θεός, 92, 120.

The doubt will occur whether Typhon or Typhoeus is properly described as θεός. Hesiod, who ought to know, had no such doubt: *Theog.* 824 κρατεροῦ θεοῦ, 871 his sons are ἐκ θεῶν γενεή. Hesych. gives Τυφωεύς: θεός τις γηγενής, and Aeschylus himself supposed so too: *Theb.* 497 ξυνοίστην δὲ πολεμίους ἐπ' ἀσπίδων θεούς, ὁ μὲν γὰρ πύρπνοον Τυφῶν' ἔχει, . . . in the schol. on which, τοὺς θεοὺς οὓς ἐν ταῖς ἀσπίσι φοροῦσιν, cod. M. omits οὓς for the same reason that θεός was omitted here.

Exactly the same thing I believe took place in Soph. *Philoct.* 727

ἢ' ὁ χάλκαςπις ἀνὴρ θεοῖς
πλάθει πᾶσι θείῳ πυρὶ παμφαῆς
Οὔτας ὑπὲρ ὄχθων.

The corresponding verses are

λεύσσω δ' ὅπου γνοίη στατὸν εἰς ὕδωρ
αἰεὶ προσενώμα.

Hermann was the first to eject *πᾶσι* and restore the omitted *θεός*, reading *πλάθει θεός* *θείω* . . . (*θεός* | *πλάθει θεός* Schneidewin). This is very simple; though it has occurred to me that ὅπου γνοίη was—it certainly might be—an interpolation, and *πᾶσι* *θείω* insertions to correspond, in which case we should have

λεύσσω δὲ στατὸν εἰς ὕδωρ
αἰεὶ προσενώμα
= θεός πλάθει πυρὶ παμφαῆς
Οὔτας ὑπὲρ ὄχθων

mere glyconic metre. I confess that I prefer this, and it affords a reason for the choice of the word *στατόν*, to lengthen *δέ*. Lucian i. 746 *Hermot.* 7 ἀνέρχεται ὥσπερ φασὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἐν τῇ Οὔτῃ κατακυνθέντα θεὸν γενέσθαι καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνος ἀποβαλὼν ὁπόσον ἀνθρώπειον εἶχε παρὰ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ καθαρὸν τε καὶ ἀκήρατον φέρων τὸ θεῖον ἀνέπατο ἐς τοὺς θεούς διεκρυνθῆν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός. i. 402–405.

561 As at present advised, it appears to me that metre requires the following arrangement:

φέρ' ὅπως χάρις ἂ χάρις, ὦ φίλος, εἰπέ, ποῦ
τίς ἀλκά;
τίς ἐφαμερίων ἄρηξις; οὐδ' ἐδέρχθης
565 ὀλιγοδρανίαν ἄκικιν ἰσόνειρον ᾗ τὸ φωτῶν
ἀλαὸν γένος ἐμπεποδισμένον; οὐποτε
θνατῶν τὰν Διὸς ἁρμονίαν παρεξίασι
βουλαί.

Here I have altered the position of *θνατῶν*. In the concluding verses of the *antistrophe* I eject *ἔδνοις* and read *πεπιθὼν* for *πείθων* or *πιθών*:

575 τόδ' ἐκείνῳ θ' ὅτ' ἀμφὶ λουτρὰ καὶ λέχος
σὸν ὑμεναῖον
ἰότατι γάμων ὅτε τὰν ὁμοπάτριον
ἄγαγες Ἡσιόαν π ε π ι θ ὶ ν δάμαρτα κοινό-
λεκτρον.

Exact correspondence would be given here by *ἔδνοις* *ἄγαγες* *Ἡσιόαν δάμαρτα κοινόλεκτρον*: but that degree of exactness is not required with a dactylic phrase; and it appears more likely that *ἔδνοις* (as Lachmann thought) is an explanatory interpolation, for the schol. is *πείθων δάμαρτα*: *ἔδνοις* *πείθων* τὴν ἐσομένην σοι δάμαρτα κοινόλεκτρον.

The rhythm is of that delightful lilting movement found in fragments of Cratinus, 239 ἀπαλὸν δὲ σισύμβριον ἢ ῥόδον ἢ κρίνον παρ' οὓς ἐθάκει, 238 ἀγανόφρονος ἡδυλόγου σοφίας δρόσῳ περισσοκαλλεῖς: cf. 231, 322,

323 (Archilochian, Hephaest. 15).¹ 565–6 should be, as I have printed them, one verse. Other verses where the division in the MSS. still remains to be corrected are *Theb.* 729–30 (= 722–3)

παρβασίαν ὠκύποινον αἰῶνα δ' ἐς τρίτον μένει
Cho. 595–6 (= 586–7)

παντόλμους ἔρωτας ἄταισι συννόμους βροτῶν.

596 Schol. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐμοὶ... is rightly referred by Kueck to *ὑπνοδόταν* in 597 'sleep-giving—but not to me.'

599 ποῖ μ' ἄγουσι <χθονός> would seem the natural thing to write; and the reason for the omission would be that the scribe was looking for the subject of ἄγουσι.

778 ἦ δυσπετῶς ἂν τοὺς <γ'> ἐμοὺς ἄθλους φέροις

γ' is habitually omitted, and after the letter C is particularly easy to omit. So in Eur. *Hipp.* 413 ὅταν γὰρ αἰσχυρὰ τοῖσιν ἐσθλοῖσιν δοκῇ, ἦ κάρτα δόξει τοῖς κακοῖς γ' εἶναι καλὰ I find what I expected, 'κακοῖς γ' AB, omisum γ' in ceteris.' But where γε has been used in the first clause, perhaps it is less readily used in the second: *Soph. Ant.* 66

εἰ γὰρ δὴ τὰ γ' ἐγγενῇ φύσει
ἄκοσμα θρέψω, κάρτα τοὺς ἔξω γένους

though there too it has a place prepared for it.

910 The schol. may be corrected from schol. rec.

PERSAE.

13 νέον δ' ἄνδρα βαύζει: since *βαύζειν* means 'to growl at', *latrare*, I do not see who can be referred to by νέον ἄνδρα except Xerxes, who νέος ἐὼν νέα φρονεῖ 784, 746.

276–80 ...λέγεις φέρεσθαι...; ΑΓΓΕΛΟC οὐδὲν γὰρ ἤρκει τόξα... All the editions I have seen put a full stop at 280, making it a statement. If it had been so, we should have had *φερόμενα*: the infinitive shows it is a question. This does not appear to have been recognised. Thus the critics have been troubled with Ar. *Plut.* 705

ΓΥ. λέγεις ἄγροικον ἄρα σύ γ' εἶναι τὸν θεόν;
ΚΑ. μὲν Δέ' οὐκ ἔγωγ' ἀλλὰ σκατοφάγον.

because they have all taken it to be a comment. In that case we should have had *λέγεις ἄγροικον* (τὸν) θεόν without the verb. Similarly *Ag.* 545–51

¹ Add Ar. *Av.* 1313–22.

XO. ἔρως πατρώας τήσδε γῆς σ' ἐγίμ-
ρασαν :

KH. ὦστ' ἐνδακρύνει γ' ὄμμασιν χαρὰς
ἔπο.

550 KH. ποθεῖν ποθοῦντα τήνδε γῆν στρατὸν
λέγεις ;

XO. ὡς πολλ' ἀμυρᾶς ἐκ φρενός <γ'>
ἀναστένειν.

'Do you mean that you longed for the army as it longed for home?' 'So much that oft I sighed...' When it is seen that 551 is the answer to a question (as Heath took it), it is plain that the natural supplement is γ', 'Ay',¹ which is besides most easily omitted. This has been proposed by Herwerden already, but as I have not seen his note, I do not know whether he takes τήνδε γῆν, as I do, to be governed by ποθοῦντα.

561 πεζοὺς δὲ καὶ θαλασσίους
αἱ δ' ὁμόπτεροι κνανῶπιδες
νᾶες μὲν ἄγαγον, ποποῖ
νᾶες δ' ἀπόλεσαν, τοτοῖ

The smallest alteration in v. 562 gives us

διδυμόπτεροι κνανῶπιδες

and this rings true to me. The Chorus are lamenting the disastrous naval ambitions of their sovereign, and this is their description of his battle-ships. These are called triremes in v. 681, ἐξέφθινται τρίσκαλμοι νᾶες ἄναες ἄναες—and 'the trireme carried two masts' (Dr. Warre in *Dict. Ant.* ii. p. 218). Since ordinary vessels had but one, the epithet would be distinctive.

I had doubts at one time whether the metre would admit such variations; but I do not doubt it now. It was an habitual practice with the Greeks, and the study of it reveals most interesting niceties,—to suit their rhythms to their themes. That is the reason that in the *Persae* we find the trochaic tetrameter employed so largely, because it was an Ionic metre; so of course was the *Ionicum a minore*, which is freely used in this play and for the Oriental Dionysus in the *Bacchae* and Ar. *Ran.* 323 sqq., 340 sqq. Now this iambic dimeter also was a metre of Anacreon; Hephaestion says that whole songs of his were written in it: and among the few fragments that remain (Bergk iii. p. 279) two out of eight lines have just this variation

διὰ δεῦτε Καρικευργέος
ὀχάνοιο χεῖρα τιθέμεναι.

¹ Eur. *Or.* 1122, *Phoen.* 1349, *Cycl.* 215, *El.* 666, Ar. *Nub.* 469.

In Comedy, where iambic dimeters were freely used, this anapaest in the first foot occurs in Cratin. *fr.* 256. 3, Ar. *fr.* 192. 1, *Eq.* 371, 372, 442, 917, *Nub.* 1108, 1450, *Ach.* 1040. There is another example in Tragedy if the right reading in *Theb.* 842

τὰν ἄστονον μελάγκροκον
νεκυστόλον θεωρίδα

as Butler inferred from the schol. τὴν δια-
γούσαν τοὺς νεκρούς: certainly this gives a
point which is lacking in the MS. ναύστολον.
But νεκυστόλον is a possible form.

The other variation, an anapaest (κνανῶ-
πιδες) beginning the second half of the line,
is much less common; I have noted only
two examples: Ar. *Eq.* 921 τῶν δαλίων
ἀπαρυστέον and *Ran.* 984 τίς τὴν κεφαλὴν
ἀπεδήδοκεν. It is possible, as I have observed
before, that Aeschylus made one compound
of the whole, διδυμοπτεροκνανῶπιδες.

601 The normal form of sentence would
be

φεῦ φεῦ, φίλοι, κακῶν μὲν ὥς ὅταν κλύδων
βροτοῖς ἐπέλθῃ, πάντα δειμαίνειν φιλεῖ,
ὅταν δ' ὁ δαίμων εὐροῇ, . . .

as Eur. *Supp.* 464 φεῦ φεῦ κακοῖσιν ὥς ὅταν δαί-
μων διδῷ καλῶς, ὑβρίζουσ' ὥς αἱ πράξοντες εἶ.
This φεῦ φεῦ . . . ὥς is very common later;
Soph. O.T. 316, Eur. *Hec.* 1216, *Med.* 332,
Alc. 739, *fr.* 25, 211, 218, 329, 333, 536,
637, 684, 739, 961, 1034, Ar. *Plut.* 782,
802, Apollonid. *fr.* 1 p. 825 Nauck; and we
have φεῦ . . . ὥς in *Pers.* 288. Such an
exclamation is commonly followed by an
application, introduced by γάρ, to the pre-
sent case, as here we have ἐμοὶ γὰρ in v. 606:
Soph. O.T. 317, Ar. *Plut.* 786, 804, Plat.
Tim. 26 B; or it follows merely a general
reflective statement, Theognis 968, *Soph. Aj.*
650, *Ant.* 178, 1161, *Trach.* 298, Plaut.
Persa 471. But the addition ὅστις ἔμπορος
κυρεῖ ἐπίσταται will seem idle, I think, and
out of place to any one who compares the
passages I have cited; the point is not that
an ἔμπορος knows it, but 'how true it is
that . . .' Besides, the κλύδων here is en-
tirely metaphorical, and there is no reason
why an ἔμπορος should know it better than
any one else. I believe the original stood
practically as I have written it, and that
the words I have ejected were merely an
unskilful bit of patchwork—unskilful beyond
what I have remarked, because to eke out
the measure of the lines another κακῶν is
interpolated! The reason may simply have
been that φεῦ φεῦ had been omitted.

816

κούδέπω κακῶν

THEB.

κρηνὶς ἀπέσβηκ', ἀλλ' ἔτ' ἐκπιδύεται

κρηνὶς ὑπεστω: corr. Housman. ἐκπαιδεύεται: corr. Schuetz.

ἐκπιδεύεται has been generally approved, but the other alteration may appear so bold that approval will not be superfluous, and I shall therefore permit myself the rare pleasure—which only a reviewer or an editor enjoys by right—of commending rather than opposing. The metaphor is a natural one in Greek; compare for instance *Supp.* 478, Max. Tyr. ii. καὶ ποῦ βαδιῖται τὸ κακὸν καὶ ποῦ στησεται; οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅτι πηγὴν ἀέανον κινεῖς ποιεῖας;¹ There is no place for κρηνὶς here, and mature consideration persuades me that Mr. Housman's reading is correct. The verb was liable to be corrupted; thus in Plut. *Mor.* 1090 c (quoting Eur. *fr.* 971. 2) for ἀστὴρ ἀπέσβη there is a v.l. ἀπέστω: in Aesch. *Ag.* 879 f gives κατεσβηκασιν.

984 μυρία μυρία πεμπαστάν as Plat. *Apol.* 18 B τὰ τε μετέωρα φροντιστῆς.

1008 XO. ἰὼ ἰὼ, δαίμονες,
ἔθεσθ' ἄελπτον κακόν·
διαπρέπον οἶον δέδορκεν ἅτα.

1011 ΞΕ. πεπλήγμεθ' οἶαι δι' αἰῶνος τύχαι.
XO. πεπλήγμεθ', εὐδηλα γάρ.

1011, because of πεπλήγμεθ' in the following line, was accidentally omitted, and is supplied in the margin by m together with another reading, γρ. δαίμονος τύχαι. This I believe is right, the king re-echoing their exclamation in a most natural phrase; Pind. *O.* viii. 67; *Med.* 666 and *I.T.* 850 δαίμονος τύχα τινός, *Hipp.* 827 τύχαν δαιμόνων, *fr.* 37 τὰς δὲ δαιμόνων τύχας, *Rhes.* 719 ἰὼ ἰὼ δαίμονος τύχα βαρεία. Further, τύχαι will appear to be the dative on comparison of Eur. *H.F.* 1381 Ἦρας μιᾷ πληγέντες ἀθλίῳ τύχῃ, *Alc.* 417 and 868 βαρεία ξυμφορᾷ πεπλήγμεθα, Aesch. *Eum.* 512 ξυμφορᾷ τετυμμένος, *Ag.* 1660 δαίμονος χηλῇ βαρεία δυστυχῶς πεπληγμένοι. If this is so, what remains to be restored is something which does not affect the construction; and I am led therefore to suppose the original was

πεπλήγμεθ', οἶδ' οἶδα, δαίμονος τύχα

'We are stricken, I know it, I know, by a stroke of fate.' οἶδα parenthetical is common, as Soph. *Aj.* 560, 938, *O.C.* 1615, *fr.* 237, Eur. *El.* 683; and οἶδ' οἶδα repeated occurs in Ar. *Plut.* 1080, *Ran.* 580, 584, *Eq.* 998, and in Soph. *El.* 846, Eur. *Alc.* 887, emotional passages that may be compared with ours.

¹ *Com. Frag. adesp.* 353 Kock.

10 It is worth, I think, suggesting that v. 12 is an illustrative quotation, and that the passage can be constructed very well without it:

ὑμᾶς δὲ χρὴ νῦν,—καὶ τὸν ἐλλείποντ' ἔτι
ἡβης ἀκμαίας, καὶ τὸν ἔξηβον χρόνον
ὦραν ἔχονθ',—ἐκαστον, ὥς τι συμπρεπές,
πόλει τ' ἀρήγειν καὶ . . .

'in the offices that befit your several ages.' When Dem. 38. 16, speaking of duties to the country, says τοῦ ποιεῖν τοῦθ' ὅ τι καθ' ἡλικίαν ἐκαστος ἔχει καὶ ὅτου καιρὸς εἴη, that is ὥς τι συμπρεπές. Phrynichus Bekk. *An.* 37 observes "Ἐξηβον: τοῦτο καινόν. καθωμλημένον τὸ ἔξωρον. If, as I suggest, it was an epithet of ὦραν, that supplies at once a reason for the coinage. v. 12 βλαστημὸν ἀλδαίνοντα σώματος πολὺν means 'supporting much issue of his body' (*subolem*), and the only point that I can find in it is this, that the aged father of many sons can contribute them to the service of his country. That may have been what the annotator meant; but it seems to me that if the line had been contrasted with ἔξηβον, the antithesis would have been pointed by a δέ, τὸν ἔξηβον (μὲν) χρόνον βλαστημὸν ἀλδαίνοντα δ' αἵματος πολύν.

79 The Chorus hear and see—or rather, being in hysterical alarm, imagine that they hear and see—the signs of an approaching army:

ρεῖ πολλὺς ὁδε λέως πρόδρομος ἱππότας·
αἰθερία κόνις με πείθει φανείσθ'
ἄνανδος σαφὴς ἔγνυμος ἄγγελος·
ἐλ εὖ δὲ τὰς ἐμὰς πεδί' ὀπλόκτυπ' ὡτιχρήμπα
βοᾷ

ποτᾶται βρέμει δ'
ἀμαχέτον δίκαν ὕδατος ὀροτύπου
—ἰὼ ἰὼ θεοὶ
θεαὶ τ' ὀρόμενον κακὸν ἀλεύσατε—
βοᾷ ὑπὲρ τειχέων.

The MS. version and the scholia (which are necessary here) may best be seen in Wecklein. The point I wish definitely to urge is that ἐλε is correct: 'I am persuaded of it by the dust rising to the sky—I am convinced by the thunder of hoofs upon the plain.' That is the main meaning of it here; it is a meaning which the dictionary will illustrate. But the suggestion of the word goes further, 'I am overborne, with no room left for doubt or hope, my spirit is overcome.' That seems to be the sense in *Supp.* 794 where the Chorus are in a similar condition. Hitherto, under their father's

δισσὼ στρατηγός, διέλαχόν σφυρηλάτῳ
Σκύθῃ σιδήρῳ κτημάτων παμπησίαν.

So much only, but certainly so much, appears to my judgment to be genuine Aeschylus.

981 schol. σὺ δὲ οὐ μετουπολὺ οὐδὲ ὕστερον
ἔμαθες <ἀλλ' > ἄντικρυς.

976 δίνυρα τριπάλτων πημάτων schol. δίνυρα: ζῶντα πῆματα χεόμενα καὶ πολλά. I ought not to have wavered in believing the original to have been διερά (Hiemsoeth), as long ago I had independently inferred; because διωγρός and ζῶν were the generally accepted explanations of διερός (see *Thesaur.* or Ebeling *Lex. Hom. s.v.*). The epithet would suit well with my conjecture τροπαῖα (cf. Eur. *El.* 1174) if referred to the slain bodies of the combatants, 'trophies each of flesh and blood.' διερά may have been scanned as a dissyllable like ἱερά: and possibly a mysterious gloss in Hesych. δείρα: δ[ε]ῖμοιρα may be a mistaken explanation of this place.

It seems to me impossible that τρίπαλτα should be true, or τρι- in any form; the calamity was not *triplex* but *duplex*, and that is what the sisters harp upon continually: δίπαλτα therefore might have been applied.

SUPPLICES.

Fifty daughters of Danaus fly oversea from Egypt to avoid being forced into marriage with their fifty cousins. This raises two questions: why do the men wish to marry these women? and why do the women regard the prospect with such horror? The second question has been differently answered; the first, so far as I can find, has never occurred to any one to ask. Yet surely it is a curious thing that the inclinations of fifty brothers should be so alike, and so monotonous, and so unenterprising; plusquam-fraternal unanimity.

I do not propose to discuss the question fully, but merely to contribute one material fact. *It is a general custom in the Levant to marry the first cousin*; and cousins thus married continue to call each other 'cousins' even after marriage, and not 'husband and wife'; because the tie of first-cousinship is universally regarded as more sacred than that of matrimony, which may be, and frequently is, dissolved at the momentary caprice of either party. Thus the man calls his wife in the house 'O daughter of my uncle' [of my father's brother]; and

the wife says to her husband 'O son of my uncle' [of my father's brother]. I am quoting from Burckhardt's *Arabic* [Cairene] *Proverbs* No. 620; what he says is entirely corroborated by Lane and Burton. Now that is precisely the relationship between the parties in the *Supplises*, our Egyptian play: πρίν ποτε λέκτρων ὦν θέμις εἶργει, σφετεριζόμενοι πατραδέλφειαν τήνδ', ἀεκόντων ἐπιβῆναι v. 37.

Here then we get some very pretty little problems, which will afford the ingenious food for speculation. One or two points may be remarked. The sons of Aegyptus appear to be claiming this marriage as a legal right. The question is put in the most practical manner by Pelasgus 392, 'If the sons of Aegyptus are your masters by law of the land, as claiming to be the next of kin, who would care to contest their right? You must plead according to the laws of your own country that they have no authority over you.' But the only answer that the women give is that they won't *hear* of becoming subject to the mastery of males! As regards their motive, it is plain that they dislike their cousins, and dread being forced into the position of their bondslaves; but considering certain phrases used of the relation which they shun, I am unable to accept the view of those who see no more than a revolt of Hellenic liberty of action against Oriental or barbarian tyranny. These phrases are the following: v. 8 αὐτογενῇ γάμον ἀσεβῇ τ' ὀνοταζόμεναι, 37 λέκτρων ὦν θέμις εἶργει, 237 ἐχθρῶν ὁμαίων καὶ μαινόντων γένος with the same metaphor of hawks and doves as in *P.V.*, where we have 881 φεύγουσα συγγενῇ γάμον ἀνεψιῶν, 884 θηρεύουσιντες οὐ θηρασίμους γάμους. According to the view so strongly urged by Weil p. vi, there is no suggestion here of anything incestuous: I confess I am at a loss to see in that case what is the meaning of 'sinful marriage of the same blood,' 'enemies of the same blood who would pollute the race,' or of the references to consanguinity at all. When, however, the King enquires their reason for objection, 338 πότερα κατ' ἐχθραν ἢ τὸ μὴ θέμις λέγεις; 'hate or unlawfulness?' their answer is again evasive, 'And who would object to masters that they loved?'¹

It can hardly be that this obscurity is other than designed. We have traces, I think, of an ancient conflict of ideas upon this question of legitimate degrees; and perhaps it was a question Aeschylus did not

¹ That ὀνοίτο is the true text, and this the meaning of the line, is shown by the order of the words.

care to argue. We may remember that Hypermetra took a different line.

The scholiast also is in the conspiracy to baffle us. Paley p. 4 remarks that he 'always evades this interpretation of γάμον ἀσεβῆ, τὸ μὴ θέμις &c.' Thus his explanation of ἀσεβῆ v. 9 is ὃν οὐ σέβομεν ἡμεῖς οὐδὲ τιμῶμεν, and of v. 37 ὃν τὸ δίκαιον ἡμᾶς εἶργει, διὰ τὸ μὴ θανατωθῆναι τὸν πατέρα ('i.e. ne pater a genero interficiatur, ex oraculo, ab Aeschilo alieno, quod memorant schol. Hom. A 42 et schol. A Aesch. *Prom.* 853' Weil); and of τὸ μὴ θέμις v. 338 ἢ ὅτι ἀθέμιτος ὁ γάμος; ᾧτο γὰρ αὐτὰς ἐκδεδοσθαι ἥδη ἅλλοις ἀνδράσιν. A Levantine, as I have shown, might have his reasons for misunderstanding.

My prose translation of this play represents my view in most things of the text, and I need add little to what is said upon readings that are given there:

8 ἀλλ' αὐτογενῇ τῶν φλυξάγορῶν
γάμον Αἰγύπτου παίδων ἀσεβῆ τ'
ὀνοταζόμεναι

'but in abhorrence of kindred and sinful wedlock with the folly-prating sons of Aegyptus.' (1064 γάμον Αἰγυπτογενῆ, *P.V.* 1064 φεύγουσα συγγενῇ γάμον, 884 οὐ θηρασίμους γάμους). M has αὐτογένητον φυλαξάγορῶν¹ with an accent erased over the last a and the letters υλαξ written in erasure (according to an examination of the MS. which I made some years ago). In the margin is written γρ. φυξάγορῶν, and the schol. was written on this reading; φυλαξάγορῶν: γάμον φυγῆν ἀνδρῶν ἡμῖν ἐμποιοῦντα. Other compounds of -αγόρας are λαβραγόρης, ὑψαγόρας (Lobeck *Phryn.* p. 703), and a large number of proper names (given by Pape-Benseler p. xxvii), as Πραξαγόρας, Ὑβραγόρας. What I am unable to decide is whether the form was φλυξαγορῶν or φλυξαγορῶν: either, so far as I can judge, was possible. φλυξαγορῶν would imply φλύξαις from φλύξ- as φύξαις, τύξαις, βάξαις and the like. But the compound φλυξογράφος is recorded by the schol. on Nicand. *Alex.* 214 μανίης ὑπο μύρια φλύξων] φλύξων, φλυαρῶν ὑπὸ τῆς μανίας· καὶ οἱ Ἰταλιῶται τοὺς φλυαρογραφοῦντας φλυξογράφους ἐκάλον. In the first volume of his edition of the Greek Comic fragments p. 184 Prof. Kaibel remarks upon this scholium 'inepte hoc, quoniam φλυξός nomen nec fuit nec potuit esse'; which, if I understand him rightly, means that the compound is impossible, because there could be no such noun as φλυξός. If it existed, it would probably be an adjective as βυξός,

¹ Similarly in Hesych. s.v. καυκαλῖς ii p. 452 φυλάκταινα is a mistake for φλύκταινα.

κνιζός,² κνισός, ῥυσός: though Hesych. gives Φλυσός: στυβή (στοιβή Mus.) οἱ δὲ φλουός, and ροίζος is a substantive. But I can see no reason why there should not have been a substantive φλύξα, which it will be seen upon comparison is a perfectly legitimate formation:

ῥύομαι	ῥύσις	ῥύξα ³	—	ῥύμα
κνύω	—	κνύξα ⁴	κνύος	κνύμα
φλύω	—	? φλύξα	φλύος	—
φλύξω	? φλύξαις	—	—	—
βλύω	βλύσις	—	—	—
βλύξω	—	—	—	βλύσμα
βρύω	βρύσις	—	—	βρυσμός
κλύω	κλύσις	—	—	κλύσμα
φύω	φύσις	—	—	φύμα
τεύχω	τύξαις	—	—	—
φεύγω	φύξαις	φύξα	—	—
ψύχω	ψύξαις	—	—	ψύγμα
μάσσω	—	μᾶξα	—	μάγμα
σχίζω	σχίσις	σχίξα, σχίξη	—	σχίσμα

Besides these we have ἄζα and σκύζα (Hesych. Σκυζής: παρὰ Φιλητᾶ 'παύσω σε τῆς σκύζης' ἀντὶ τοῦ τῆς κάπρας) and ψῶξα or ψῶξα (Lob. *Proll.* 359, *Com. Att.* Kock 1 311). The diminutive φλυξάκιον is not open to suspicion, nor the adjective σχιζόπτερος.

860 αἰμονεσώσέπαμιδα

The schol. ἡμαγμένον σε καθίζω means that he took his text to be αἶμον' ἔσω σ' . . . It is true that καθίζω was colloquially used in similar phrases, κλαίοντα καθίζειν 'to reduce to tears' Xen. *Cyr.* iii. 2. 14, 15 (ter), *Symp.* 3. 11, Plat. *Ion* 535 E, cf. Theocr. i. 51; and in the passive Ar. *Ach.* 840 οἰμῶζων καθεδεῖται, fr. 620 οἰμῶζων κάθου, Cratin. 277 τὴν χεῖρα μὴ 'πίβαλλε, κὴ κλάων κάθη.⁵ But a future ἔσω is not known, and to my mind the *sigmatismus* tells against it strongly here. The threat would be equally well conveyed by what I read, αἶμον' ἐγὼ σ' ἐπ' ἀμ(ι)δα—for according to my restoration of what follows, the herald breaks his sentence off: cf. Ar. *Thesm.* 569 πρόσθες ἐγὼ σε—ΦΙ. τί σε νῆ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν—ΓΥ. τί δράσεις; *Vesp.* 643 ἦ μὴν ἐγὼ σε τήμερον σκύτη βλέπειν ποιήσω. 1443 ἀλλ' ἀράμενος ἐγὼ σε—ΦΙ. τί ποιεῖς; Herodas iii. 66 ἐγὼ σε θήσω κοσμιώτερον κούρης. Ag. 1666 ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σ' ἐν ὑστέραισιν ἡμέραις μέτειμ' ἔτι. The error is most easy: Mr. Tucker restored ἔσω for ἐγὼ in v. 461, as I did lately in Pind. fr. 168.

890 Possibly ὃς ἐρᾶ (vomit) γὰς ὁ μέγας Νείλος ὑβρίζοντας or ὃ σ' ἐράσας: cf. Bergk *Poet. Lyr.* iii p. 714.

² Lobeck *Rhem.* 277, *Parall.* 207.

³ Hesych. Πύξα: βλα. ἢ τοῦ τόξου τάσις.

⁴ Anacr. fr. 87 Bergk: spelt κνυσα in Herodas vii. 95.

⁵ Kock is plainly mistaken in desiring to read καθῆς.

AGAMEMNON.

49 τρόπον αἰγυπιων οἳ τ' ἐκπάγλοις
 ἄλγεσι παίδων ὑπατὶ λείων
 στροφοδινοῦνται
 πετρυγῶν ἐρετμοῖσιν ἐρεσσομένοι

'in exceeding anguish for their lofty-cradled children.' Mr. Housman (*Journ. Philol.* xvi 247) first pointed out in his trenchant and effective style that ὑπατοὶ λεχέων could not mean 'high above their eyries,' and there cannot be any question he is right. ὑπατος means ὑψιστος, and is always a superlative: ὑπατε κρειόντων Hom. Θ 31, σὸν δὲ κράτος πάντων ἐστ' ὑπατον Theognis 376, Ap. Rhod. iv. 146 θεῶν ὑπατον, hymn. ap. Aristid. i 452 Δία τὸν πάντων ὑπατον, Pind. O. x. 10 παίδων. The genitive is of the partitive nature, as in ἀντὺς ἡ πυμάτη θεῶν ἀσπίδος Hom. Z 118, τὸν δ' ὕστατον εἶρεν ὁμίλου ἐσταότα N 459, οἶκος ὕστατον νεῶς Aesch. Supp. 725, ὁ δ' ὕστατος γε τοῦ χρόνου Ag. 1299, ἐσχάτη χθονός P. V. 872, ἥδη γὰρ ἔδρα Ζεὺς ἐν ἐσχάτῃ θεῶν; Soph. fr. 821: so ὑπατός τε χώρας Ζεὺς Ag. 514 means 'supreme in the land,' as Pind. O. xiii. 24 ὑπατ' εὐρύανασσων Ὀλυμπίας, and in Tim. Locr. 100 Α ὥς τὰλλα μέρεα ὑπηρετεῖν τούτῳ καθάπερ ὑπάτῳ τῷ σκάνεος ἅπαντος, translate it as you may, it will be seen that ὑπάτῳ is still superlative, and τῷ σκάνεος a partitive genitive; and this is the sense which is impossible in ὑπατοὶ λεχέων. That can no more be a synonym of ὑπέρτεροι than πρῶτοι of πρότεροι or ὕστατοι¹ of ὕστεροι. It never occurred even to the scholiast to take it so, desperate as his explanation is compelled to be: οἷτινες ὑπατοὶ ὄντες . . . ἐπὶ τῶν λεχέων στροφοδινοῦνται.

Mr. Housman, comparing Soph. Ant. 630 Αἴμων . . . ἀπάτας λεχέων ὑπεραλγῶν ('grieving for the cheat of his marriage') and Theb. 278 ὥς τις τέκνων ὑπερδέδοικεν λεχαίων (MS. λεχέων) . . . πελειάς, conjectured

οἳ τ' ἐκπάγλοις
 ἄλγεσι, παίδων ἀπάτῃ λεχαίων,

But the second dative produces an effect of awkwardness, and the shortening of λεχαίων is another improbability. I believe we have simply the corruption of a compound, to be added to the many adjectives in -λεχής, as πρωτολεχής, μονο-, κοινο-, αἰνο-, δεινο-, ἀπειρο-, εὖ-, ἵππο-, ὄρει-, γῆ-, χαμαι-. The formation would first be ὑπατολεχέων, and in Epic the

¹ Liddell and Scott s.v. ὕστερος quote Pind. O. x. 41 καὶ κείνος ἀβουλία ὕστατος ἀλώσιος ἀντάσιος θάνατον αἰὼν οὐκ ἐξέφυγεν, wrongly rendering 'all too late for.' But s.v. ἀντάω they rightly take ἀλώσιος to depend on ἀντάσιος.

λ might merely be doubled in pronunciation, as πολὺλλιστος Hom., μονόλλυκος Arat. 1124; but the usual plan for metrical purposes or for euphony was to substitute η for ο, as θανατηφόρος, αἱματηφόρος, θεσφατηλόγος, ἐλαφηβόλος, πολεμηδόκος, ξενηδόκος, γλαυκηπύρος, ὁμφαλητόμος, νεήφατος, νεηθαλής, and countless others, to which I will add only ὀφιηβοσίη from the *Inscriptions of Cos* p. 113. The whole subject is treated with his unique learning by Lobeck *Phryn.* p. 633-713.²

Similar words are πυματήγορος, and ἐσχατόγηρος (γέρων ἐς τὸ ἐσχατον Lucian iii. 82) which also gets corrupted; L. Dindorf in the *Thesaurus* restores it in Diod. Sic. xx. 72 for νν.λλ. ἐσχατόγηρος and ἐσχατῶ γήρῳ, noting that both in Strabo p. 650 and Sirach 41, 4 ἐσχατῶ γήρῳ is a v.l. for ἐσχατογῆρῳ.

In A.P. i. 47 Πατρὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο μεγασθενὲς ἦλυθε πνεῦμα, Stadtmueller was ill-advised in adopting the v.l. μέγα σθένος: even if the reading of P were not μέγα σθενῆς (the hyphen after the usual fashion, indicating the compound), the adjective should have been restored. I have another such to restore in *Supp.* 584, where the MSS. give

βία δ' ἀπημάντῳ σθένει
 καὶ θείαις ἐπιπνοίαις
 παύεται

The subject is Io. My inference that this should be

βία δ' ἀπηματοσθενεῖ

was drawn before I had observed the schol. on 584 λέπει ὁ καί, which indicates (as Weil remarks) that he read βίαι or βία as the dative (the final ι is commonly, of course, omitted), and took the construction to be βία δὲ καὶ ἀπημάντῳ σθένει.

A corruption that resembles this is Cho. 967, where I am now convinced that Hermann's restoration is correct:

ταχὰ δὲ παντελὺς χρόνος ἀμείψεται
 πρόθυρα δωμάτων . . . ,
 967 τύχα δ' εὐπροσωποκίττα τὸ πᾶν
 ἰδεῖν θροεμένοις
 μέτοικοι δόμων πεσοῦνται πάλιν³

² From stems in α or η the formation may be called legitimate. In Soph. fr. 122. 1 (Hesych. ii. 526) ἡμιουτὸν κούρειον ἡρέθη πόλει should perhaps be ΤΙΜΗΟΥΤΟΝ τιμήθουτο or τιμάθουτο κούρειον 'chosen as an honourable sacrifice.' It looks at any rate like a compound such as ἱερόθυτος, πρωτόθυτος, εἰδωλόθυτος.

³ It gives also μετοικοδόμων, the reason for which is that μετοικοδομεῖν was a word in late use. The schol. had μέτοικοι.

Μ (in which there is a gloss ἀκοῦσαι after ἰδεῖν) gives τύχα δ' εὐπροσώπωνι κοίται. 'The meaning is 'presently when the palace has been purged of the filth it now contains (cf. 955 βλαβὰν ἐγχροισθεῖσαν), it will be ready for the entry of the rightful owner; and those who have no right in it (μέτοικοι δόμων) shall fall again with a fate of fair aspect altogether in the mourners' eyes.' θρέομαι always means 'to wail,' and θρεομένοις here means the mourning party, the sympathisers with Orestes, the same that are described in the meaning phrase 781 δὸς τύχας τυχεῖν κυρίως τὰ σῶφρον' αὖ¹ μαιομένοις ἰδεῖν 'grant O Zeus that *fortune fall out as it should* for those who long to see decency restored.' To them the fall of the μέτοικοι will be a goodly sight. The dative depends upon the adjective, as 734 γέλων κεύθουσ' ἐπ' ἔργοις διαπεπραγμένοις καλῶς κείνη, δόμοις δὲ τοῖσδε παγκακῶς ἔχει, or what is still more pertinent for our passage, *Ag.* 1581 where Aegisthus says over the body of Agamemnon ἰδὼν τὸν ἄνδρα τόνδε κείμενον φίλως ἐμοί. That illustrates what I take to be suggested by the curious εὐπροσωποκοίτα, a picture of slain bodies lying low upon the ground. In *Soph. El.* 1466, when a vision is suddenly disclosed before Aegisthus' eyes of what he assumes to be the dead body of his enemy Orestes, he utters, I am inclined to think, a similar half-metaphorical expression, ὦ Ζεῦ, δέδορκα φάσμι', ἄνευ φθόνου μὲν εὖ² πεπτωκός—εἰ δ' ἔπεστι νέμεσις, οὐ λέγω.

125 κενδὸν δὲ στρατόμαντις ἰδὼν δύο
λήμασι δισσοῦς
'Ατρεΐδας μαχίμους

It is a strange fact that the order of words in a Greek sentence has never clearly been appreciated. I propose before long to illustrate it with examples and to point out some of its important applications; but since I am accustomed to rely upon it in my reading and require to argue from it in my criticisms, I will state it briefly here. Each clause or section of a clause in any language contains one part which is stressed

more highly than the other: with regard to the position of the stress, Greek is exactly the opposite of English. In English normally—as in the sentence I am writing—the unemphatic words come first; they are uttered in a monotone, and lead up to emphasis upon the end; in Greek the emphatic are placed first, and the unemphatic follow after. Agreeably to this, it is normal in English for the subject to precede the predicate—"the man is good"; but in Greek they said ἀγαθὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ.

This principle I have found the surest key of all to understanding Greek; it will unlock at once the sentence now before us. All critics have assumed that λήμασι δισσοῦς go together; then, seeing that δισσοῦς is unsuitable, some have substituted other words, as Lobeck πιστοῦς, Dindorf ἴσους. The truth is that the words which go together are δύο λήμασι: 'seeing the twain warrior sons of Atreus two in temper.' What enables the sage prophet to identify the pair of eagles with the pair of princes is that the birds are royal warriors, but one κελαινός and the other ἐξόπιν ἀργᾶς—in common language μελανάετος and πύγαργος (*Arist.* 618^b 18). These represent characters which correspond to those of Agamemnon and Menelaus. The taunt of spiritlessness³ or κακία so often aimed at Menelaus (largely based, one may suppose, on the lost Epic and Lyric literature) seems to be hinted at in *v.* 420-4; οὐ γὰρ εἰκός, says *Pindar fr.* 81, τὸν ἐόντων ἀρπαζομένων παρὰ θ' ἐστία καθῆσθαι καὶ κακὸν ἔμμεν.

δισσοὶ 'Ατρεΐδαι is the common phrase, *Eur. Hec.* 506, 810, *Soph. Aj.* 57, 947, and similarly 390, 960, *Philoct.* 793, 1024, *Ag.* 43.

138-163 In considering this passage it is important to recognise that it is in the true oracular style; the most vivid representation Greek affords of the manner in which his inspired message was delivered by a prophet. It is proclaimed with a spiritual exaltation in a loud and excited tone of voice,⁴ obscured in metaphorical and ambiguous language, and guarded by a limiting condition:

¹ αὖ for εὖ had been suggested, I now see, by Dr. Verrall before I commended it a year ago: Dr. Wecklein had omitted it.

² Tyrwhitt's reading in place of οὐ, the phrase ἄνευ φθόνου μὲν being equivalent to the common σὺν θεῷ μὲν εἰπεῖν or μόνον φθόνος ἀπέστω. At this rate φθόνος and νέμεσις refer to the same thing. Those who retain the MS. are obliged to refer φθόνου to jealousy of heaven for some presumption of Orestes, and νέμεσις to jealousy of heaven for the presumptuous language of Aegisthus. One could not praise such writing.

³ *Journal of Philology* xxiii. p. 272: add Quint. vi. 30-43.

⁴ ἐκλαγξεν 211, ἀπέκλαγξεν 165. This is the explanation of other words, applied to the delivery of oracles, as ἰάχην and κέλαδος and those which are technical of them, λακεῖν, ὀρθιάζειν. λακεῖν does not mean 'to say,' or as Liddell and Scott suppose 'to noise abroad,' but 'to utter with a wild, confused, and half-articulate cry' such as comes from the victims of a *nightmare*. Compare for instance *Oho.* 35, 533, *Ag.* 287. Upon all this subject I shall have more another day.

χρόνῳ μὲν ἀγρεῖ Πριάμου πόλιν ἄδε κέλευθος
 πάντα δὲ πύργων
 κτήνῃ πρόσθε τὰ δημοιοληθῇ
 μοῖρα λαπάξει πρὸς τὸ βίαιον
 οἷον μὴ τις ἄγα θεόθεν κνεφάσῃ προτυπὲν
 στόμιον μέγα Τροίας
 στρατωθέν· ὁ κνὼ γάρ· ἐπίφθονος Ἀρτεμις ἀγνὰ
 παανοῖσιν κυσὶ πατρὸς

139 οἶτω MSS.

οἷον μὴ κνεφάσῃ means *μόνον φράζεσθαι* or *φυλακτέον μὴ* . . . and this is the saving clause which it appears from some amusing parodies was proper to a prophecy: *A.P.* xi. 163 a wrestler, a pentathlete, and a runner come to find out from a *μάντις* which will win. 'πάντες' ἔφη 'νικᾶτε *μόνον* μὴ τις σὲ παρέλθῃ, καὶ σὲ καταστρέψῃ, καὶ σὲ παρατροχάσῃ.' In xi. 365 a farmer consults an astrologer on his prospects. 'If it rains enough' is the response 'and not too much, and the furrows are not spoilt by frost, nor young shoots crushed by hail, nor the crop devoured by deer, and nothing else unfavourable befalls from earth or air, I foretell you a good harvest—*μὲν οὖν* αὖς δεῖδιθι τὰς ἀκρίδας.'

For οἶκω γὰρ ἐπίφθονος . . . Casaubon conjectured οἶκτω. The word is quite superfluous, yet here the chief stress of the sentence must be placed upon it. It would signify in Greek 'for it is out of compassion that Artemis is jealous . . .' The same objection holds equally against οἶκω, which other objections have been strong enough to discredit with most critics. The only way you can translate it is to take it in apposition to *κυσί*: 'for Artemis is wroth against the house—her Father's winged hounds for sacrificing a poor hare . . .' Who does not feel that to be most awkward writing? Besides, though the two eagles do of course in the prophet's mind symbolize the two Atreidae, it is by symbols that he speaks; it is not the part of the soothsayer to be scholiast upon his own deliverance: ἄλλος μὲν ὁ χρησµωδός, ἄλλος δὲ ὁ ἐρµηνεύς.

What I take the seer to say is this: 'In course of time I see the fall of Priam's town—if only no jealousy from heaven dull the great embattled¹ bit that should hold the mouth of Troy—for I have misgivings; Artemis is wroth against her Father's winged hounds for sacrificing a poor timorous hare with all her unborn young.' Artemis is both the befriender of young creatures and the patroness of child-bed; there is reason therefore to apprehend that she may show resentment.

¹ *στρατωθέν* is an epithet 'limiting' the metaphor.

Then he proceeds (146) 'But though so kindly² to all young wild creatures, yet consent to grant fulfilment of this sign, which though partly favourable, is partly nevertheless untoward.'

ὁκνῶ γάρ (= οὐ θαρρῶ γάρ) is in this sense 'Ιωνικώτερον and used accordingly by Xenophon and Sophocles: e.g. *Phil.* 907.

178 'I can find none' the Chorus say 'to put my trust in, but Zeus alone':

οὐκ ἔχω προσεικάσαι
 πλὴν Δίος εἰ τὸ μάταν ἀπὸ φροντίδος ἄχθος
 χρὴ βαλεῖν ἐτητύμως.
 οὐδ' ὅστις πάροιθεν ἦν μέγας, παμμάχῳ
 θράσει βρύων
 οὐδὲν λέξαι πρὶν ὦν,
 ὅς δ' ἔπειτ' ἔφν, τριακτῆρος οἴχεται τυχόν

Paley says 'ὅστις cannot be used of a definite person,' and reads οὐθ' ὅς τοῖς πάροιθεν ἦν μέγας, 'neither he who to those of old was a god of power' which leads one to expect a different antithesis from ὅς δ' ἔπειτ' ἔφν. The natural opposition would be οὐθ' ὅς νῦν. I am aware that ὅστις may be argued for, but probability is very much against it, and when we find the sentence beginning with οὐδ' ὅστις, suspicion is considerably increased. For what is certain is that οὐδ' ὅστις πάροιθεν or οὐδ' ὅς τοῖς πάροιθεν could only mean 'not even he that was great *aforetime*,' the stress being on *πάροιθεν*. That is pointless here. The only plausible conjecture I have seen is οὐδ' ὅστις (Pauw). The reading I propose, because it proceeds by an unexpected path, will be somewhat startling at first sight; but it appears to me to make a natural and effective sentence. For ΟΥΔΟCTIC I merely write ΟΥΛΟCTIC

οἷλος τις πάροιθεν ἦν μέγας, παμμάχῳ θράσει βρύων.

'A violent one was great of old, swelling with boisterous puissance.' The metaphor throughout is of a combat—*τριακτῆρος* and *παμμάχῳ*, a word which it will be seen in the *Thesaurus* was properly used of the pancratiast. οἷλος, the epithet applied by Homer to Ares and Achilles, is eminently suitable to this turbulent swasher.

It cannot stand for an argument, but it may be suggested not unfairly, that if Aeschylus did use this word, he would have

² Perhaps τὸσον περ εὐφρων <δὲ>, Καλὰ δρόσοις λεπτοῖς μαλερῶν λεύκων, though one rather desiderates εὐφρων, Καλὰ, οὐσ' ἔρσαισι. That at any rate should be the metre. Καλὰ, the well-known epithet of Artemis, is used here after the usual custom, to flatter and conciliate the goddess.

recalled that celebrated saying of Xenophanes (p. 35 Karsten) οὔλος ὄρα, οὔλος δὲ νοεῖ, οὔλος δέ τ' ἀκούει: though the identity is only one of sound, for οὔλος there meant ὄλος.

405 λιτῶν δ' ἄκουει μὲν οὐδεις θεῶν
τὸν δ' ἐπίστροφον τῶν
φῶτ' ἀδίκων καθαιρεῖ

may be suggested, though such a position of words is rare even in Homer (Λ 186 τὸν Ἑκτορι μῆθον ἐνίσπες). Yet in *Eum.* 487 (as it stands) τὸν εἰς ἅπαντ' ἐγὼ θήσω χρόνον is εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον.

702 Ἰλῖφ δὲ κῆδος ὀρθ-
ῶνμνον τελεσσέφρων
μῆνις ἤλασεν

ἤλασεν will not bear enquiry. It cannot mean 'drove to Troy'; while if Ἰλῖφ is translated rightly 'for Troy,' ἤλασεν must mean, as always, 'drove away.' Besides, the κῆδος was not driven, or even brought, to Troy to take vengeance for the κῆδος: what was brought there was the Grecian army; and it was then the Trojans found that Ἰλῖφ αἰπεινᾷ Πάρις οὐ γάμον ἀλλά τιν' ἄταν ἀγάγει' εὐναίαν εἰς θαλάμους Ἑλέναν *Eur. Andr.* 103. ἤλασεν is a mistake for ἤνυσεν, a synonym of ἔκρανεν, ἐξέπραξεν, ἐτελείωσεν 'brought to fulfilment,' and is constructed with ὀρθῶνμνον exactly as *Soph. Ant.* 1178 τοῦπος ὡς ἀρ' ὀρθὸν ἤνυσας: cf. *O.C.* 454 παλαίφαθ' ἄμοι Φοῖβος ἤνυσέν ποτε, *O.T.* 166 ἡνύσατ' ἐκτοπίαν φλόγα, *Hom.* τ 567 οἷ ρ' ἔτυμα κραίνουσιν. *Theb.* 870 ἀληθῇ . . . ἐπέκρανεν.

The same error was corrected by Reiske *Eur. Heracl.* 788, reading διήνυσεν ἐλευθερώσαι for διήλασεν.

779 Weil reads

πολλοὶ δὲ βροτῶν τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι οἱ
προτίουσι

in place of εἶναι. The very phrase is used by Lucian iii. 274 where he is reminding Samippus, who had wished to be a king, what the drawbacks of the position would have been: ἐπιβουλαὶ μυρίαὶ καὶ φθόνος παρὰ τῶν συνόντων καὶ μῖσος καὶ κολακεία, φίλος δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀληθής, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ δέος ἅπαντες ἢ πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα εὖνοι δοκούντες εἶναι.

784 καὶ συγχαίρουσιν ὁμοιοπρεπεῖς
ἀγέλαστα πρόσσωπα βιαζόμενοι

I agree with Hermann in believing a paroemiac to have been lost that contained the finite verb; and from the following passages I should expect that the purport of it was 'they smile only with the lips':

Hom. O 101 ἡ δὲ γέλασεν χεῖλεσιν, οὐ δὲ μέτωπον ἐπ' ὄφρυνσι κνανέησιν ἰανθῇ 'smiled at him with her lips, not with her eyes' as Mr. Stephen Phillips has it. Lucian iii. 153 προσίεται μὲν καὶ προσμειδιᾷ τοῖς χεῖλεσιν ἄκροισι, μισεῖ δὲ καὶ λάθρα τοὺς ὀδόντας διαπρίει. *Fronto* p. 243 Naber ὁ τοι γέλως, οὕτως τὸ πρὶν ἄδολος εἶναι πεφυκὼς ὡς καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας τῶν γελόντων ἐπιδεικνύειν, εἰς τοσοῦτον ἤδη περιέστηκεν κακομνηχανίας καὶ ἐνέδρας ὡς καὶ τὰ χεῖλη κρύπτειν τῶν ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς προσγελόντων. *Plaut. Capt.* 484 nemo ridet. scivi extemplo rem de confecto geri. ne canem quidem inritatam voluit quisquam imitarius, saltem, si non adriderent, dentis ut restringerent. *Schol. Plat. Rep.* 337 A p. 926 μήποτε οὖν τὸ Ὀμηρικόν, ὅθεν καὶ ἡ παροιμία, ἴσως ἐρρῆν, 'μειδίησε δὲ θυμῷ σαρδάνιον μάλα τοῖον' τὸν ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν χελῶν γέλωτα καὶ μέχρι τοῦ σεσηρῆναι γιγνόμενον σημαίνει (cf. *Thes. s.v.* σαίρω). But, continues Aeschylus, οὐκ ἔστι λαθεῖν ὁ μ μ α τ α, their eyes bewray them.

790 'At that time,' say the Chorus, 'when you were marshalling an expedition for the sake of Helen, I will freely confess that you appeared in our sight ill-advised in seeking to recover a willing impudence at the cost of lives of men':

θάρσος ἐκούσιον
ἀνδράσι θνήσκουσι κομίζων.

This is Dr. Verrall's interpretation ('a consenting wanton'), and I have never had a moment's doubt that it was right. Curiously enough it so happened that this was singled out by two of his critics for rejection on the face of it; which shows how hard it is for an unfamiliar view to win its way. Yet it need not have been altogether unfamiliar, for two critics had already given its correct meaning to κομίζων and referred θάρσος ἐκούσιον to Helen. M. Weil suggested 'Fortasse τῆς θηλείας vel tale quid excidit, ut hoc dicat poeta: *feminae audaciam voluntariam* (sponte enim Helene adulterum secuta erat), i.e. *feminam perfidam, virorum morte recuperare conans*,' illustrating κομίζων by *Pind. O.* xiii. 58, *P.* iv. 106. Mr. Margoliouth, using the same passages and adding *Eur. Supp.* 275, made a further step by taking the text to be complete: 'Helenae impudicitiam libenter admissam, non vi coactam, virorum morte reducens,' quoting for the sentiment *Eur. Tro.* 370 sqq. And the final step is made by Dr. Verrall, who takes θάρσος ἐκούσιον to be a description of Helen actually herself. If it could be used so, it is plainly better; but this is the point where hesitation may be felt and for which illustration

may not be unwelcome. Dr. Verrall says 'Nor is *θάρος* difficult in itself. Like *μῖσος* and *στύγος*, so *θάρος* or *θράσος* is used in a personal sense (e.g. Eur. *Andr.* 261 ὃ βάρβαρον σὺ θρέμμα καὶ σκληρὸν θράσος), and it is of course common as a synonym of *ἀναίδεια*.' This is perfectly correct; but the example is a vocative: would such a phrase be used in the third person? Yes, where the meaning is sufficiently defined, there is not the least objection: *ἐλέγχεα* (vocative Hom. B 235, E 787) Ω 260 τὰ δ' ἐλέγχεα πάντα λέλειπται. *ὄνειδος* Teles (Stob. *Fl.* 40. 8) τὰ δὲ ὄνειδ' τῆς δημοκρατίας ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις τάφοις (τεθαμμένοι εἰσὶ). Eur. *Cycl.* 293 τὰ δ' Ἑλλάδος δὺσφρονά γ' ὄνειδ' (Helen¹) Φρυξὶν οὐκ ἐδώκαμεν. Aesch. *Theb.* 526 τὸ γὰρ πόλεως ὄνειδος... *Σφύγγα*. Ar. *Ach.* 855 *Λυσίστρατος*... *Χολαργέων ὄνειδος*. Lycurg. p. 148. 25 τοῦτον... τῆς τε πατρίδος ὄνειδος γεγεννημένον... Dem. 558. 5, 11. *στύγος* (voc. *Theb.* 640, *Apoll. Rhod.* iv. 445) *Cho.* 1025 *μητέρα*... *πατροκτόνον μῖασμα καὶ θεῶν, στύγος*, 530 ὑπὸ *στύγους* 'by the loathsome creature,' *A.P.* vii. 405 *Βουπάλειον ἐς στύγος* i.e. τὸν Βούπαλον: so probably *Cho.* 766 *δεσπότην στύγει* 'our hated master,' cf. *δείματα θηρῶν, θηρῶν δάκη, θήρειον δάκος. μῖσος* (voc. *Philoct.* 991, *Med.* 1312) *Ag.* 1411, *Antig.* 760 ἄγετε τὸ μῖσος, Eur. *fr.* 530. 4 *Κυπρίδος δὲ μίσσημ'*, Ἀρκὰς Ἀταλάντη, *Hipp.* 409, *Eum.* 73. Forms in -μα are commonly so used, as *ἀπαιόλημα Cho.* 1000, τὸν αἰμυλώτατον, *ἐχθρὸν ἄλημα Soph.* *Aj.* 389, *πάνσοφον κρότημα Λαέρτου γόνος fr.* 827, *Πολυκράτης δέ...*, *λόγων τι παιτάλημα καὶ κακὴ γλώσσα Aeschrio* (*Ath.* 335d). Finally, besides ὃ *θράσος* in *Andr.* 261, we have *κρατούσα μὲν γὰρ (γυνή) οὐχ ὀμιλητὸν θράσος (ἐστὶ)*: so there need be no hesitation about the use of the contemptuous neuter here. The name has been already named, and a Greek audience would not experience the least difficulty in understanding what was meant. Nothing can have been more familiar to them than this view of Helen as a ground of discontentment both at home and in the camp. It was bad enough that men's blood should be shed for a woman's sake at all (*Ag.* 62, 455, cf. *Supp.* 486), especially when that woman was another's wife (*Ag.* 455, Achilles in Hom. A 154, I 327, 339); but for a woman who went off with her lover of her own accord (add Eur. *Andr.* 592 *sqq.*), this was indeed a thing intolerable.²

¹ So I understand it; but this explanation does not appear to have occurred to editors.

² See the Asiatic view of this very matter as represented by Herodotus i. 4; when women were carried off, it was folly to make exertions for re-

Another instance of *κομίζειν* in this case is Pind. *N.* vii. 27.

1269

ἐποπτεύσας δέ με
κάν τοῖσδε κόσμοις καταγελωμένην μετὰ
φίλων ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν οὐ διχορρόπως μάτην

'having regarded me even in this raiment laughed to scorn by foes and friends alike without distinction.' The form of phrase, which from its unfamiliarity has occasioned a good deal of doubt and alteration, may be illustrated by the proverbial sayings *ἐρρέτω φίλος σὺν ἐχθρῷ* (Plut. *Mor.* 50 F, Macar. iv. 12), *σφάλλειν σὺν ἐχθροῖς καὶ φίλους κέρδος φέρει* and *ἀπόλοιτο καὶ φίλος σὺν ἐχθροῖς* (Macar. vii. 95). Bergk's reading in Pind. viii. 74 πολλοῖς σοφοῖς (for σοφός) δοκεῖ πεδ' ἀφρόνων βίον κορυσσέμεν ὀρθοβούλοισι μαχαναῖς would be just such another phrase, 'is thought not only by fools but by many wise men also.'

If the original had been

καταγελωμένην μάτην
φίλων ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν οὐ διχορρόπως μέτα,

to take this for ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν would have been a natural error, and to transpose *μετα* and *μάτην* a ready expedient for making a construction; but the MS., which throws the stress on *ἐχθρῶν*, has a very obvious meaning, 'laughed at now in Argos as before at Troy.' That meaning would have been as well expressed by *φίλων μέτ'*, *ἐχθρῶν οὐ διχορρόπως ὑπο*.

1432 καὶ τήνδ' ἀκούεις ὀρκίῳ ἐμῶν θέμιν cannot be correct, for *ἀκούεις* would mean 'you hear, 'you have heard now'; it is after the law has been recited that the orator says *ἀκούεις τὸν νόμον*, and the same is the case invariably with *ἀκούεις* or *κλύεις*. Greek would be καὶ τήνδ' ἀκουσον (Casaubon) as *Cho.* 498, or ἀκούε γ' (Herwerden), or as I suggest ἀκούση γ' or ἀκούσει γ' (ΑΚΟΥΣΙΓ), as *Eum.* 306, *Soph. Aj.* 1141.

1444

ἄτιμα δ' οὐκ ἐπραξάτην
ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὕτως· ἡ δὲ τοι . . .
κέλται, φιλήτωρ τοῦδ', ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπήγαγεν
εὐνῆς παροψώνημα τῆς ἐμῆς χλιδῆς.

The more I look at this, the less I like it. In the first place I never saw in genuine Greek such an inexplicable collocation of genitives as *εὐνῆς τῆς ἐμῆς χλιδῆς*. But allow it, for the sake of argument, to pass; what can we suppose it means? As a matter of fact, almost every critic supposes something different. Paley gives some of the various

venge, δῆλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι, εἰ μὴ αὐταὶ ἐβούλοντο, οὐκ ἂν ἤρπάζοντο.

interpretations that have been advanced, to which those of Enger and Schneidewin may be added, while Wecklein's Appendix will show numerous conjectures. The view which I think the most necessary to combat is that which makes Clytemnestra say 'Cassandra by her death has added to the enjoyment of my bed.' How has she done it? Revenge may have added to Clytemnestra's enjoyment of life generally; but how to the particular enjoyment she is supposed to name? I confess I am unable to perceive. If it were so, we should get a reasonable construction by reading *χλιδή* 'triumph,' 'exultation' as the subject to *ἐπήγαγεν*.

But the aesthetic objection is too strong. There are few women, however dissolute, abandoned, shameless, that I can imagine making so hideous an avowal; and I am sure that the Clytemnestra of Aeschylus is not among them. How far her guilty connexion with Aegisthus was a motive to her act, is a question asked by Pindar (*P.* xi 22), but not answered,—as indeed you could not answer it; and Aeschylus with rare artistic judgment leaves us to conjecture. But it is a motive not admitted by herself at all; never admitted, I imagine, even to her own mind. Her justification, asserted before and after (1395–7, 1402–5, 1412–20, 1433–4, 1524–31, 1554) in the plainest and most solemn terms, is righteous vengeance for her daughter's life: Aegisthus is her 'sympathetic' friend and ally, who will continue to light the fire upon her hearth. That is all she says; all, surely, that any woman could say. The reticence of the expression is in the strongest contrast with the frank and emphatic declaration that immediately precedes it. But having made that declaration, she then permits herself to vent in passionate invective the jealous hate and fury of an injured wife.

Among the passages collected by Blomfield to illustrate *παροψώνημα* is a fragment of Aristophanes (*Ath.* 368 c) *πάσαις γυναιξίν ἐξ ἑνός γε τοῦ τρόπου ὥσπερ παροψὶς μοιχὸς ἐσκενασμένος*. That, as he observes, 'apprime huc facit'; 'nempe *παροψὶς* erat *ferculum delicatum*, quod praeter solitos cibos apponebant: gallice, *entremets*.' But yet he missed the meaning, for he reads with Musgrave *χλιδῇ*. No, the phrase is not only in the same direction, but abso-

lutely parallel. What the *μοιχὸς* is in relation to the wife and husband, that, she says, was *Cassandra* in relation to *Agamemnon* and herself; this woman was *εὐνῆς παροψώνημα τῆς ἐμῆς*, to the bed that belonged by right to me. The phrase is not the accusative and object to *ἐπήγαγεν*, but the nominative and subject of it—or better, perhaps, it is in apposition to the previous nominative *ἡ δέ τοι*. And it follows that the object must be *χλιδῇ*:

ἄτιμα δ' οὐκ ἐπραξάτην
ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὕτως· ἡ δέ τοι . . .
κέϊται, φιλήτωρ τοῦδ', ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπήγαγεν,
εὐνῆς παροψώνημα τῆς ἐμῆς, χλιδῇ.

To appreciate the construction of the passage it should be understood that she is contemplating the relations that all three have held to one another, and gloating with sardonic joy upon their different issues; and these things are expressed by closely-knit antitheses: 'Low lies the wronger of his wife; and she, his paramour (1439 *sqq.*), lies there beside him. They have met with their deserts; for thus it is with *him*; and *she*, that was *his* lover, is laid low—she, that chose to trespass upon my wifely rights, hath but afforded *me* the exquisite delight of triumph.' That is how they have severally come off; herself alone is left victorious at all points.

A new force, that before was lacking, is now gained by *φιλήτωρ τοῦδε*; it is directly balanced by *εὐνῆς παροψώνημα τῆς ἐμῆς*, and it may well be that the active word was selected with the intention of conveying Clytemnestra's view of *Cassandra*, as an enemy who had dared to side with *Agamemnon*, and had thereby offered a challenge to herself.

ἐπάγειν is used by Pindar thus, like *ἐπιδόσιναι*: *P.* viii. 64 to Apollo, τὸ μὲν μέγιστον τόθι χαρμάτων ὥπασσας, οἶκοι δὲ πρόσθεν ἀρπαλεῖαν δόσιν . . . ἐπάγαγες: cf. *O.* ii. 10, 41, *Soph. Aj.* 1189.

The schol. has τὴν ἐκ περιουσίας τρυφήν, which Blomfield took to be an explanation of *παροψώνημα* merely. It must have included *χλιδῆς*, for of that word *τρυφή* is the grammarians' regular equivalent² (see

¹ This is the nearest equivalent of *εὐ φρονῶν ἐμοὶ* 1437, as in other places, *c.g.* *Ag.* 283, *Cho.* 770.—In 1654 where she implores him to refrain from bloodshed, the appeal is by her love for him, *ὦ φίλτατ' ἀνδρῶν*; but that is a different thing from talking of her *εὐνή* with him to the public.

² When I was studying scholia first, and reading those on Sophocles, I came upon *τρυφᾶν καὶ ἐναβρύνεσθαι* (without a lemma) on *O. T.* 1070, and turned at once to see whether the text was *χλιδῆν* or *χλιδᾶν*. I found *ταύτην δ' ἔατε πλουσίᾳ χαίρειν γένει*. It is against all probability that *χαίρειν* should have been the lemma; but of *ΧΛΙΕΙΝ* those are the proper explanations: *c.g.* *Pind. O.* x. 99 *χλιδῶσα δὲ μοῦσά*; schol. p. 256 *ἀντὶ τοῦ τρυφῶσα, ἐναβρυνόμενη*. Nauck for the same reason had conjectured *χλιδᾶν*. It is

Ruhnken *Tim.* 276 = 230, Moeris 408 = 370) : thus (to quote passages some of which will at the same time illustrate the sense of *luxuriating triumph*) Aesch. *Supp.* 925 Ἑλλήσιν ἐγγλίεις, 242 χλίοντα, schol. τρυφῶντα, Cho. 137 ἐν . . . πόνοισι χλίουσιν, schol. τρυφῶσιν. Hesych. Ἑγγλίει: ἐντρυφᾷ. Χλίει: θρύπτει: *P. V.* 1003 χλιδᾶν ἔοικας τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασι: schol. τρυφᾶν, ἀνίσσθαι. Soph. *Trach.* 281 ὑπερχλίοντες: schol. ὑπερεντρυφήσαντες.

χλιδῆν was conjectured by Auratus, but it is unfortunately impossible to know how he understood the sentence. M. Weil, to whose judgment and penetration I am accustomed in such a case to look with hope, now reads (after Karsten) θοίνης παροψώνημα τῆσδ' εὐνῆς χλιδῆν. But in his edition of 1861 he had been upon the track that I have followed: 'Vulgata per brevitatem a graeco sermone non abhorrentem, bis cogitato παροψώνημα, fortasse sic expediri potest, ut Agamemno dicatur quam sibi adduxerit εὐνῆς παροψώνημα, Clytaemnestrae adduxisse παροψώνημα χλιδῆς.' It is unnecessary to dwell upon the objection to the sentence this would make; but there alone is the suggestion to be found that by εὐνῆς παροψώνημα might be meant Cassandra.

1479 ἐκ τοῦ γὰρ ἔρως αἵματολοιχὸς
νείρει τρέφεται, πρὶν καταλήξαι
τὸ παλαιὸν ἄχος, νέος ἴχαρ.

νείρει τρέφεται may be, I think, a corruption of a compound νειριτροφεῖται, like σκιατροφεῖσθαι: cf. νυκτηγορεῖσθαι *Theb.* 29. To write it as we find it would be the natural tendency of a copyist; thus we get in MSS. ἄγει κνήμων schol. Pind p. 312 (*fr.* 82) for ἀγχικρήμων, ὀνήσει πόλιν Simonides in Plat. *Prot.* 346 c for ὀνήσιπολιν, κάμψει διαύλον Telestes in Ath. 637 a for καμψιδάυλον: while for the strengthened form of the verb they tend to write the simple form; thus (to take a case in which this often happens) in Eur. *fr.* 1063. 5 for ἀναστρωφωμένη (Gesner) the MSS. of

possible, indeed, to conceive and argue that Sophocles might wish to suggest εἰτε χλαίρει 'let her go'; but no one ever saw that word so glossed; and χλαίρει is the most appropriate word in this connexion: c.g. Eur. *fr.* 986 πλούτῳ χλιδῶσα, *P. V.* 918 πλούτῳ διαθρυπτομένων (ἐντρυφόντων schol.)... γέννα μεγαλυνόμενων.

Stobaeus and Choricus vary between ἀναστρωφωμένη and ἀναστρεφωμένη.

The form might also be νειριτραφεῖται, as σκιατραφεῖται. This word too supplies an example of the tendency to break up compounds: in Stob. *Flor.* 97. 17 (Eur. *fr.* 546. 8) there is a *v.l.* σκιά τροφούμενος.

1573 To save space I will give at once what I believe to have been the history of our text:

κτεάνων τε μέρος
ἀπόχρη
βαῖον ἐχούση πᾶν ἐπαρκὲς ἔμοιγ'
ἀλληλοφόνους
μανίας μελάβρων ἀφελούση.

The next step was πᾶν ἀπόχρη 'μοιγ': but since πᾶν ἀπόχρη cannot be constructed together, πᾶν was taken to be a predicate; and that necessitated a connecting particle in the following clause: and so we get κτεάνων τε μέρος βαῖον ἐχούση πᾶν, ἀπόχρη μοι δ'. . . The rhythm alone is enough to show that cannot be genuine; but to confirm my view that this was supposed to be the construction, cod. f has actually that punctuation, a comma after πᾶν. I had long looked with suspicion upon ἀπόχρη, for it is a prose word, not a poetical, and neither in Epic, Lyric, or Tragedy is ever used at all. Thus it would be a natural synonym for explanatory purposes: Moeris p. 262 Οὐκ ἀπέρκει ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐκ ἀπέχρη, Ἀριστοφάνης Πολυίδῳ. But poetry uses ἀρκῶ and compounds, verbs and adjectives, as *Ag.* 390 ἀπήμεντον ὥστ' ἀπαρκέιν, *Pers.* 240 πλοῦτος ἀξαρκής, *A.P.* x. 76 πλοῦτον ἔχειν ἐθέλω τὸν ἐπάρκιον, *Anon.* (Suid. Παλαμῆδης) εἴη μοι βίωτος πανεπάρκιος 'all-sufficient.' And so here I believe that Aeschylus (who has παναρκής *Theb.* 152) wrote πανεπαρκὲς ἔμοιγ' . . . while the copyist, after the habit of such with unexpected compounds, made two words of it. In *Iambl. Vit. Pyth.* § 147 Cobet *Coll. Crit.* p. 378 for τὸ λεγόμενον πᾶν ἀληθὲς restored παναληθές, and the tendency is seen in *Theb.* 709 where παναληθεῖ was the first attempt at ΠΑΝΑΛΗΘΗ. ἔμοιγε is quite suitable: Plat. *Prot.* 346 c ἐγώ, ὦ Πιττακέ, οὐ διὰ ταῦτά σε ψέγω ὅτι εἰμὶ φιλόσοφος, ἐπεὶ ἔμοιγε ἐξαρκεῖ ὅς . . . Pherecrat. 145. 17. ἀλλ' οὖν ἔμοιγε χοῦτος ἦν ἀποχρῶν ἀνὴρ.

W. HEADLAM.

ON SOPHOCLES, *AJAX*, 839-842.

1. 839. καὶ σφας κακοὺς κάκιστα καὶ παυολέθρους
 ξυναρπάσειαν' ὥσπερ εἰσπορῶσ' ἔμε
 αὐτοσφαγῇ πίπτοντα, τῶς αὐτοσφαγεῖς
 πρὸς τῶν φιλίστων ἐγγόνων ὀλοῖατο.
 ἴτ', ὦ ταχέϊαι ποίνιμοί τ' Ἐρινύες,
 γένεσθε, μὴ φείδεσθε, πανθῆμον στρατοῦ.

Most of the editors, including Campbell, reject these four lines. Hermann, Jebb and one or two others retain the first two. Against the consensus of names of such weight one hesitates to form or express an opinion. It seems to me, however, that the proofs of spuriousness would require to be both different and stronger before we give up any part of the passage.

It is not absolutely necessary that ἐγγόνων above which there is an erasure in L should be wrong. Still we seem to have a right to expect Ajax's imprecation, uttered just before his death, to be, more or less, prophetic. So familiar to poet and his hearers was the tragic ending of the chief of Ajax's enemies, Agamemnon, who was not slain but revenged by his son.

Ought we not, instead of ἐγγόνων, to read ἐγγενῶν or, perhaps, ἐγγόνων, which would remove the difficulty? Agamemnon at least was slain by his nearest kindred. This cannot be said of Menelaus; yet the application of the statement is no more partial than that of l. 838 where Ajax says his life is blasted by the Atridae, never naming Odysseus. But there need be no difficulty as to the use of plural for singular in Greek tragedy. Of ἐγγενής used as a noun *O.T.* 1168 and *O.C.* 1167 (see also τοῖς ἐν γένει at *O.T.* 1430) are good instances which the analogy of συγγενής strengthens. The second reading ἐγγόνων is approved by Prof. Campbell who 'is inclined to think that ἐγγόνων rather than ἐγγενῶν is the true reading, whether the whole passage is interpolated or not.' The word ἐγγονος had been discarded by scholars as a mere MS. variant for ἔκγονος but the use of such substantives as ἀπόγονος, ἐπίγονος, ἔκγονος, πρόγονος, σύγγονος, seems to support its existence. The word is retained by Campbell and Jowett in Plato, *Rep.* 364 E. Its use seems somewhat vague, wavering between 'grand-child,' which is the meaning given by Hesychius, and 'blood-relation' of any kind.

The Scholiast in L says: τῶς αὐτοσφαγεῖς· ταῦτα νοθεύεσθαι φασιν ὑποβληθέντα πρὸς σαφήνειαν τῶν λεγομένων. The lemma τῶς

αὐτοσφαγεῖς would seem to show that the use of αὐτοσφαγεῖς twice in one line was what raised suspicion: I suppose these ancient critics intended to reject line 842 also.¹ It will be noted that the Scholiast himself expresses no opinion. I believe the Scholiast had ἐγγενῶν or ἐγγόνων in his text, for he remarks, τοῦτο ἀπέβη τῷ Ἀγαμέμνονι ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν φιλάτων ἀπόλετο. He would certainly not have failed to comment on ἐγγόνων. Even the *Scholia recentiora* make no reference to it, but Triclinius, whose date is about 1300 A.D., does so, and defends ἐγγόνων as reasonable.

[Since this paper was written, I find that Blaydes mentions ἐγγενῶν as a conjecture adopted by Seyffert.]

As to the proofs of spuriousness from the language, (1) φίλιστος. There are too many ἀπαξ λεγόμενα in Sophocles (some fifty words in *Ajax* alone are peculiar to Sophocles or copied by later writers only²) to let this weigh much. Professor Campbell writes to me: 'There is no point in calling Clytemnestra and Aegisthus φίλιστοι ἐγγενεῖς to Agamemnon.' Yet ἐγγενής is used of the nearest relatives and φίλιστος is naturally coupled with it as φίλτατος is, with express force, coupled with ἔκγονοι at *O.T.* 1474. Moreover Clytemnestra is always regarded as the principal figure in the murder of Agamemnon, and Aegisthus as a mere accomplice. (2) τῶς occurs in Aeschylus, both in lyrics and in trimeter. Why should an interpolator make choice of so many unusual words or uses? This is not the way of interpolators, whose boldness is less in language than in matter, which is detected by its own incongruity.

(3) The use of αὐτοσφαγής in two senses in the same line, though not without parallel in Sophocles, is bold indeed, too bold, I think, for an interpolator. It seems to me an audacity of genius which it would take a poet to strike out. The circumstances in which Ajax speaks must be borne in mind. 'The slayer' stands firm fixed in the ground: before hurling himself upon its point, the hero curses the enemies who

¹ Even had he quoted the name of Didymus, Διδυμὸς φησιν, as he does at *Ant.* 46, the verdict would hardly be final. The reason which led Didymus to reject *Ant.* 46 (see Jebb's excellent note) is instructive as an example of the Higher Criticism and its arbitrariness in the year 10 B.C.

² See list in Campbell's smaller edition. Vol. I. p. xlvii.

have brought him to this pass. May the Furies overtake them and may their lives come to like horror of sudden destruction with his own!

Jebb remarks regarding such compounds as *αὐθέντης*, *αὐτοκτόνος*, *αὐτοσφαγής*, *αὐτοφόνος*, 'the object of the deed may be one's own life or another's. This ambiguity of the compound is illustrated by *Antig.* 1175.

ΑΓ. αὐτόχειρ δ' αἰμάσσεται.
ΧΟ. πότερα πατρῴας ἢ πρὸς οἰκείας χερὸς ;

In these compounds *αὐτός* bears also the special meaning 'done by kindred': so *αὐθέντης* *Eum.* 212: *αὐτοκτόνος* *Eur. Med.* 1254: *αὐτοφόνος* *Aesch. Theb.* 850, *Agam.* 1059: *αὐτοργία* *Eum.* 322, as well as many instances in *Sophocles*.

αὐτοσφαγής having the double meaning of (1) 'self-slain' and (2) 'slain by kindred,' it is apparent what force it gathers here by its immediate repetition in the second sense 'unnaturally slain.'

[Indeed, the pliancy of meaning of these compounds is remarkable, as seen in *αὐτοκτονοῦντε*, *Antig.* 56 which all scholars, except Prof. Jebb, render 'slaying each other.'¹ This meaning of *reciprocity* which might easily come as an extension of the second meaning, 'slain by kindred' (in case of mutual slaughter amounting to 'slain by each other') seems undoubted, e.g. *αὐτόχειρ* at *Antig.* 172.

παίσαντές τε καὶ
πληγέντες αὐτόχειρι σὺν μιάσματι :

also *αὐτοκτόνος* in *Aesch. Theb.* 681 and 805 and especially *ib.* 735

ἐπειδὴν αὐτοκτόνως δ'
αὐτοδύκτοι θάνωσιν.]

So much may be said for the appropriateness of *αὐτοσφαγής* here. Again, how characteristic of *Sophocles* (as it is, to some extent, of all tragic poets) is his fondness for repeating a word in order to gain emphasis or enforce contrast. Such instances as

θυτήρα καινῶ καινὸν ἐν πεπλώματι, *Trach.* 613,
or *El.* 742 or

¹ We may compare *Ant.* 145, καθ' αὐτοῖν | δικρατεῖς λόγῃσιν στήσαντε, where αὐτοῖν stands for ἀλλήλων. The tragic poets had no need to strain the force of words formed with *αὐτός* for lack of ordinary compounds bearing this meaning: cf. *Aesch. Theb.* ἐτελεύτασαν ὑπ' ἀλλαλοφόνους χερσίν. The reciprocal force of *αὐτοκτονοῦντε* at l. 56 is further emphasized by the compound *ἐπαλλήλων* where ἐπι- intensifies the sense of mutuality.

δικάζει τὸν ἄγαμον γάμον πάλαι
τεκνοῦντα καὶ τεκνούμενον.—*O.T.* 867.

show how the tendency has fixed itself in his style. In *Sophocles*, says Professor Campbell (*Essay on L.* § 44) 'this tendency seems to have been unusually strong...A word once used is apt to be repeated in a different connexion and even with a different meaning.' We may refer to the instances given by Campbell *ibid.* under f and g. See also those in § 37 on *Oxymoron* and parallels from *Shakespeare* there quoted. Almost parallel to the instance we are discussing is *Antig.* 1266 νέος νέω ξὺν μόρῳ...ἔθανες, 'thou hast died young by a strange doom.' According to the usage of *Sophocles* *αὐτοσφαγής* is far more effective here than a participle clause would have been. How effective a repeated word in the same line may be we see from such a passage as *Milton's*

Seasons return but not to me returns
Day or the sweet approach of even or morn.

What other word would not have been less effective here?

4. Again, Prof. Jebb says 'The two verses, 841-2, confuse the construction since ὥσπερ εἰσὶν ἔμε (sc. ξυναρπασθέντα) refers to what precedes while τὼς in 841 refers to ὥσπερ.' This criticism, in which all editors join, I venture to think superfluous. We ought to put a colon after ξυναρπάσειαν. Triclinius's criticism is just enough: διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ κομματικὸν καὶ ἀσύνδετον ἐποίησε τοῦτο, διὰ τὸ εἶναι εὐχὴν. τὰς γὰρ εὐχὰς οὕτω ποιῆσθαι εἰώθαμεν. The so-called "asyndeton" is merely the apposition or co-ordination of clauses, not infrequent with ὥσπερ.² Moreover, the absence of a conjunction well suits the vehemence of the speaker: to read ὥσπερ, as Paley does, would greatly weaken the expression. (True asyndeta are frequent in *Ajax*, as at 115, 164, 581, 714, 811, 896, 1105). It is difficult to follow Hermann, Jebb and Palmer, who retain the first two lines, in understanding (with Jebb) ξυναρπασθέντα after ἐμέ, which is at best a strained use of language or (with Palmer) a proleptic πανώλεθρον. Is it like the proud self-righteousness of *Ajax* to compare the doom of shame and ruin (κακοὺς κάκιστα, ...πανώλεθρους) which he prays the Furies to bring on

² Two excellent instances are at *Republic*, p. 557 c, ὥσπερ ἰμάτιον πᾶσιν ἐνθεσι πεποικιλμένον, οὕτω καὶ αὕτη...καλλίστη ἂν φαίνοιτο, and 497 b, ὥσπερ ξενικὸν σπέρμα...φιλεῖ κρατοῦμενον ἵεναι, οὕτω καὶ κ.τ.λ.

his enemies with his own fate, terrible as he knows it to be? From his own lips would not such a coupling of himself, even in doom, with those whom he loathes, jar upon us? Besides, how feeble and frigid after that outburst (*κακούς... ξυναρπάσειαν*) and with how sudden a fall, like an arrow dropping to earth in mid flight, would come the conclusion *ὥσπερ εἰσορώσ' ἐμε!* The Furies need not be asked to 'see' the ruin which their own hands are even now bringing to pass. And does not the dying passion of Ajax require from the gods some doom even more terrible than his own for his undoers?

The brief imprecation *καί σφας... ξυναρπάσειαν*, followed by the abrupt and even more bitter one, *ὥσπερ... ὀλοίοιτο*, is not only far stronger but also more in harmony with the deep resentment of Ajax against those who, he feels, have driven him to his death.

No! the four lines hang together. If the first two are to be rejected, so must the last two.

Not only is this last speech of Ajax's weakened by the loss of these lines but its connection is destroyed. To omit 839-842 makes Ajax pass at once from saying that 'his life is blasted by the Atridae,' of whom he says not a word, to the prayer to the Furies to glut their wrath on the whole army. It seems to me a psychological impossibility that Ajax should thus pass at once from the mere mention of the Atridae and their work to the curse on all his fellow-soldiers. Without the passionate and vindictive outburst in ll. 839-842 to lead up to it and excuse it, that curse becomes only

a weak and meaningless ferocity. I venture to think that Sophocles could not have so written.

Were we to omit 839-842 and accept the second invocation to the 'Erinyes swift and vengeful' immediately following the first to the 'Erinyes far-striding and dread,' to my feeling the address to the Sun would then follow the imprecation too abruptly. In fact, would not some expansion of the prayer, *μὴ φείδεσθε πανδήμου στρατοῦ* be necessary to preserve the balance of the speech?

It is worth noting that Professor Campbell who rejects these lines in his edition and still thinks them unguanine, writes to me that he considers them 'spirited' and has 'often felt tempted to defend them.'

Both in language, in structure and in the whole colour of the style these lines are, I venture to think, thoroughly Sophoclean. Moreover, they are in harmony with Ajax's character;—noble, even too sensitive to his own honour and the shame of his downfall, yet unforgiving to his foes and deaf to friends entreating, he knows and tastes the full horror of his end yet moves unflinching towards it. These words might come from the heart of the Ajax of the Nekuia who, when the other ghosts crowded round Ulysses, 'alone stood aloof, being still angry because of the victory' and even after Ulysses' noble appeal to him, still 'answered never a word but passed on to Erebus after the other spirits of the dead.'

JOHN MASSON.

A SUGGESTION ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE GREEK OPTATIVE.

THE term 'potential' as applied to the optative with *ἄν* is elastic, not to say vague. Strictly speaking, one may venture to think, it should be applied only to that phase of the optative with *ἄν* which is equivalent to the optative of *δύνασθαι* with *ἄν* and the infinitive of the verb in question (*λύοιμι ἄν = δυνάμην ἄν λύειν*). Besides this the optative with *ἄν* has often a plain desiderative, or inclinative force, being then equivalent to the optative of *βούλεσθαι* (or *ἐθέλειν*) with *ἄν* and the infinitive of the verb in question, or to itself plus *ἡδέως* (*λύοιμι ἄν = βουλοίμην ἄν λύειν*, or *ἡδέως ἄν λύοιμι*). In other cases a condition, more or less formally expressed,

is emphasised, and the optative may be termed 'conditional' or 'contingent.' This use seems readily derivable from the desiderative, or inclinational, use. (Cf. Eng. 'would.') The optative of polite request (*λέγοις ἄν*) seems to have similar affinities, though it differs from the optative of inclination, in that the inclination or desire is that of the speaker, not that of the subject of the verbal form. The change from the first to the second person, as well as linguistic parsimony, is responsible for this shift. Thus *λέγοις ἄν = βουλοίμην ἄν σε λέγειν*, or *καθ' ἡδονὴν ἄν μοι λέγοις*. (One thinks here of Sophocles *Ant.* 70, where

ἀσμένως would certainly be an improvement on ἡδέως, though ἡδέως may be from Sophocles' hand.)

These several uses of the optative with ἄν, which correspond to older optatives without ἄν (οὐ-optatives) in the same senses, are, I venture to think, derivable from certain uses of the μή-optative. This does not, of course, imply dissent from the view that the differentiation of the μή-optative and the οὐ-optative in Greek is proethnic; it means merely that one can trace the process of differentiation in Greek forms alone. (See my remarks on the subjunctive and optative in 'Some Remarks on the Moods of Will in Greek,' *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.* xxvi. [1895], *Proceedings of Special Session*, 1894, pp. l.-lx.)

The precative use of the optative may well be taken as its most primitive use. It will appear on a moment's consideration that this use belongs primarily to only two persons, the first and the third. Thus, λάβοιμι (μὴ λάβοιμι) = δός μοι λαβεῖν (δός μοι μὴ λαβεῖν) and λάβοι (μὴ λάβοι) = δός (μοι) αὐτὸν λαβεῖν (μὴ λαβεῖν). Thus prayer for oneself and prayer for another are expressed.

The answer to such prayers may conceivably be expressed by λάβοις (οὐ λάβοις) = δίδωμί σοι λαβεῖν (οὐ δίδωμί σοι λαβεῖν) and

λάβοι (οὐ λάβοι). The reflex (the answer to the prayer as reported by the recipient of such answer) would take the forms λάβοιμι (οὐ λάβοιμι) and λάβοι (οὐ λάβοι), or in the latter case, if addressed to the person for whom the prayer had been offered, λάβοις (οὐ λάβοις).

The desiderative use of the optative—λύοιμι (οὐ λύοιμι) = βούλομαι (οὐ βούλομαι) λύειν—will naturally appear (like the future) in all persons. (The peculiar turn given to the second person of the ἄν-optative has been discussed above). Here we have the origin of the optative of inclination in what might be called a secularised prayer.

The reflex of the precative mentioned above—λάβοιμι (οὐ λάβοιμι)—may be regarded as an expression of ability (or inability). Thus λάβοιμι (οὐ λάβοιμι) = δύναμαι λαβεῖν (οὐ δύναμαι λαβεῖν). Here we have the potential optative in the narrower sense indicated above.

The former βουλοίμην (ἄν) λαβεῖν = λάβοιμι (ἄν) and δυναίμην (ἄν) λαβεῖν = λάβοιμι ἄν, instead of βούλομαι λαβεῖν and δύναμαι λαβεῖν show a natural assimilation. In Attic Greek βούλομαι λαβεῖν and δύναμαι λαβεῖν represent rather λήψομαι.

MORTIMER LAMSON EARLE.

Barnard College.

ON THE MS. TRADITION OF AETNA.

Extracts on Aetna, D'Orv. x. 1, 6, 6, p. 40.

P. 36 *Cornelii Seueri Aetna* in m. Apollonius apud Philostrat. l. v.

ib. 7 *properent* in m. *properant*.

p. 37, 2 *adversum* in m. *aversum*.

p. 38 *deletur*, nota marg. *victor*.

p. 41, 8 *vicula* in m. *vincla*.

p. 44, 9 *imbres* in m. *gris*.

ib. 20 *jacent* in m. *latent*.

ib. 25 *nunc* in m. *tot*.

ib. 26 *magna* in m. *magis*. (Gyr.)

p. 45, 3 *taceant* in m. *iaceant*.

ib. 7 *dignissima* in m. *ditissima*.

ib. 10 *caussae* in m. *curae*.

ib. 11 *et dolia* in m. *ut dolia*. (Gyr.)

ib. 16 *oculto* in m. *occultum*.

ib. 18 *animumque* in m. *animosque*. (Gyr.)

ib. 20 *eueritimus* in m. *euerrimus*.

ib. 26 *concrecant* in m. *cur crescant*.

p. 46, 5 *una* in m. *unda*.

ib. 6 *curas* in m. *auras*.

p. 48, 16 *aut aquilone*, &c., in m. Virgil.

p. 49, 20 *uera* in m. *sera*.

ib. 22 *robore* in m. *robora*. (Le Clerc.)

ib. 26 *et potes*, &c., in m. Plautus.

p. 50, 17 *iacet* in m. *iacens*.

ib. 22 *dicitur*, &c., in m. *superest*.

ib. 23 *extincta super: testisque Neapolim*.

Corrigitur: *extin super testisque cta: testis superque Neapolin*.

p. 51, 27 *et tuto* in m. *e tuto*. (Scal.)

p. 52, 4 *sopita et* in m. *scobis iis*.

ib. 15 *curtis* in m. *curvis*. (D'Orv.)

p. 53, 4 *cunctis* in m. *unco*.

ib. 15 *ubi certo* in m. *certo sibi*.

ib. 18 *prtam* in m. *formam*.

ib. 19 *tenet* in m. *tener*.

ib. 21 *vultu perdidit igneis* in marg. *vultum perdidit igni*. (igne Scal.)

p. 54, 2 *et ibi* in marg. *igni*. (ab igni Scal.)

ib. 7. *plumbi* in m. *plumbum*. (Le Clerc.)

- ib. 22 *nostro fervet moderatior usu in m. nostros fervet moderatus in usus.*
 ib. 27 *trementeis in m. frementeis.*
 ib. 29 *fama in m. forma.* (Wolf.)
 p. 55, 5 *Ogygus corrigitur Ogygiis.*
 ib. 6 *que in m. quae.*
 ib. 17 *carmen in m. crimen.*
 ib. 18 *vestra en in m. vestras.*
 ib. 19 *evocat in silvis, &c., in m. Devocet in silvis, at.*
 ib. 21 *victis in m. multis.*
 ib. 26 *parte in m. arte.* (Scal.)
 ib. 29 *velatusque in marg. Cicer.*
 p. 56, 7 *excanduit in m. incanduit.*
 ib. 11 *torquet in m. torpet.* (Scal.)
 ib. 14 *tremebant in m. tremendum.* (Jacob, Munro.)
 ib. 18 *stulta in m. summa.*
 ib. 20 *nimum in m. minimo.* (Auratus.)
 ib. 25 *Concrepat ac in marg. Concremat ah.* (Auratus.)
 ib. 27 *Amphinomus . . . fortes in m. Amphionus . . . sortis.*
 ib. 29 *senemque in m. senilem.*
 ib. 30 *eheu in m. aevo.*
 p. 57, 13 *illegue se posuit in m. illos seposuit.*
 ib. 15 *vere . . . iura in m. purae . . . rura.*
purae Haupt, rura Heinsius.

These variants on *Aetna* are drawn from MS. D'Orville 195 = Auct. x. 1, 6, 6 (17073 in Madan's Catalogue), containing on p. 1 this superscription 'Notae et emendationes Petri Pithoei in librum, cui titulus est Epigrammata & poemata vetera, Parisiis 1590 in 12.' The MS. was written in the first half of the eighteenth century (Madan): but it appears to be a bona fide copy of notes and emendations either actually in Pithou's own hand, or believed to be so. Some of the variants are interesting as identical with those of scholars long after Pithou; others as perfectly new suggestions which appear to be of value in desperately corrupt passages. I will mention them in order, taking Munro's edition as the standard text.
 252 The Cambridge MS. *C* has *Et quae nunc miranda tulit natura notare, D'Orv.* gives *Et quae tot.* This seems better than the so-called Gyraldinian reading *Quaeque in ea.*

253 *C* has

Haec nobis magna adfinis caelestibus astris.

Gyr. is said to have had *magis.* Whether right or wrong, *D'Orv.* here agrees with *Gyr.*

259 *Tum demum uiles taceant inopesque relictiae.*

So *C.* *Gyr. humilesque iacent*, whence *Matthiae* (1797) conj. *uiles iaceant* as *D'Orv.*

266 *Grata levis cruciant animos et corpora causae.* *C.*

Bährens (1872) conj. *curae:* and so *D'Orv.*

267 *Horrea uti saturent tumeant et dolea musto.*

So *C.* The reported reading of *Gyr.* is *tumeant ut;* and so *D'Orv.*

276 (258) *Scrutamur rimas et uertimus omne profundum.*

So *C.* *euerrimus* is a late eighteenth century conj. of *Schrader's.*

282 *Concrescant animi penitus seu forie cauernae.*

So *C.* *Scaliger* corrected *concrescant* to *cur crescant*, and so *D'Orv.* Probably *Pithou* took it from *Scaliger's* edition.

291 *Praecipiti delecta sono premit una fugatque.* *C.*

unda Scaliger: and so *D'Orv.* probably from *Scal.*

292 *Torrentes auras pulsataque corpora densel.* *C.*

curas is in *Scaliger's* 1572 edition, and was left uncorrected by him. The right reading *auras* is not only in *C.* but in *Rehd.* and most MSS. as well as *Ald.* 1517.

399 *Vera tenaxque data est sed maxima causa mola acris.* *C.*

The v.l. *Sera* is new.

401 *Quem si forte manu teneas ac robore cernas.* *C.*

robora is a conj. of *Le Clerc* (*Gorallus*): and so *D'Orv.*

424 *In cinerem putresque iacit delapsus harenas* *C.*

iacens is strange; it is not an improvement, and can hardly be a modern emendation. Did *Pithou* draw it from a lost codex? It is not one of the variants of *Gyr.* The real doubt in this passage is between *iacit* of *C* and *iacet* of *Rehd.* and *Arund.* For *iacens* there can be no place: but its futility makes it noticeable.

429 *Dicitur insidiis flagrans enarea quondam*

Nunc extincta super testisque neapolin inter

Et Cumas locus. *C.*

Very remarkable are the notes of *D'Orv.* here (1) on 429 in m. *superest* (2) on 430. I take the two as mutually explaining each

other: that is to say, the reading of the MS. from which Pithou drew the v.l. of 430 as I have copied it from *D'Orv.* was in some way confused, particularly in *-cta* of *tincta* being separated from *tin-*; and *superest* was written in the margin of the line before (429). This appears to me a strong confirmation, of my conjecture in vol. ii. of the *Corpus* now editing by Prof. Postgate *Nunc extincta [diu] superestque Neapolin inter.* Another conj. of mine *uncis* (508) published in the *Journal of Philology* in 1887 p. 309 nearly coincides with *D'Orv. unco*, where MSS. give *iunctis*.

465 *Et tuto specularis omnia collis* C.

e tuto Scal. and so *D'Orv.*

476 *Asperior sopitae et quaedam sordida
faex est* C.

Scobis iis seems to be new, but is not a good correction.

487 *Quippe nihil reuocat curtis nihil ignibus
obstat* C.

curuis (*D'Orv.*) is a correction made independently by *D'Orville* himself, and also by *Munro*. (1867).

519 *Quae tripidat certe uerum tibi pignore
constat.* C.

D'Orv. has *uerum certo sibi*, wrongly, but *sibi* looks like a corruption of the genuine reading *tibi*, which is only to be found in C, of which MS. Pithou had no knowledge. *Rehd.* has *Quae trepidant uerum ubi pignore constat*, and so *Arund.*, except that it gives *ibi* for *ubi*. Both omit *certo*, and even C has *certe* wrongly. Whence did Pithou

draw *certo* and *sibi*? *certo* is in Scal. who prints *uerum ubi certo p.c.*, but Pithou may have got it from a MS., since it is found in Sloan 777; or possibly *certo* may come from Scaliger, *sibi* was Pithou's own conjecture.

585 *Tu quoque Athenarum carmen tam nobile
sidus*

*Erigone sedes uestra est philomella can-
oris*

Euocat in siluis C.

D'Orv. has here three notes, *crimen* for *carmen*, an old emendation; *uestras* for *uestra en* which is printed in Pithou's text (1590), *Deuocet* for *Euocat*. Little is to be got, I think, from either (1) or (3); but (2) is suggestive.

Suppose the original corruption of the v. to have been

*Erigone sedes uestras en philomela
canoris*

we may reconstitute it thus

*Erigone's, dequesta sen[em]; philo-
mela canoris*

dequesta is found in Val. Fl. V. 448 *secum dequesta labores*, Stat. T. I. 404 *notos dequestus*, xi. 627 *Talia dequestus: senem* is of course *Erigone's* father *Icarius*; see the story in *Hygin. Fab.* 130.

Of the remaining variants not much is to be said: *Arte* (594) *torpet* (609) *Illos seposuit* (643) are in Scaliger, *tremendum* (612) was conj. (1826) by *Iacob*, *minimo* (618) and *concremat* (623) by *Auratus*, *purae* (645) by *Haupt*, *rura* (645) by *Heinsius*.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

TWO CORRECTIONS OF LATIN POETS.

PROPERTIUS III. (IV). iv. 3 sq.

This couplet should be read

magna, uiri, merces: parat ultima terra
triumphos:

Tigris et Euphrates sub iuga uestra fluent.

tua iura the MSS. I reserve the proof for a paper of 'Vindiciae Propertianae' which is nearly completed.

Silius Italicus, vii. 268 sqq.

Intellectus erat Fabio Tyriosque uidebat
dictator saeuire dolos; sed non uacat aegre
inuidiam gladios inter lituosque timere
et dubia morsus famae depellere pugna.

The subject of this passage is the attempt of Hannibal to bring Fabius into odium by not ravaging his private estate. The corrupt lines 269, 270 were printed in the last number of the *Classical Review* with Bothe's alteration of *aegre* to *aegram* which Baur has placed in his text. I will begin by quoting a parallel from *Lucan* 7, 137 sq. (which *Silius* very likely had in his mind), which will support some portions of the traditional text 'sed non uacat ullos | pro se ferre motus: urbi Magnoque timetur.'

We see then that the line and a half gives a clear and for *Silius* a satisfactory sense.

The clamorous voice of war drowns the

whispers of self-interest, and Fabius has no time to attend to apprehensions of unpopularity. If *aegre timere* could be used for having a 'sickly fear,' the tradition might stand; but no scholar has ventured to impose such a meaning on *aegre*. Hein-sius proposed *aegro*, of which the best that can be said is that it is a shade less unsatisfactory than *aegram*, and *acrem*, a superfluous epithet. Conjecture has hitherto attacked the corruption by the wrong route. It is a

similar one to that found in Lygdamus [Tib. iii.] 5, 11 where for *ignes* the MSS. have *egros*. We should accordingly read '*ignem* [invidiae].' This metaphor is an extremely common one. It is enough to refer to the passages cited by the lexicons under *flamma* ('qui in eadem flamma invidiae fuisset' Cic. *Or.* 3, 11), *conflare*, *inflammare*, *ardere*, *flagrare*, *conflagrare*, etc.

J. P. POSTGATE.

ON HORACE, *SERM.* 1, 4, 26 AND 2, 3, 4,—*SANUS AB* AGAIN.

IN those cases of disputed reading where the testimony of the manuscripts is not decisive the grammatical usage of the Latin writers in general, and of the writer in question in particular may fairly be taken into account. On that ground the reading *ab avaritia* in *Serm.* 1, 4, 26 seems preferable to *ob avaritiam*, although the latter has found favour with almost all recent editors. The inconcinnity of *ob avaritiam aut misera ambitione*, to which Bentley objected, was justified by Orelli to his own satisfaction, and apparently to that of others as well, by citing Sall. *Jug.* 22, 2 *ob easdem artis a Micipsa, non penuria liberorum, in regnum adoptatum*; Liv. 38, 39, *non tam ob recentia ulla merita quam originum memoria*; Tac. *Hist.* 2, 49 *quidam militum iuxta rogam interfecere se, non noxa neque ob metum*, though the question may still fairly be raised whether it is in Horace's manner. The example in Lucil. xxx. 82, *M. Quae non spectandi studio sed ab omni taetri impulsu ingressast* would be more pertinent, even although *ab* with the abl., instead of *ob* with the acc. is used in connection with an abl. of cause.

A much more weighty objection to the reading *ob avaritiam* is that, so far as I know, the construction *laborare ob aliquid* is not found in the extant Latin literature, while *laborare ab* occurs, for example, in Varr. *R.R.* 2, 2, 17 *a frigore et aestu ne quid laboret curandum*; Caes. *B.G.* 7, 10 *ne ab re frumentaria laboraret*; *B.C.* 3, 9, 5 *illi omnia perpeti parati maxime a re frumentaria laborabant*; *Bell. Afr.* 5 *ne (Caesar) circumventus a tergo ab equitatu hostium laboraret*; Plin. *N.H.* 32, 133 *a frigore laborantibus (eodem uti prodest)*.

The other constructions which occur with *laborare* are *ex*, which is frequent in Cicero,

and the simple abl. It may be noted that *ex* with the abl. and *ab* with the abl. are frequently found with approximately the same meaning and with the same verbs. So especially to express cause. Horace himself elsewhere uses the simple abl.: in *Serm.* 1, 2, 76 *tuo vitio rerumne labores nil referre putas?* In *Serm.* 1, 2, 38 *ut omni parte laborent (moechi)* is slightly different, but of the same origin. Cf. *Carm.* 3. 22. 2 *laborantis utero puellis* and see below.

The construction with *ab* seems to have arisen from such uses as *doleo ab oculis* and the like. See *Classical Review*, xiii, p. 303, for the close connection of the two uses, and compare the two examples from the *Sermones* of the simple ablative, which are cited above. *Laborare ab* may well be a connecting link in the development of the causal force of *ab* with the abl., which, though much less common than was formerly assumed, and in fact comparatively rare, is by no means unexampled. See *Archiv für lat. Lex. und Gramm.* x, p. 504 f, and the example from Lucilius which is cited above. It is noteworthy that the fully developed causal force is a favourite construction with Varro, who also furnishes an instance of *laborare ab*. The construction *laborare ab* may belong to the language of everyday life, and perhaps especially to the *sermo castrensis*.

In *Serm.* 2, 3, 4, at *ipsis Saturnalibus*, instead of *ab*, seems to be the most generally accepted reading. The decision is ordinarily made on the ground of the sense of the passage, but its correctness is supported by the testimony of grammatical usage as well. Horace has the acc. with *fugio* some 27 times. The abl. alone is used in *Carm.* 2, 2, 15 *nisi causa morbi fugerit venis et aquosus albo Corpore languor*, and *ab* with the abl. only in *Serm.* 1, 1, 68 *Tantalus a labris*

sitiens fugientia captat Flumina. Neither of these passages is exactly parallel to ab ipsis Saturnalibus fugisti, where we should rather expect an acc. In fact, to judge from the lexicons and from my own collection of examples, fugio ab is rather rare, and usually has a special force.

From a further consideration of the examples it has become clear to me, that in ab with sanus and adjectives of kindred meaning (see *Classical Review*, xiii, p. 303) the idea is that of distance or remoteness more frequently than that of separation. In *Nep. Milt.* 3, 4, eos qui Asiam incoherent Graeci genere liberos a Persarum futuros domina-

tionem et periculo the idea is clearly that of separation, but sanus ab illis (vitiis) is more nearly parallel with *Caes. B.G.* 7, 47 a mulieribus atque infantibus abstinere. That is to say, in the former case the Greeks were to be freed from a yoke which they were at the time bearing; in the latter Horace was kept free from faults which he never contracted. These two uses are distinct, and are ordinarily separated in the lexicons. For additional examples of the latter see *Archiv* x, p. 497f.

JOHN C. ROLFE.

University of Michigan.

NOTES.

SOPHOCLES, *Oed. Col.* 1054-5.

1055 ἐνθ' οἶμαι τὸν ἐγρεμάχαν
Θησέα καὶ τὰς διστόλους
ἀδμήτας ἀδελφὰς
αὐτάρκει τάχ' ἐμμεῖξιν βοᾷ
τοῦσδ' ἀνὰ χώρους.

(1) Of the two variants ἐγρεμάχαν and ὄρειβάταν, there can be no doubt that, whatever view we take of the passage, ἐγρεμάχαν is far the more suitable. In an appendix Professor Jebb has shown how ἐγρεμάχαν might conceivably have been corrupted to ὄρειβάταν. It will be admitted that the corruption may have arisen as he thinks; but it is worth while suggesting that we have here a case in which a corruption and a gloss have taken the place of a reading different from both. I incline to think that Sophocles wrote ὄρειμάχαν, which in some MSS. appears corrupted to ὄρειβάταν (corrupted, I conceive, to ὄρειμάχαν, and then corrected to ὄρειβάταν), while in others it has been replaced by an *interpretamentum* ἐγρεμάχαν.

(2) But however this may be, 1054-5 must have suffered some deeper corruption. 1054 does not correspond in metre to the antistrophic line 1069 ἀμνηκτῆρια πάλων (removing the manifest gloss φάλαρα), where there is no reason to question πάλων, which, though not indispensable, is a gain to the sense. Where there is metrical discrepancy between strophes, the safest rule is to seek the error where the sense is unsatisfactory. In this case no difficulty arises in the context of 1069, but a grave difficulty meets us in the context of 1054. The two maidens who are in the power of the enemy cannot be said to meet the enemy in battle. Professor Jebb, recognising this, explains ἐμμεῖξιν (ἀλλήλοις), 'Theseus and the two maidens will soon meet amid a battle-cry of confident prowess.' This is the only tolerable explanation of the text as it stands; but it is unsatisfactory, on account of the awkwardness involved in separating βοᾷ from ἐμμεῖξιν, on which it seems naturally to depend; and Professor Jebb does not reject the possibility that καὶ, as some critics believe, may be a gloss. I would go a step further and reject Θησέα too. It is not Theseus, I think, whom Sophocles describes as the ἐγρεμάχας and who will bring the

maidens into the battle-cry, but rather the god of war himself. I would read:

ἐνθ' οἶμαι τὸν <Ἄρη τὸν>
ἐγρεμάχαν τὰς διστόλους κ.τ.λ.

It is obvious why the two inserted words fell out; and it is easy to understand how Θησέα might have been added, at once to explain the sense and supplement the metre. For the double article in Sophocles compare *Electra* 1238.

J. B. BURY.

* * *

ANTIGONUS' LETTER TO SCEPSIS.

Dr. Mahaffy's emendation of line 28, Πρεπέλαον <ὄν>, suggested in the February number of the *Classical Review*, p. 54, seems to me quite convincing in spite of the punctuation. Mr. H. Richards has protested to me against the grammatical solecism ἵνα τοῦ τὰ ὅλα συντελεσθῇ τὴν ταχίστην in lines 15, 16. I thought I remembered a similar mixed construction somewhere, but I cannot find it. I would now correct :INA into [T]INA, and read

ἀναγ-
κ[α]ίον ὡμεθα εἶναι παριδεῖν [τ]ῖνα τοῦ τὰ ὅ-
λα συντελεσθῇ τὴν ταχίστην.

The τῖνα would pick up the τῖνα of line 12, καίπερ δρῶντές τῖνα ὧν ἡξί[ου] Κάσσανδρος ἐργωδέστερα ὄντα.

J. ARTHUR R. MUNRO.

* * *

A NEW MS. OF CATULLUS.

Codex Ottobonianus 1982 (cartac. saec. XV.) of the Vatican Library contains on ff. 171-203 an unindexed MS. of Catullus cc. I.-LXIII. us. 1-44, entitled: 'Collecte Catulli Veronensis edite a Pomilio. Adsit principio Virgo Maria meo.' The elegiacs of Campesani precede 'Ad patriam nemo longis de finibus exul,' &c., followed by cc. I.-XVI.; the two epigrams of Furius Bibaculus de Valerio Catone: cc. XVII.-XXIV. us. 1-3; cc. XLIV. us. 21-LXII.; cc. XXIV. us. 3-10-XLIV.; cc. LXIII. us. 1-44. This arrangement classes the MS. with

the group B. La'. V. Philippensis of Ellis (q.v. c. XXIV.) from none of which it can have been copied.
GEORGE DWIGHT KELLOGG.

ROME, Jan. 23, 1900.

CATULLUS LXIV. 15.

Illa atque alia uidere luce marinas
mortales oculis nudato corpore nymphas.

So G; O has illa alia uidere. This is a much emended line, but the remedy is still wanting which shall satisfy sound and sense and palaeography.

O's reading may be disregarded. If atque was above the line or in the margin in V, it would easily be overlooked; and even if it stood in its proper place, the similarity of at- and al- (t and l are incessantly confused in Catullus) may have caused lipography. On the other hand the scribe of G was not likely to insert atque on his own authority; ignorant though he was, he cannot have expected this insertion to heal either sense or metre.

Baehrens and others cling to uidere, but the contraction for -runt often becomes -re (lxiv. 383 is perhaps an instance). Munro's illac (quaue alia?) is a slight change, for confusion of c and t is seen

everywhere in Catullus; but there is some doubt whether Catullus would have used the -c form of ille in his higher mood, and no doubt at all that he would not have put it before qu-. Illa atque haud alia, the 'Itali,' illac hautque alia, Schwabe; but the combinations atque haud and hautque are doubtful. Other conjectures are still less satisfactory.

Why not illa (at quam alia?)? quam, *i.e.* quanā, might easily be reduced by a sort of haplography to quam or some contraction for quam, and this to que. The confusion of u and n, the omission of one of two identical or similar groups of letters, the mischief caused by contractions, and the interchange of the forms of the relative with one another and with que, may be illustrated from any page of Catullus. Compare xxii. 17 tamq̄ (= tamquam) V for tamque, lxvi. 27 quam V for quo, &c.

E. HARRISON.

NOTE ON THE ABOVE.

Mr. Harrison's *quam* seems more probable than anything yet proposed. But *at* strikes me as a little abrupt in the context, and *atque* may have come from *et qua-* as easily as from *at qua-*.

J. P. P.

REVIEWS.

KAIBEL'S GREEK COMIC FRAGMENTS.

Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta: edidit
G. KAIBEL. Voluminis I. fasciculus prior.
Doriensium Comoedia Mimi Phylaces.
Pp. 256. 10 marks.

THIS is a part, the first part published, of the great collection of Greek poetical fragments now being made under the general management of Prof. Wilamowitz-Möllerndorf. We ought certainly to be grateful for a new, uniform, and complete collection guaranteed by so good a name; but the feeling will still present itself that this is perhaps not a very good time for taking it in hand. Egypt is now giving us a regular supply of new fragments, and for some years to come we may hope that their number is more likely to increase than to diminish. Each volume therefore may very well become incomplete almost before it appears, and yet its existence will for a long time stand in the way of another collection. It might have been better to suspend so large a scheme until the discovery of new fragments seemed to be at least on the ebb.

One might have thought that the contents of this volume, the scanty fragments of Doric comedy and literature akin to comedy,

were not very likely to be augmented by search in Egypt. But we have narrowly missed one of the most curious and most interesting finds that could have been made. In the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* vol. 2. p. 303 Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt record the discovery of a book-label bearing the words Σώφρονος μῖμοι γυναικεῖοι. We have come within a little, that is, of finding the famous mimes which both for themselves and for their literary connexions we should have been so glad to have.

In this volume Mr. Kaibel has collected the remains, wretchedly small as they are, of Epicharmus, Sophron, and the other two or three names associated with theirs. He has added the few fragments of such later writers as Rhinthon and Sopater, and also some glossaries of Greek words from Sicilian and Italian sources, and has appended indices. One of these in particular, an apparently complete index to all the words in the fragments and glossaries, is very welcome. If, what is perhaps too much to hope for, future volumes of this series have verbal indices equally full, they will be most acceptable.

The fragments are given with a few very

short critical notes and not much else, but the work seems judiciously done. It does not take the place of such a book as Lorenz' *Epicharmos* (1864), a monograph containing a great deal besides the text, but it gives us the actual fragments in a handy form and has the advantage of such progress as has been made in our knowledge during thirty-five years. The editor greatly doubts the genuineness of some of the best known lines ascribed to Epicharmus, such as the *νᾶφε καὶ μέμνασ' ἀπιστεῖν*, holding them to be taken from a 5th century poem *περὶ φύσεως*, which may or may not (*aegre crediderim*, he says) have been Epicharmus' own, but which bore his name. As Xenophon attributes some of them to him, perhaps stronger evidence against them is required. Neither in this case nor in others (*e.g.* Susarion, though I should certainly be slow to say that Susarion's verses were genuine) ought any stress to be laid on the dialect, because that may so easily have been altered. On the other hand the editor makes no difficulty about the philosophical fragments of unusual length given by Diogenes Laertius. If arguments fit for the *Parmenides* were really uttered in dialogue on the Syracusan stage, the audience must have been very unlike most audiences.

On one fragment of Epicharmus, *ὥς πολὺν*

χρόνον ζῆσων ᾧς ὀλίγον, οὕτως διανοοῦ, Mr. Kaibel notes the parallel to Bacchylides, 3,78. In Boswell's *Tour to the Hebrides*, under Sept. 5, 1773, Dr. Johnson attributes to Dr. Cheyne a maxim strikingly similar to that cited by Bacchylides, even down to the 'fifty years.' It would be interesting to know where Cheyne got it, for it can hardly be mere coincidence. Another more or less Epicharmian saying, *ἐκ παντὸς ξύλου κλωὸς γένοιτ' ἂν καὶ θεός*, should perhaps be quoted by editors in illustration of Horace's *incertus scamnum faceretne Priapum*. Is there really good ground for saying (p. 153) that Sophron did not combine male and female characters in the same mime? Surely the epithet *γυναικίος* might be applied to the Ecclesiastusae, or to some of the mimes of Herondas, though the characters are not exclusively female.

The volume contains further in not less than eighty of its handsome and well printed pages a welcome text of all or nearly all the little writings about Greek comedy that bear the names of Platonius, Tzetzes, Diomedes, etc. (the life of Aristophanes not included), and some miscellanea on the history of comedy from Aristotle and others.

H. RICHARDS.

CROISSET'S GREEK LITERATURE.

Histoire de la Littérature Grecque par ALFRED CROISSET, Membre de l'Institut, et MAURICE CROISSET, Professeur de Littérature Grecque au Collège de France. Tome Cinquième. Paris, A. Fontemoing, 1899. Pp. 1096. 12 francs.

In this book we have the concluding portion of the History of Greek Literature, which has occupied its authors for eleven years. Of the first fruits of their toil Dr. Jevons wrote as follows in 1888:—'This is the first volume of what promises to be an excellent history of Greek literature. It contains ample evidence of acquaintance with modern work . . . , it shows a fresh and independent appreciation of the original Greek, and it is written with the grace and lucidity which we are accustomed to look for in French work. Add to this that the work is eminently sober and you will have a fair idea of the good points of the

volume' (*C.R.* ii, 255). The qualities which impressed Dr. Jevons in the first are quite as noticeable in the concluding volume, and Messrs. Croiset have the greater claim to a re-capitulation of them in so much that, as far as I can discover, the intervening parts of their work have not been noticed in the *Classical Review*.

Volume iv brought the history to the end of the Attic period: there remained for vol. v. all from the third century B.C. to the disappearance of the Hellenic spirit in literature. The task of setting forth at all adequately the characteristics of so many minor schools, and their often insignificant adherents, in one volume, must have taxed the skill of the authors in steering between the two rocks of brevity and obscurity. They have succeeded beyond expectation, but only (as was inevitable) by dividing their subject into the two periods (1) Alexandrine (2) Roman, and confining themselves each to

one of these divisions: M. Alfred Croiset takes the former, M. Maurice Croiset the latter.

The first chapter of M. A. Croiset's work is entitled *Caractères généraux de la période Alexandrine*. Chapters ii. and iv. on the philosophy of the third century and on Alexandrine poetry are models of clear exposition. A whole chapter, v, is devoted to Polybius, while the last of this part, vi, is especially interesting as it deals with those Greek teachers who figure in the pages of Cicero.

The part that treats of Greek literature under Roman sway begins similarly with a *vue d'ensemble*. From Augustus to Domitian (ch. ii) is not a fruitful tract for the historian of Greek literature: but M. Maurice Croiset rises to his theme with the advent of Epictetus and Plutarch, to whom he devotes a long study. The rise of the Sophistic influence is then traced and Lucian gets, as we should have expected, his due meed of praise from a Frenchman. Yet the sobriety spoken of above is nowhere more apparent than here. Fresh from the moral earnestness of Plutarch M. Croiset 'cannot away with' the irreligious banter of that literary skirmisher. It would be dangerous to recommend one chapter beyond another when each contains so many excellent *aperçus*. But the conflicting forces of Paganism and Christianity will probably be thought the most interesting subject, and in chapters vi. and vii. we can pass in review the literary strength of each side: much as with Prof. Dill's assistance (v. *Roman Society in the last Century of the Western Empire*) we are able to do in the case of the literature of the West. Neoplatonism is amply dealt with in chapters vi. and viii., the latter also tracing the thread-like stream of literary faculty till it loses itself in the sands of the desert. Finally, there is a good index to all five volumes.

An excellent feature of the whole work is the bibliographical introduction to each chapter, which reinforced by further details in the notes leave few important sources of information for the reader to discover. Frazer's *Pausanias*, however, published before this volume can have gone to press, might be added (p. 655) to that by Hitzig and Blümner in course of publication.

A reviewer may be excused for not following the authors over the whole field. My own remarks concern chiefly the earlier part of the volume: but I have given careful attention to a few selected authors dealt

with in the second part without finding much that seemed worth saying in correction of M. Croiset.

For the Alexandrine period we have the special study by Susemihl, which is styled *un très savant et très consciencieux ouvrage* (p. 23). The details in that work have been incorporated, though in no slavish spirit, into the present one. The intention, however, of the two books is quite different: each is indispensable, Susemihl for the facts, Croiset for the bearing of the facts on the interpretation of an author. Where Susemihl and Croiset can be compared it is (I think) usually to the advantage of the former. Thus Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* is assigned to B.C. 248 (p. 215). Susemihl's date is 263 B.C., which assuming 310 for the birth year of Callimachus and 283 for that of Apollonius, as Susemihl does, is altogether a more reasonable view than that of Croiset, who agrees as to Callimachus but gives us the choice of any year that will suit between 280 and 260 for the birth of Apollonius. Whatever may be thought of the comparative probability of Callimachus engaging on the famous quarrel at the age of 47 or of 62, at least M. Croiset need not be as generous as he shows himself in Apollonius' case. The *Hymn to Apollo* has an allusion to the quarrel (*sub fin.*): it must then have been composed before 248. The lower limit (260 B.C.) of Apollonius' birth-year would thus make the poet not more than twelve when he showed his power of analysing the passion of love so justly praised by M. Croiset. Possibly 260 (for 268) is taken directly from Couat (Susemihl, p. 384 Anm. 51 and p. 385 Anm. 56). It should be added that while Couat (*Poésie Alexandrine*, p. 229) believes that the conclusion of the *Hymn to Apollo* was a later addition by Callimachus when he collected the hymns for publication, Croiset is not of this opinion: 'l'hypothèse est inutile: Callimaque se souciait plus de la grande querelle que du dieu de Cyrène, et il a trouvé l'occasion bonne pour en dire un mot' (p. 218). Instead of 280 and 260 as upper and lower limits, 283 and 268 would be more accurate: cf. Susemihl, p. 352 Anm. 21.

On page 211 (note 5) will be found a luminous suggestion which helps to clear up a well-known epigram by Apollonius ὁ γραμματικός, probably A. of Rhodes: *Anth. Pal.* xi. 275.

Καλλίμαχος, τὸ κάθαρμα, τὸ παίγιον, ὁ ξυλινὸς νοῦς;
αἴτιος ὁ γράψας Αἴτια Καλλιμάχου·

In the first verse 'Καλλίμαχος doit être pris comme une sorte de nom commun dont la définition suit, ainsi que dans un lexique; c'est une plaisanterie de philologue.' We should then punctuate Καλλίμαχος τὸ κάθαρμα κ.τ.λ., and there is a good deal of wit in the form chosen which would (I think) be further illustrated if we could take αἴτιος in v. 2 in the sense of 'author.' First the γλῶσσα is explained: then its source is stated 'ainsi que dans un lexique.' The authority that Καλλίμαχος means 'block-head' is—Callimachus' own poem. At least this seems better than to call αἴτιος a mere *jeu de mots* with Αἴτια: but I cannot find any clear example of αἴτιος used absolutely as above. Probably 'authority' in such a case is looked on as a form of guilt.

On p. 224 M. Croiset remarks that Propertius invokes Callimachus: but his foot-note (3) adds this qualification: 'Ailleurs, il est vrai, il l'appelle *inflatus* (iii 34 32 *inflati somnia Callimachi*). But the words of Propertius are (vv. 31–2) in Müller's text;

Tu satius memorem lusus imitere Philetan
Et non inflati somnia Callimachi.

It is not absolutely impossible, grammatically speaking, to take *non* in x. 32 with *imitere*, but the probability is all in favour of taking it with *inflati*: it is strange that Croiset should put his view forward unreservedly after Susemihl had devoted a long note to maintain the opposite (p. 363 Anm. 71). The allusion to Callimachus' *angustum pectus* (poetic talent) in Propertius ii 1 40 is really all that is needed. With such a limitation as this, the references in Prop. to Callimachus are always flattering.

Croiset however corrects Susemihl on the subject of Timaeus (p. 109). Susemihl thought that T. had made in his youth extensive travels among the Ligures, the Celts, and the Iberi. Croiset shews that this depends on a mis-interpretation of a passage in Polybius who distinctly speaks of Timaeus as an 'arm-chair critic,' καθήμενος ἐν ἄσσει, as opposed to the genuine traveller (αὐτόπτης). The word πολυπραγμονεῖν, he might have added, which led Susemihl to take his view, occurs immediately below in a way that leaves no doubt he is mistaken (Polybius xii 28a 4: Susemihl p. 564 Anm. 235). On the same page (109 note 5) there seems to be some slight confusion as to the date of Timaeus' banishment from Tauromenium. 'Susemihl place le fait en 312 lorsque Agathocle se prépare à passer en

Afrique (Diodore xix. 102 6).' The words of Susemihl are however (p. 565 Anm. 236): 'nicht erst 310. als der Tyrann nach Afrika zu ziehen sich rüstete, (Diod. xx. 4) sondern wohl 312 als derselbe 600 Messenier und Tauromiener umbringen liess (Diod. xix 102).'

The meaning of εἰδόλλιον as applied to the pieces of Theocritus, not 'a little picture' of life, but simply 'short poem': 'les odes de Pinare sont souvent appelées de ce nom par les scholiastes' (p. 183).

Turning to the judgments passed by the authors on the numerous writers whom they discuss we can have but one opinion of the way in which this part of their work has been discharged. There is, for example, much felicity in the verdict on Polybius' style (pp. 287–8) 'il aurait aimé de nos jours le jargon parlementaire et le jargon scientifique.' The phrase οὐδὲν ὁλοσχερὲς προτέρημα δυνάμενοι λαβεῖν κατ' ἀλλήλων (Polybius I, 18) for the classical οὐδετέρων κρατησάντων λαμπρῶς is then cited: 'on dirait une traduction médiocre d'un article de journal contemporain.' Lucian (p. 601), 'a glissé ses personnages dans les formes typiques qu'il empruntait à la comédie d'autrefois.' Again of Lucian (p. 607): 'ce qui frappe le plus dans son style, c'est un curieux mélange d'imitation et de spon-tanéité.' Of Pausanias (p. 683): 'sa manière, simple et sèche, laisse paraître une sorte de naïveté, moitié naturelle, moitié calculée où entre comme élément principal la médiocrité foncière de son esprit.' Many excellent observations are scattered through the book, almost as *obiter dicta*; thus in accounting for the fondness for extravagant adventure in the Greek novel (pp. 785 *sqq.*) it is remarked: 'durant la même période, l'idée de la puissance du hasard (τύχη) s'était assise profondément dans les esprits.' It is often said that the struggle of Julian the Apostate against Christianity was the struggle of reason against faith, but 'en fait, la théologie néoplatonicienne de Julien était tout aussi pénétrée de mysticisme que la théologie chrétienne' (p. 896). It would be equally easy, if space permitted, to select longer passages just as luminous, and it is no exaggeration to say that it is more pleasant to read M. Maurice Croiset in particular than a large number of the authors he discusses.

There are very few misprints: on page 552, n. 1, I do not understand what Juvenal I. 3 has to do with the rhetorician Isaëus: in the same note, v. 74 should be iii 74. On p. 555 no. 3 Pilostrate should be Phi— as

in the line above : on p. 239 the heading is APOLONTIOS : on p. 254, n. 1. read Susemihl ii. for S. i. : on p. 540 line 23 read Paroemio-graphorum for—irum. The names of Ger-

man scholars do not always escape unhurt : p. 347, line 8 from bottom, we have Shaefer.

J. A. NAIRN.

THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI, PART II.

The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part II.; edited with translations and notes by B. P. GRENFELL, M.A., Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, and A. S. HUNT, M.A., Senior Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford. With eight plates. (Egypt Exploration Fund, Graeco-Roman Branch, 1899.) 25s.

IN spite of the exceptional interest which attached to the first instalment of the publication of the papyri discovered at Oxyrhynchus, the second volume can well bear comparison with its predecessor. It is true that it contains nothing so well calculated to tickle the popular palate as the *Logia* fragment, nothing which can claim the name of Sappho, nothing which serves so handily as a brick to hurl at the head of a rival critic as the Thucydides; nor, among the non-literary fragments, is there anything which the reviewers of the daily papers can light upon with such unanimous delight as the boy's letter to his father which was the popular plum of Part I. Nevertheless Part II. has an ample provision of documents, literary and non-literary, of the first importance and interest, and conclusively shows that all the big strawberries were not put at the top of the box when the Graeco-Roman branch of the Egypt Exploration Fund commenced its operations. The theological fragments include a sheet of a papyrus codex of St. John, of the third century, containing portions of chapters i. and xx., showing apparently that the whole Gospel was written in a single quire of twenty-five sheets—a remarkable and unparalleled bibliographical phenomenon; a schoolboy's copy of a few verses of the Epistle to the Romans; and a fragment which is classed as theological, but which has (especially in ll. 17–21) a suspicious resemblance to a work of magic. Among the new classical fragments, the most important contains over fifty lines of Menander's *Περικειρομένη*; while in addition there is a comic fragment with an unedifying resemblance in topic to the sixth

mime of Herodas; a possible fragment of Sophocles; and epic, philosophical, rhetorical, historical, and quasi-lyrical scraps which still await identification. More important and more extensive than these last are the portions of a metrical treatise; not that it is at all likely to allay the dissensions between modern metricists, but because it contains some new fragments of lyric verse among its quotations. But best of all (after the Menander) are the scholia on *Il.* xxi., for the light which they throw on our existing collections of scholia, and the precious scrap of an Olympic register, containing the names of the victors from 480 to 468, and 456 to 448. It is exactly the period which we should have chosen (though we should have liked more of it), covering as it does the age of Pindar and Bacchylides; and not only does it go far to fix the chronology of these poets, but it also provides valuable evidence as to the artistic activity of the sculptors Polyclitus, Naucydes, Pythagoras, and others.

On all the more important of these papyri, and especially on the last two, there will no doubt be ample discussion in the *Classical Review* and elsewhere; hence they may be the more lightly passed over in a general review. The same may to some extent be said of the fragments of known literary works, among which are included a long Homer papyrus (*Il.* v.), and small portions of Euripides, Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato (again the *Phaedo* and the *Laches*!), and Demosthenes. The non-literary papyri, as before, are far more perfect than the literary, including many complete documents (nearly all of the first century after Christ) of considerable importance in their own sphere. The huge document embodying the complaint laid by one Dionysia before the prefect Faustinianus in A.D. 186 alone bristles with questions of legal interest; while several papyri which relate to the periodical census, the poll-tax, the *ἐπίκρισις*, the registration of property, the system of dowries and marriage contracts, and to various details of taxation and the

A few words may be allowed on some palaeographical points, since the editors have been good enough to point out, from time to time, the bearing of their new evidence on the statements made in my *Palaeography of Greek Papyri*. Where they adduce new facts (as, e.g. an example of the systematic use of the high and low dots in punctuation with different values), there is, of course, nothing to do but to register the addition to our knowledge; and where they express divergent views, their opinions are, of course, entitled to the fullest consideration. In some instances I have evidently failed to make my meaning understood, and would gladly alter my mode of expression; but on the whole the amount of difference between us is not great, and much of it is covered by the statement that Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt are generally disposed to date doubtful MSS. somewhat later than I do, sometimes dragging them down, with what seems excessive caution, to the latest possible point. It is rather curious to notice that, while they think the later of the alternatives suggested by me for the Herodas MS. (first century or first half of the second) is alone probable, Mr. Smyly

A few brief notes in conclusion. On p. 26 'dark,' as translation of *δωύρω*, is presumably a misprint for 'dank.' It is a pity that a facsimile could not be given of No. ccxv., the writing of which appears to be of an older type than that of the other literary MSS. The possibility must not, of course, be forgotten of isolated Ptolemaic MSS. being found in a collection predominantly Roman. In the queer fragment, No. ccix., the intact lines approximate (more than can be accounted for by chance) to the form — — — | — — — | — — — | — — — |. In No. ccxxii. col. 2, l. 16 the form 'Ἀρίστων for Ἀριστίων should interest those who remember how an Armenian MS. attributes the last twelve verses of St. Mark to 'the elder

Ariston,' and who would identify him with the elder Aristion mentioned by Papias as a disciple of our Lord. P. 97. My remark as to accentuation being applied only to works intended for sale or for large libraries referred mainly to early MSS., as accentuation becomes commoner in the third century. At the same time, the occurrence of so well written a copy of Homer as that contained in No. ccxxiii. on the *verso* of already used papyrus is undoubtedly surprising, and the editors may be right in supposing that such a copy may have been intended for sale, no doubt at a cheap rate. On p. 318 Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt recur to the question of the date of the Bacchylides papyrus, as to which I only wish to add one word. They demur to attaching weight to Ξ as a test letter, and I admit most freely that exceptions occur to all palaeographical rules; but when we find that (so far as the extant evidence goes) no literary MS. of undoubtedly Ptolemaic date has Ξ written continuously (the Herculean papyri, of which

I recently had an opportunity of examining the originals, have scores of instances of Ξ written in two or three strokes, but none in one), and that no literary MS. undoubtedly of the first two centuries has Ξ written otherwise than continuously, it would surely be foolish not to attach considerable (I do not necessarily say decisive) weight to this indication. The reference to Pap. ccxxiii. is beside the point, since that is of the third century, when, as I have myself pointed out, a discontinuous Ξ begins to reappear; but it would be difficult to maintain that the Bacchylides is of the third century. It may be worth adding that Blass, in his second edition, expresses his willingness to accept the latter part of the first century B.C. as the date of the MS.; and though evidence to the contrary *may* still be forthcoming, at present I do not think that it has been produced. This, however, is a divergence on to a side issue, and cannot be pursued here.

F. G. KENYON.

POHLENZ'S POSIDONIUS.

De Posidonii libris περὶ παθῶν. Scripsit Maximilianus Pohlenz. Lipsiae (Teubner) 1898. From the 24th Supplement to the 'Neue Jahrbücher,' pp. 535-634. M. 3.60.

THIS interesting essay examines the relations between Posidonius and Galen in the treatise *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis*, more especially Books IV. and V. There is no adequate collection of the fragments either of Posidonius or of Chrysippus, and any one who in the future undertakes to make one will find this work of great assistance. The results obtained are exhibited in the final section, partly in the form of actual fragments of Posidonius, partly by a summary of his argument, so far as it can be recovered from Galen, which serves to string these fragments together. Galen is presumed to be following Posidonius as his main authority, even when he does not ostensibly quote him. The grounds for this presumption are given fully. Most convincing is the reasoning in the excursus entitled 'Quemadmodum Galenus aliorum auctorum verbis uti soleat,' where an instructive illustration is furnished by the manner in which in this same treatise Galen has cut up into four sections (pp. 471,

474, 477, 480), interrupted by his own comments and paraphrase, and yet in the main reproduced *verbatim* nearly the whole of a well-known passage of Plato (*Rep.* 439 A-440 D). The conclusion is that Galen's habit is 'alterius auctoris orationes modo ad verbum adferre, modo verbis in suum usum commutatis adscribere.' No one will object to this moderate inference; but for the immediate purposes of 'Quellenuntersuchungen,' such as the present, everything depends upon the application of the principle. There is really a triangular duel. Posidonius deserted orthodox Stoicism on the important issue, whether the emotions are to be referred to the same faculty as other manifestations of mental life, or whether the irrational element in emotion, which Zeno and Chrysippus recognise, should compel us to assume a distinct, irrational faculty of soul. Galen in his loyal endeavour to prove Hippocrates and Plato right, and consequently the Stoics wrong, found in Posidonius a welcome ally. His object in borrowing from Posidonius is simply to refute Chrysippus: so that several times there is the greatest difficulty in deciding whether Galen is urging objections of his own or simply following his

authority. The aids to a reconstruction of Posidonius to be found outside Galen are not extensive. Apelt called attention to the remarkable likeness between Nemesius *De natura hominis* c. 16 and Galen *De plac.* p. 506 sq., and in the present treatise the view that Nemesius is copying from Galen even where he does not quote him is ably supported. That some use of Posidonius was made by Seneca in *De ira* ii. 18 sqq. is also maintained. Suggestions for improving the text of the writers examined are made sparingly: e.g. Cicero *De oratore* i. 220 cupiditas *reponendi doloris*, for 'poeniendi' of the codices, is supported by Seneca *De ira* i. 3. 3 cupiditas doloris *reponendi*. In Oribasii *collectaneis* iv. p. 211. 2 sqq. ἄλλοι δὲ πάλιν φασὶν ὅτι θυμὸς ἐστὶ ζέσις ἄμετρος τῆς θυμοειδοῦς οὐσίας· οὗτος ἀπὸ τῆς δυνάμεως it is doubtless right to transpose οὐσίας and δυνάμεως, so that this definition ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας is contrasted with one already given ἀπὸ τῆς

ἔλξης, viz. ζέσις τοῦ περικαρδίου αἵματος. A few corrections can be gleaned in Galen, even after Mueller, Kalbfleisch, and Hirzel. The best seems to us to be in p. 392, 13 Mueller (417 K.) καὶ φησι διὰ τί πᾶν τὸ ἀμέτρητον instead of καὶ φησι διότι πᾶν τὸ ἀμέτρητον, a correction which had independently occurred to Von Arnim. In the difficult passage, p. 442, 1 sqq. (463 K.), ὁ Ποσειδώνιος ... δεικνύναι πειρᾶται πασῶν τῶν ψευδῶν ὑπολήψεων τὰς αἰτίας ἐν μὲν τῷ θεωρητικῷ διὰ τῆς παθητικῆς ὁλκῆς κ.τ.λ., we are unable to approve the insertion after θεωρητικῷ of any such clause as σκέμματι διὰ τῆς τῶν ὄντων οὐχ ἱκανῆς ἐμπειρίας, ἐν δὲ τῷ πρακτικῷ which is partly suggested by Plutarch *De virtute morali* 448 A. If any change is needed, the transposition of ἐν μὲν τῷ θεωρητικῷ to precede πασῶν seems sufficient, but it is quite possible that Galen (or Posidonius) did not object to an unusual position of the particle μὲν.

R. D. H.

NORDEN'S KUNSTPROSA.

E. NORDEN, *Die antike Kunstprosa vom vi Jahrhundert vor Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance*. Leipzig, 1898; Teubner. 2 vols. Pp. xviii + 969. Large 8vo. 28 Mk.

It is not very easy to give an adequate account of this important work. If it could have been treated as a book of reference and simply tested here and there on points of special interest to the reviewer, the task of giving some account of the work might have been comparatively easy; but the author has practically made this method impossible by deliberately saying in his Preface that his purpose has been not to supply a book of reference, but a work which, extensive as it is, is meant to be read from beginning to end. After this statement there is no course open to the conscientious reviewer except to read the whole book through—a somewhat formidable task as it extends to little short of a thousand pages. This amount, however, is not excessive when one reflects that it attempts to trace the continuous development of artistic prose during a period of more than 2000 years, beginning with the Sixth Century B.C. and ending with the times of the Renaissance. By artistic prose the author understands a type of prose which consciously aims at attaining the same

general standard as that first set up by the Sophists in respect to the use of figures of speech, poetic colour and rhythmical form. He traces in broad outline the use of figures of diction and parallelisms of form in Greek Prose from the time of Gorgias to the Byzantine age, and also in Latin Prose from Classical times to the Middle Ages and the Revival of Learning. The general scheme of his work is briefly as follows.

From the time of Gorgias figures of speech, poetical colour and the rhythmical period became essential elements in artistic prose. These artifices were brought to perfection by Isocrates, who substituted for the short clauses of Gorgias a full and rich rhythm and a periodic structure. The decadence of Attic style, begun by Demetrius of Phaleron, was followed in Asia Minor by the rise of two degenerate types of what is known as Asianism, (1) the jerky style of Hegesias, in which the full periodic structure of Isocrates and Demosthenes was broken up into short rhythmic clauses, and (2) the bombastic style of Aeschylus of Gnidos and Aeschines of Miletus whose writings are no longer extant. This second style is represented for us in the long and grandiloquent inscription set up by Antiochus of Commagene in the first century B.C., which was published

by its discoverers in 1890 and is here quoted *in extenso*. It bridges over the gap between the Attic Prose of Isocrates and Demosthenes and the Asianism exemplified in early Latin Prose and (in a modified form) in Cicero. Even before its date a reaction against the excesses of Asianism had begun about 200 B.C., probably at the great literary centres of Alexandria and Pergamon, in the form of the artificial imitation of the ancients henceforth known as Atticism. In Roman literature indications of an effort after artistic effect may be noticed in the elder Cato and still more in Gaius Gracchus, also in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and in the fragments of Caelius Antipater. Varro, Sallust and Nepos are next described as imperfect representatives of classicism, while Caesar, Cicero and Livy are recognised as its normal standard. In the prose literature of the Roman Empire the old and the new style exist side by side, and the characteristics of the new style, of which Seneca is a leading example, are the same as those of the Asianism of earlier times. We thus find in the historical development of ancient artistic prose a continuous tradition extending from the fifth century B.C. to the first and second centuries A.D.

The second volume begins with the literature of Christianity. In theory the Christian writers prefer the simple and unadorned style of the Greek Testament, but in practice they soon become artificial and unduly rhetorical. The sermons of Chrysostom and Augustine (notwithstanding the protests of the preachers themselves) were apt to be regarded by their audience as fascinating forms of rhetorical entertainment. Meanwhile, in Latin literature, a purer classical style was kept up by the jurists and also by Lactantius, and at a later date by Boethius. The artificial and 'Asiatic' style of this period is discussed under the heading of the various countries in which it was exemplified.—Africa, Gaul and the other provinces. 'African Latinity' is regarded not as a special product of Africa but as one of the various manifestations of artificial 'Asiatic' rhetoric. 'Asianism' manifested itself in a still more extravagant form in Gaul, and the mannerisms of Gaul were echoed in other lands by those of Symmachus and Ammianus Marcellinus and of Jerome and Ambrose. Thus far for the first book (pp. 15-656).

The second book (pp. 659-807) is devoted to the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Among the subjects prominently treated in connexion with the survival of the antique in the Middle Ages is the struggle between

the study of *authors* and the study of *Arts*; whilst, in the chapter on Latin Prose during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, a clear distinction is drawn between the old and the new style in the Middle Ages, and the influence of the Latin Prose of the Renaissance on the Prose style of modern languages in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is carefully traced. The elder Balzac (1594-1654) is selected as the type of classicism in France, while 'Asianism' is exemplified in England by the *Euphues* of John Lyly (1579), written under the influence of the Spaniard Guevara (1529), whose ultimate prototype is regarded as Isocrates.

The work closes with two valuable appendices. The first of these consists of nearly 100 pages on the 'History of Rhyme,' in which it is pointed out that rhyme in poetry is only a special form of that *ὁμοιοτέλετον* which is the leading characteristic of ancient artistic prose during the whole extent of its history. The second is on the 'History of Rhythm in the endings of sentences.' In the course of the latter the author examines the rhythmical endings in the *First Philippic* of Demosthenes, shewing that the most frequent form of conclusion is the double spondee; next, the double trochee, and the choriambus followed by the trochee; next to this, the cretic followed by the trochee; and, far less frequently, the double cretic and the choriambus followed by the cretic; while the least frequent of all is the double choriambus. The favourite *clausulae* of late Greek Prose and of Cicero are also examined, but there is no general summary of the results in the case of Cicero, except so far as it is shewn that in the very last words of his speeches the favourite endings are the trochee (or spondee) preceded either by the cretic, or trochee, or by their metrical equivalents.

Many of the author's criticisms on the Greek Prose of the Classical age have naturally been anticipated by others, and his remarks on Thucydides, Plato, Demosthenes and Isocrates are all the briefer because their style has already been fully treated by Blass and others. But in the case of the Latin Prose of the Classical age, and the Prose of patristic and mediaeval literature, as well as in that of the Renaissance, he has done good service by gathering together in a readable form much that is scattered in programmes and periodicals and in various monographs by other authors, besides adding many valuable criticisms of his own.

The general aim of the work (as has already been indicated) is to trace a certain continuity in the technical elements of style from the time of Gorgias through that of Gregory of Nazianzus to that of Guevara the Spanish humanist of the 16th. century. The style of the old Sophists is regarded as the lineal ancestor of Asianism in all the succeeding ages. In mediæval times the continuity is apparently broken; but the author holds that the same principle is at work in the struggle between the theological realism of scholasticism and the rules of artistic style followed by the schools of Orleans and Chartres, which led up to the humanistic aestheticism of the Renaissance. Nevertheless the proof of the direct indebtedness of these later writers to their ancient prototypes is not always made out with clearness, and it may be safer to regard these later developments as due to a certain natural affinity between writers such as Guevara and Gorgias rather than to any direct indebtedness of the Spanish to the Sicilian rhetorician.

Even apart from the interest of the main argument of the book many of the incidental details are of special value. Thus, in connexion with the style of Gorgias, we find some of the many defects of Ernesti's *Lexicon* made good in a series of notes on the rhetorical terms κομψόν, οἰδοῦν, μεираκίδες, ἀπειροκαλία and κακόζηλον. The passages in which Plato appears to parody Gorgias are carefully collected, but one is surprised to find that the author has any doubts as to the identification of the rhetorician referred to in the latter part of the *Euthydemus*, and one wonders whether he has assigned due weight to the considerations urged by Dr. Thompson in the Appendix to his edition of the *Phaedrus* (pp. 179—182) where reasons are given for identifying the rhetorician as Isocrates. The style of Isocrates is expressively characterised by the author as *marmorglatt*, *aber auch marmorkalt*. Part of his criticism on Plato is well worth quoting:—*Es giebt keinen Schriftsteller des Alterthums, der über eine so reiche Skala von Tönen verfügt hat wie Platon, keinen, der überall so in der Seele seines Lesers den Wiederhall zu wecken verstanden hat, gleich gross, mag er in seinem sonnigen Wesen über die kleine Erdenwelt und die vielen kleinen seine grossen Kreise storenden Geschöpfe gutmüthig scherzen, oder mag er im Jenseits bei den δαίμονες der Höhe und Tiefe weilen, oder mag er noch höher fliegen in das Reich des Ueberhimmlischen, wo die Sprache ringen muss, sich mit dem Gedanken zu*

vereinigen (p. 112). Of the style of Varro and of Pliny the Elder it is happily said:—*wer so unendlich viel las, wie diese beiden, der konnte nicht gut schreiben* (p. 314). Many pages are devoted to the style of Tacitus, in the course of which the author holds that it is unnecessary to assign the *Dialogus* to an early date in the literary career of Tacitus: he sees no difficulty in assigning it to the same date as the *Agricola* and *Germania*, as he considers Tacitus fully capable of writing in more than one style at the same date (p. 322). At a later point the survival of Asianism in the period after Hadrian is indirectly proved by a series of passages, including Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* 1, 8. This passage seems to need correction: Philostratus says of Favorinus ἡθέλαγε δὲ αὐτοὺς τοῦ λόγου καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν (= ἐπίλογος). ὁ ἐκείνοι μὲν ᾧ δὴν ἐκάλουν, ἐγὼ δὲ φιλοτιμίαν, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ἀποδεδειγμένοις ἐφύμνειται (p. 376): here ἐγὼ δὲ φιλοτιμίαν is surely a mistake of the copyist for ἐγὼ δ' ἐφύμνιον. Plutarch, as the first representative of *freier Archaismus* is described in enthusiastic terms contrasting strongly with the language used of the next in order, Lucian, whom Norden denounces with the phrase: *er hat keine Seele* (p. 394). Of Libanius, who, as a close imitator of Demosthenes, represents a stricter form of Archaism, Norden says with truth and point: *er redet aus Büchern und wie ein Buch* (p. 404). Even the style of the Greek Testament is included within the scope of this comprehensive work, and we thus have *inter alia* six pages of parallel columns setting forth a comparison between the three Synoptic Gospels. The object of this comparison is to shew that the style of St. Luke is more classical than that of St. Matthew and St. Mark; but the fact is so generally well known that it is surprising to find so much pains spent on such an obvious point. On p. 583 Hilary of Poitiers is called *der Athanasius des Ostens*, where *Ostens* must be a misprint for *Westens*. On p. 690 we have an interesting note shewing that in the preservation of ancient literature national preferences had their influence, and that we are thus indebted to France for the survival of certain of the Latin poets and to Germany for the Latin historians. The services of Petrarch, who is represented not as the earliest of the humanists but rather as the successor of a long series of others less known to fame, are very fully recognised: indeed one of the sentences inspired by this theme fills nearly a page and is the longest in the book (p. 732–3). 'Cicero in

the Middle Ages' is effectively treated in the text, and also in a long and learned note showing the extent to which his writings were known in that period (pp. 708-9). At a later point it is suggestively shewn that one of the immediate results of the Revival of Learning was the death of Latin as a living tongue; the over-refined Classicism of the Renaissance checked the natural development of Latin and limited its use to a small circle of fastidious scholars who cultivated it only as a dead language (p. 767). On p. 284, in a quotation from a French apologist for the elder Balzac, *Amphicrates* must be a misprint for *Amphicrates* who is twice mentioned in the *Treatise On the Sublime*.

The author is familiar with the works of some of our English Scholars. Of Ignatius and Polycarp he says: *Auf das Einzelne hat J. B. Lightfoot in seiner bewunderungswürdigen, durch ihre sprachlichen und sachlichen Bemerkungen auch für den Philologen wertvollen Ausgabe hingewiesen*. He is also interested in Dr. C. Taylor's *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (p. 467), and quotes with approval Mr. E. W. Watson, *On the Style and Language of St. Cyprian* (p. 593). In English literature he is familiar with Stephen Hawes and Thomas Campion, with Philip Sidney's *Apologie for Poetrie*, Puttenham's *Art of English Poesie* and Shelley's *Defense of Poetry*, and with Lyly's *Euphues* and Roger Ascham's *Schoolmaster*. From the first Preface of Ascham's *Toxophilus* he quotes an excellent example of an elaborately antithetical style, and suggests that in the title of Lyly's *Euphues*, or the *Anatomy of Wit* (1579) we have a point of contact with Ascham, who in his *Schoolmaster* (1570)

observes that, according to Plato, the first of the 'true notes of the best wits for learning in a child' is that he should be εὐφύης. On the previous page (p. 801) he somewhat rashly hasards the suggestion that Ascham may possibly have borrowed the notion of inculcating the practice of archery in England from the Italian humanists. It is true that archery was a favourite pastime in the school of Vittorino da Feltre, but it was surely unnecessary for an English scholar to go to Italy to be reminded that archery was a useful exercise for the descendants of the victorious bowmen of Cressy and Poitiers and Agincourt. Ascham himself reminds his readers of all that Englishmen owed to their skill in archery in those famous fights (*Toxophilus* p. 87 Arber), and in his second Preface says: 'I would counsel all the gentlemen and yeomen of England, not to change it with any other thing, how good soever it seems to be; but that still, according to the old wont of England, youth should use it for the most honest pastime in peace, that men might handle it as a most sure weapon in war.'

These are only a few of the points of interest suggested by this important work, of which fuller notices may be found in the *American Journal of Philology*, no. 77 pp. 78-87, by G. L. Hendriksen, and in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1899, pp. 225-239, by W. Schmid. It is a work which no serious student of artistic form in Greek or Latin Prose can afford to neglect. Such a student can hardly fail to find that much may be learnt even from the most cursory perusal of its pages.

J. E. SANDYS.

CONWAY'S NOS IN CICERO'S LETTERS.

The use of the Singular NOS in Cicero's Letters, by R. S. CONWAY Litt. D., Professor of Latin in University College, Cardiff. Cambridge Philological Transactions, 1899. 3s.

THIS is a most able, ingenious and lively disquisition. Latin Grammarians as a rule consider *nos* and *noster* as the equivalent of *ego* and *meus*. But Dr. Conway will not be satisfied with this. He quotes with approval the saying that 'there are no synonyms,' and adds that if this is true of

any author it is true of Cicero. That this use of *nos* is comparatively rare (about 1 to 30 of *Ego*), and that the singular and plural forms often occur in the same sentence he considers is evidence that the variation is neither accidental nor meaningless in Cicero.

We used to learn that the shade of meaning which attached to such plurals was that of 'modesty,' Pluralis Modestiae it was called (cf. Dräger i. p. 25: Kennedy p. 272 note); and such passages as *Orat.* 106 *easque* (auris civitatis) *nos primi, quicumque*

eramus et quantulumcunque dicebamus, ad huius generis audiendi incredibilia studia convertimus were quoted as examples. But Dr. Conway appears to hold an entirely opposite view. He says (p. 16) '*Nos* had come to be used by a speaker of himself alone when he thought not of the *ego* he was to his own consciousness, but of the person visible or admirable to his neighbours ...in a word, of a personage'—in fact that it is a *Pluralis Dignitatis* or *Fiduciae*, not to say *Adrogantiae*; Dr. Conway calls it 'projective:' and this main view he has in my opinion made extremely probable.

The main idea, then, attaching to the plural being assumed to be that of Dignity or Complacency or Self-confidence, the writer has a tendency to use it when he regards himself as the Statesman, the Proprietor, the Financier, the Author, the Patron, the Father, the Superior generally: and Dr. Conway proceeds to prove his thesis in all these various classes by a very large collection of passages, readily allowing, however, that there may be a divergence of opinion as to the precise shade of meaning in many cases, but contending that the examples are sufficiently numerous and cogent to justify his conclusion. The passage quoted above looks like an instance of a pride that was ~~spring~~ humility. Cicero often accumulates these plurals in a single paragraph, e.g. in *Att.* ii. 22. 3 nine occur in nine lines. Dr. Conway refers to *Fam.* v. 12 as the most flagrant case of the use of this Plural of Complacency. Yet we must remember that 12 out of the 23 plurals of this class which are found in this letter occur in the 10 lines of § 9 which contains only two sentences.

But it is not merely the Method of Agreement that Dr. Conway uses. He also appeals to the Method of Difference, and shows that 'Cicero carefully avoids the plural when for any reason he desires to avoid all appearance of vain-glory. Thus he uses *ego* in making an apology, in approaching a dangerous or difficult person or in relating the words or actions of his enemy towards himself.' To satisfy myself as to the justice of this conclusion, I looked through the letters to Appian (*Fam.* iii., 26 pages) who was certainly a difficult person, and found it strikingly confirmed. I could only find nine cases of the plural of Dignity, one in 8. 8, two in 9. 4, three in 10. 3, and three in 10. 11. In 10. 11 the tendency to put plurals at the end of a letter (cf. Dr. Conway, p. 47 and *Att.* ii. 8. 2) may account

for these, or they may be local; but they as well as the others, appear to me to be best taken as plurals of Dignity. In the correspondence with Brutus the plural may be nearly always explained as a true plural—local, 'we here,' or 'our party.' The plural of Dignity is hardly ever used by Cicero when writing to Brutus; the many plurals in i. 15. 9 are, I think, due to Cicero's identifying himself with his followers: but i. 10. 1 (*nostris*) and ii. 5. 5 (*nostro*) are best taken as plurals of Dignity. As might be expected there are more plurals of this class in the letters from Brutus. Though all the plurals in i. 16 may be explained as 'our party,' their great number (especially in § 5) give a pompous air to the whole of that verbose and irritable document; and what may fairly be taken as patronizing plurals are found in other letters from Brutus i. 7. 1: 11. 1. 2: 17. 5.

Lastly, after the collection of instances and the Law, comes the Verification. For this purpose Dr. Conway makes use of a most interesting line of argument. He shows, in the case of the correspondence with Terentia, that the Plural of Superiority (which is naturally used when you wish to adopt a 'distant' or cold tone) is used with increased frequency as the estrangement between Cicero and Terentia grew more marked. He also shows that Cicero never uses this plural in relation to Tiro himself: to Pompey he very rarely uses it; and to Caesar never. Finally that Cicero, as he grew in years and passed through many vicissitudes of fortune, used this pompous plural less and less.

The main thesis is, as I said, in my opinion made highly probable. But there are one or two points advanced by Dr. Conway which may admit of discussion. He speaks of '*Ego* as an object of hostility' and says 'I have not observed a single example of *nos* in a purely hostile context.' Yet if we look at a few letters at the end of *Att.* ii, we find 21. 6 Clodius inimicus est *nobis*; 22. 1 *nobis* ipsis tum vim tum iudicium minatur: 22. 2 non destitit de nobis asperime loqui [contrast 19. 4 Noster autem Publius *mihi* minatur, inimicus est]: cp. also ii 9. 1. But it should not be supposed that such passages as these tend to invalidate the existence of the Plural of Dignity. Rather the opposite. As opposed to such characters as Publius, *βωδπις* and the rest, Cicero would naturally regard himself as a personage. It may seem doubtful also if the plural always connotes disparagement, relative or absolute,

of the person mentioned. No doubt *noster* with a proper name is often used ironically e.g. *βωβήδος nostrae* (23. 3), 'our excellent friend': but it is as difficult to discern any note of disparagement in *Att.* xv. 13. 5 where Sestius is spoken of as '*nostri* amantissimus' as in e.g. *Fin.* ii 72 where Torquatus, whose aid in his time of trouble Cicero recalls to mind with gratitude, is styled *vir optimus nostrique amantissimus*. And so I feel some doubt about Dr. Conway's rule that *noster* is applied by Cicero to his children while they are so to speak still in the nursery, *Tulliola deliciae nostrae Att.* i. 5. 8 (6 years old), *Cicero noster Att.* ii 2. 1 (5 years old): but when they come to be of companionable age they are styled *mei* or *meus*. The induction seems too small. It is an interesting comparison that while young Marcus is called *meus* on May 3; but, when his father has meantime heard of his wild life at Athens and was accordingly displeased with him, he is called on June 14, '*Cicero noster*.' But I question if that is not accidental. In *Brut.* i. 12. 3: ii 4. 6:

5. 2 he is called '*Cicero meus*,' in i. 5. 3 he is '*Cicero noster*' and there was no reason in that case why Cicero should speak of his son in a cold way. In the passages quoted under this head (pp. 43-45) exclusive of *noster*, there does not seem to be any note of contempt in the plural. In *Att.* i. 11. 1 *nostra* means the mission in which you and I are interested. There is certainly no obvious superiority in *vidimus* in *Att.* xv. 12. 2. The other plurals quoted on pp. 44, 45 refer to the writer and his following. Lepidus (*Fam.* x. 34. 2) naturally uses the singular when he ceases to speak of what he and his officers did and comes to speak of writing a letter.

But these are only trifles. The chief point, that a plural of Dignity or Superiority has made a strong claim to consideration, is a valuable contribution to Latin Grammar. And seldom has a discussion on a grammatical point been written with such brightness, acuteness and vigour.

L. C. PURSER.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

TROJAN 'BRUSHES.'

AMONG the miscellaneous objects discovered by Schliemann on the site of Hissarlik were two conical implements of terracotta, (*Ilios*, figs. 488-9), as to which more than one explanation has been advanced but no satisfactory solution has yet been found. As they belonged to Schliemann's 'third or burnt city,' they represent a stage considerably anterior to the Mycenaean, and it will be admitted that even the most apparently insignificant objects are worth discussing if it can be shown that they illustrate the conditions of life which obtained at this remote epoch.

These cones, or rather wedges, are respectively 3 in. and 2 in. long at the base and about 2 in. high: they are perforated horizontally near the apex, and, so far, might easily be mistaken for loom weights. The underside, however, of the base is scored with a large number of small holes arranged apparently in irregular rows, but on no particular system. Schliemann with his characteristic agility jumped at once to the conclusion that the holes were intended to be filled with bristles or something answer-

ing the same purpose, and bluntly describes them as brush-handles. If however these primitive persons had reached the stage of luxury when brushes of so small a size become essential, they would certainly have also arrived at a form of handle more suited to their purpose. For not only would the conical form prevent any purchase being obtained over the bristles, but the bristles, being merely pushed into the holes without attachment at the back, would become detached on the slightest lateral pressure: and if they were cemented in, the holes would certainly show some remains of the fastening.

Körte, in his important study of the primitive objects from the Bos-eyuk tumulus (*Ath. Mitt.* 1899, p. 34), publishes two further examples of these so called "brush handles," which should be of the same period as those from Hissarlik.¹ Rejecting the brush theory, partly on the ground that the clay seems to have been sun-dried and therefore not hard enough for the purpose

¹ Mr. Edgar tells me that a further example has been found in the excavations of the British School at Phylakopi in Melos.

supposed, he dismisses also the view of Loeschcke and Schmidt that the cones served for 'amulettartige' pendants; and quotes Wolters' suggestion that, like the 'pintaderas' of Mexico, these objects were intended as blocks for printing in colour patterns on the human skin or upon woven fabrics. In support of this theory, Wolters refers to objects found in the Ligurian caves, closely resembling those of Troy and Bos-eyuk, but which have, in place of the irregular rows of dots, a rude kind of decorative pattern (*Bull. di Paletn. Ital.* xix, Pl. 2, Figs. 1-12).

When one bears in mind the extraordinary general resemblance which exists between the Pre-Mycenaean and early Mexican remains, such an explanation seems at first sight reasonable: on a closer examination however it will be seen that there is really an essential difference between the two classes: for while the true 'pintadera' shows itself to be adapted in form, structure, and design to the purpose of stamping, in the Mediterranean examples it is difficult to conceive how such a form or decoration could ever have been evolved for such a purpose. The 'pintadera' is almost invariably modelled at the back in the form of a small thin handle capable of being grasped between finger and thumb: the pattern, which has the clean sharp edges necessary for printing, is invariably in relief, and the clay is baked very hard. Surely even the most primitive of printers would scarcely attempt to get a pattern from a mere plug of soft baked clay with a few holes pricked in it? It is true that some of the Ligurian specimens have patterns on the base, but these are formed of the rudest arrangements of lines scratched in the clay; even if anyone could possibly wish to print from anything so inconvenient, the formalone (if one may judge from the illustration) would be most unsuitable for printing, for the base is not flat and the pattern runs over the curved edges.

A more practical explanation of the Mediterranean cone arises from a comparison suggested to me by Mr. C. H. Read. Lane in his *Modern Egyptians*⁵ p. 341, publishes two terracotta objects which in form and decoration strongly resemble the Mediterranean objects under discussion. In describing the processes of the Egyptian bath, he makes in connection with these objects the following remarks. 'After this (the kneading process) or previously, the attendant rubs the soles of the bather's feet with a kind of rasp of baked clay. There are two kinds of rasps

used for this purpose: one is very porous and rough; and its rasping surface is scored with several lines; the other is of a fine close clay: and the surface with which the rubbing is performed is rendered rough artificially. The rougher rasp is of indispensable utility to persons who do not wear stockings, which is the case with most of the inhabitants of Egypt. The other is for the more delicate, and is often used for rubbing the limbs to render the skin smooth.'

This description, it will be admitted, would apply admirably to the terracotta cones of the Mediterranean finds; the form would be suitable for the purpose indicated, as would the semi-baked condition of the clay: while the dots or patterns roughly scored underneath would be best explained as intended to roughen the rubbing-surface. If any explanation is required of the perforation in the upper part, beyond the fact that most of the objects in these finds are made to be hung up, it may easily be that a ring or loop through this hole, passing over the finger of the rubber, would give him a firmer hold of the rasp in use.

We may safely assume of the pre-Mycenaean inhabitants of Troy and Bos-eyuk that, like Lane's Egyptians, they did not wear stockings; but it does not follow that these rasps were intended only for the soles of the feet: like the 'loofah,' they may well have been used for exciting by friction the pores of the skin throughout, and as an aid to it, the polishing, *φαιδρύνεσθαι χροά*, to which already Hesiod (*Op. et dies* l. 751) alludes; the attainment of a smooth and shiny skin is a laudable ambition which is met with very early in the scale of civilisation, and there seems no reason why these pre-Mycenaean people should not have possessed it. A more effete age smeared its skin with oil and scraped it off with another kind of rubber, the *στλεγγίς* or *ξύστρα*.

CECIL SMITH.

REINACH'S PAINTED VASES.

Répertoire des Vases Peints Grecs et Étrusques, Tome I.: par S. REINACH. Paris, Leroux: 1899. 5 frs.

UNIFORM with his *Répertoire de la Statuaire Grecque et Romaine* (of which we noticed the first volume some little time since, and of which the second volume has since appeared in two parts containing drawings of 7,000 statues in various museums and

private collections), Monsieur S. Reinach has now begun to publish a similar collection of reproductions of Greek vase-paintings. This, like the other, is really an illustrated index, or rather an index addressed to the eye instead of to the understanding. In place of describing the statue or the vase, M. Reinach places it before you. The defect of the *Répertoire de la Statuaire* lay in the extreme difficulty, or impossibility, of combining adequate representation of the sculptural works with economy in price. While it was marvellous how much he succeeded in doing, one mourned over the extreme difficulty of the task which he set himself. One could identify the statue and the type, but to go beyond that one must have recourse to other more expensive illustrations.

The nature of vase-paintings makes the present task easier, especially as M. Reinach is dealing with vases previously published, and does not propose to attempt unpublished vases; and the illustrations in this volume, though much reduced in scale, will stand the examination of details through a magnifying glass. In the volume, price only five francs, are united all the Greek vases that have been published in the *Compte Rendu* of St. Petersburg, the *Monumenti* and *Annali* of Rome, the *Archäolog. Zeitung*, the *Bullettino Napolitano*, the *Bullettino Italiano*, the *Ephemeris* of Athens, the *Museo Italiano*. Other volumes are promised shortly, the first of which will contain among other things all Gerhard's *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*. Those who possess all those books at home, may scorn these simple and simplified miniature reproductions; but those who cannot afford to begin by spending a good many hundreds of pounds on large illustrated works will welcome M. Reinach's work. In illustration of the difficulties which he has had to overcome, it may be mentioned that he had hoped to reproduce the original illustrations in his authorities directly by zincography; but in practice this method proved unsatisfactory, and an intermediate stage of simplified copies was necessary.

W. M. RAMSAY.

HILL'S LYCIAN COINS.

Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum: Lycia, Pamphylia and Pisidia. By GEORGE FRANCIS HILL. London. 1897. Pp. cxxiv. 353; with map and 44 plates. 30s.

This volume which is (if we mistake not) Mr. Hill's first contribution to the series of which it forms a part, has at once taken rank beside its predecessors as a substantial and authoritative contribution to the history of the district with which it deals. Although Lycia provides only about one third of the coins, it absorbs fully one half of the singularly interesting introduction. This is just as it should be. For it is in its treatment of the various Lycian series that the main importance of the book lies. The conquest of Lycia by the Persians under Harpagos in 545 B.C. appears to have resulted in the establishment of a dynastic system of government, which continued to exist for nearly two centuries. The classification of the coins that fall within this period is a matter of much difficulty and uncertainty. The first to essay the task was Sir Charles Fellows. In his *Coins of Ancient Lycia* (1855) the legends were interpreted as place-names, and transliterations of them were inserted in his map on what he supposed to be the sites of the issuing towns. The Lycian language still presents many unsolved problems. But a very distinct advance has been made since Fellows wrote, and we know now that, for the most part at least, it is not cities but individuals that are commemorated upon the coins. There has been a large increase too in the number of specimens available for study. Mr. Hill has brought to bear upon these all the weapons in the armoury of the numismatist, and by the aid of considerations of style, type, identity of die, and the like he is able to present us with an arrangement which without claiming to be final throws not a little light on the order of succession among the different dynasts as well as on the extent of the regions over which at least some of them held sway.

The history of Phaselis, which lay on the Eastern coast close to Pamphylia, has little in common with that of the rest of Lycia. It was the only Lycian mint that remained open after 362 B.C., when the country fell under the power of Mausolus of Caria. Elsewhere there is a complete cessation of monetary activity for some two hundred years. In 168 B.C. Lycia passed definitely within Rome's sphere of influence, and under the aegis of Rome there sprang up the Lycian League with its federal coinage. The administrative changes that were carried out by successive Roman Emperors from Claudius onwards ended in Hadrian's transference of the

province to the Senate. Henceforward little money was struck except, for some unexplained reason, during the reign of Gordian III. when there was a curious revival analogous to that which took place at Athens under Hadrian, and throughout the Peloponnesus under Severus and his family. The difficulties that have to be faced in classifying the coinage of this later period differ in kind from those attaching to the earlier series, and are on the whole less serious. Mr. Hill has attacked them from every side and has allowed nothing to be overlooked. The measure of success achieved all over could not be more succinctly described than in the words of the scholar who was himself the first to put the study of the money of Lycia on a really scientific basis. 'Mr. Hill,' wrote the late Dr. J. P. Six of Amsterdam, 'has given the best account of the Lycian issues which, in our present state of knowledge, it was possible to give.'

Dr. Six's favourable judgment may with equal justice be extended to the remaining portion of the volume. Until the second half of the fourth century B.C. no coins were struck in Pamphylia or Pisidia, except by the cities of Aspendus, Side and Selge, the early products of whose mints are well represented in the national collection. After the age of Alexander, money began to be issued more freely, although not a few of the towns did not commence to coin until Imperial times. The money of this later epoch is plentiful and extends down to the reign of Aurelian and even Tacitus. Here, as in the case of Lycia, Mr. Hill's introduction is scholarly and workmanlike, while the accuracy of his descriptions is all that could be desired. A few puzzles are perforce left unexplained. On some of these fresh light may, we believe, be looked for shortly when Dr Imhoof-Blumer publishes the results of his most recent researches.

More than twenty-five years have elapsed since the first volume of the British Museum *Catalogue of Greek Coins* appeared. Since then the instalments have succeeded each other with a regularity that is worthy of all praise, while no opportunity of improving the method and plan of them has been lost. Were it not that past experience leads one to look always for some advance, we should be tempted to think that perfection had now been attained. Unless it be the weights of the autonomous bronze pieces, it is hard to see what more information anyone could conceivably find useful.

We note two new features in Mr. Hill's book. As complete a record as possible is given of the manner in which each specimen was acquired by the Museum, and the indexes contain references to the Introduction, the growing importance of which more than justifies the change. In view of all that has now to be told regarding each coin, one sometimes regrets that the *format* of the book does not admit of a larger page. But uniformity has to be maintained, and for every-day handling the size of the book is convenient. There is an excellent map, specially prepared for this volume, and the usual liberal allowance of admirable auto-type plates.

GEORGE MACDONALD.

GEYER'S *ITINERA HIEROSOLYMITANA*.

Itinera Hierosolymitana, ex recensione PAULI GEYER: Vienna and Prague, Tempsky: Leipzig, Freytag, 1898. M. 15.60.

THIS thirty-ninth volume of the Vienna *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* gives a careful text of the old narratives of travel to and in the Holy Land. The scarce edition of Tobler and Molinier, published in 1879, was not so exact in critical informations; and, since then, the important *Peregrinatio S. Silviæ*, with its quaint Latin and abundant information bearing on legend and its growth, has been discovered. Unfortunately the *Peregrinatio Paulæ* is not given by Geyer, but is left to be published under the works of Jerome, as is also the *Epistola Paulæ et Eustochii ad Marcellam*. For the general reader, interested chiefly in history and geography, it would have been much more convenient to have all the early Itineraries in one volume; but in a collection of *Script. Ecclesiast.* the arrangement actually adopted is, of course, the scientifically right arrangement.

The value of the edition is purely textual and linguistic. The editor's business is solely to determine what his authors said, not to explain their words. Even such an interesting and illuminative hypothesis as that stated by M. Diehl in the *Bulletin de Corresp. Hell.*—that the stone at Cana of Galilee described by Antoninus of Placentia, on which he wrote of his parents, has actually been preserved to the present day after wandering first to Constantinople and

then to Phocis—is not alluded to. But as a record of the critical evidence the edition seems to be completely satisfactory.

Apart from the geographical and historical interest of these old narratives of travel, they have considerable linguistic value as evidence of the change in the spoken Latin. Thus, in the Bordeaux Itinerary the final *m* in the accusative of nouns is sometimes omitted: e.g. *ad mare mortuo*, *ad porta*, *contra oriente*, *ante passione*, occur on pp. 23, 24. In those cases Geyer follows the *Codex Pitheaeus* (now *Paris*. 4808): in almost every case the other MSS. (*Veron.* and *Sengall*) give the classical form with *m* added, and a later hand has placed the mark ~ over the vowel in *Cod. P.* Considering that even *P* commonly gives the accusative with *m*, and that it contains numerous indubitable errors in spelling and forms due not to the author but to scribes, it may be doubted whether in these cases Geyer has not carried too far his very proper rule of following the best MS. tradition with the minimum of deviation. One cannot feel confident that the author of that old Itinerary wrote on p. 22 *ad porta Neapolitana ad partem dextram*; on p. 23 *contra oriente in orientem*; on pp. 22, 23, *de statuas de qua*.

The third *Index Verborum* gives very full lists of the noteworthy forms and words in each author singly. The second *Index Nominum et Rerum* is also very full and useful. The Indices altogether occupy 156 pages.

W. M. RAMSAY.

MONTHLY RECORD.

Revue Numismatique. Part iv. 1899.

Rostovtsew and Prou. 'Catalogue des plombs antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale' (*cont.*).—J. Maurice. 'L'atelier monétaire de Rome pendant la période Constantinienne' (*cont.*).—F. de Mély. 'Les deniers de Judas dans la tradition du Moyen Âge.' The *τριάκοντα ἀργύρια* of Matthew xxvi. 15, &c., are usually identified by numismatists as tetradrachms of the Syrian Antioch. Many ecclesiastical inventories of the Middle Ages claim to include actual specimens of the 'thirty pieces.' In Malta, Paris, Rome, &c., these pieces consist of coins of Rhodes of

the fourth century B.C.: at Sens, a Mohammedan coin of the thirteenth century is described as 'ung des trante deniers de quoy Notre Seigneur fut vendu.' A decadrachm of Syracuse has been found in a circlet of gold inscribed *Quia precium sanguinis est.*—*Reviews*. Pick's *Die Antiken Münzen Nord-griechenlands*, vol. i., pt. 1; Wroth's *Coins of Galatia*.

Numismatic Chronicle. Part iv. 1899.

H. Weber. 'On finds of archaic Greek coins in Lower Egypt.' A careful description of specimens that formed part of the Sakha find in 1897. The pieces are all archaic and represent the coinages of Aegina, Naxos (island), Paros, Lete, Chios, &c. Three early staters of Corinth have the remarkable weight of 104-101 grains (instead of 130 grains) and are thus, apparently, of the Phoenician standard. Sir H. Weber agrees with the view of Dutilh that all these coins were bought by Egyptian merchants and tradesmen as old silver, and that 'the Egyptian, who had no silver mines, obtained in this way their silver from Greek traders.' This view is to some extent borne out by the evidence of other hoards of Greek money found in Egypt, namely Mariette's Myt-Rahineh find; the Naukratis 'silversmith's hoard' and the find described by Greenwell, *Num. Chron.* 1890, p. 1. Some new varieties of the inexhaustible coinage of Cyrene are also published by Weber.—George Macdonald. 'The amphora-letters on coins of Athens.' This is a valuable criticism of the lists of magistrates' names and amphora-letters in Beulé's work which, as Macdonald shows, abounds in inaccuracies. Good reasons are given for Macdonald's conclusion that the amphora-letters represent the calendar months. From *circ.* 170 B.C. (according to Unger, or, rather, according to Macdonald, from *circ.* 180 B.C.) until *circ.* 128 B.C. a double system of time-reckoning (by calendar month and by month *κατὰ θεόν*) was in use at Athens. This fact is known from inscriptions, but the coins also, as interpreted by Macdonald, furnish an extensive series of documents in which the double dates can be recognized. Of the three magistrates' names inscribed on the coins, the third gives the prytany and, therefore, the month *κατὰ θεόν*; at the same time, the amphora-letters give the month according to the ordinary calendar.—E. J. Seltman. 'Nummi serrati and astral coin types.' A paper of twenty-one pages containing, unfortunately, little that is decisive as to the meaning of *nummi serrati*, the coins with notched edges found in the Greek, Carthaginian, and Roman series. Svoronos once suggested that these serrated pieces were meant to symbolize astral bodies, and Mr. Seltman considers that this suggestion 'need not be wrong so far as serrated Carthaginian coins are in question.' The bulk of the article is devoted to a comparison of Mr. Seltman's own views with those of M. Svoronos upon the subject of 'astronomic coin-types.'—*Reviews*. Pick's *Die ant. Münzen Nord-griechenlands*, by B. V. Head; Hill's *Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins*, by A. J. Evans.

WARWICK WROTH.

The Classical Review

APRIL 1900.

The beginning of a new series of Greek and Latin texts in English claims more than a passing mention; and this fresh proof of the enterprise of the Oxford University Press suggests more than one reflection of interest. In the first place it gives welcome proof of the revival of English Classical scholarship: twenty years ago, we may safely say, such an undertaking would have been destined to collapse, whereas now there is fair prospect of its being brought to a creditable, if not to a distinguished conclusion. But we must not let our patriotic satisfaction carry us so far as to rejoice with some of our contemporaries that now at last have we a national series of classical texts. For new texts, single or serial, of ancient authors the sole *raison d'être* is that they are superior to their predecessors.

Externally, the coming series will maintain the reputation of its domicile; with paper, type and margin, little fault can be found; the size and shape of its pages will commend themselves to many, and the place of its brief critical notes below the text is beyond doubt the most convenient one. Its intrinsic claims to consideration, to which we here advert without prejudice to the judgments which competent critics in this journal or elsewhere will pass upon its individual components, cannot be altogether dissociated from the mode of its origin. Oxford has long prescribed that the books in which its alumni are to be examined shall be studied in certain texts. These safety matches, if we may call them so, for kindling the illumination of learning it now decides shall be made at home. We see no reason why it should not; we do not share trade prejudice that University Presses should publish nothing but what is unremunerative: though we may add that even in this respect the University which is now labouring under the load of the New English Dictionary has done its full share.

But we cannot but feel that the existence of this 'tied' connexion justifies the question why the delegates of the Clarendon Press did not make their

roll of editors more representative of the best English scholarship than it is. It contains, it is true, a good number of names that we associate at once with the authors assigned to them: but others are not there which we should have expected to find, and of these more than one is an Oxford name. In some cases the connexion between the editor and the text is not immediately obvious while others have to be taken entirely upon trust.

As regards the last class we may observe that scholars, like everyone else, must learn their trade; but it should not be at the expense of what are to be authorised texts of corrupt and difficult authors. We wish the series every success; but we cannot repress the apprehension that what might have had even an international value, may prove to have only a domestic one.

The learned editor and the devoted publisher of the Leyden reproductions of classical manuscripts pursue steadily their course of well-doing towards ancient scholarship. Their fifth volume is the *Codex Decurtatus of Plautus*, edited by that distinguished specialist, Professor Zangemeister of Heidelberg. This as well as the other four in the series, Prof. H. Omont's fragments of the *Sarravianus-Colbertinus codex of the LXX.*, Prof. H. Hagen's *Codex Bernensis 363* (containing works of Horace, Ovid, Augustine, Bede, etc.), the Bodleian Plato, edited by Mr. Allen (in 2 vols.), we cordially recommend to the notice of librarians and scholars of means whether in England or America. The price varies from £8 to £11 5s. for the *Plautus*, which is far from excessive considering the interest and costliness of the reproductions. The announcements include the *Medicean Tacitus*, the *Ambrosian Terence*, and the *Venetius A. of the Iliad*. Subscription forms and specimen pages can be obtained from the publisher, Mr. A. W. Sijthoff, of Leyden.

From Canada we learn that the private library of Otto Ribbeck is now catalogued and lodged on the shelves of the University Library of Montreal.

THE ORIGIN OF THE EGYPTIAN YEAR.¹

IN a number of ingenious papers which have appeared in *Nature*² it has been sought to demonstrate the connection of the Egyptian year with the heliacal rising of Sirius. Such a connection seems not improbable; but when it is used as an argument for discrediting the precise statements of Censorinus, it seems desirable to sift the matter once more.

As is well known the Egyptian year contained 365 days, and so in every four years receded one day in comparison with a Julian year. Thus in 1461 Julian years the Egyptian year would have circulated entirely through the 4 seasons, and would return to its place. Censorinus tells us (*De die natali*, 18, § 10; 21, §§ 10, 11) that one of these cycles of 1461 years began in the year 139 A.D., and notes that the Egyptian New Year or 1 Thoth was in that year 20 July in the Julian year, and was the date on which the heliacal rising of Sirius took place.

Prof. Lockyer has shown that the orientation of Egyptian temples is intended to enable the priests to observe exactly the day of certain astronomical phenomena; and he suggests that the heliacal rising of Sirius was one of the most important phenomena so observed, and that indeed it determined the year. He argues, however, that the Sothic cycle, or cycle of 1461 years, began in 3192 B.C., 1728 B.C., 270 B.C. 'An inscription of Philae,' he writes, 'described by Brugsch (p. 87), states that when it was written the 1st of Thoth = 28th of Epiphi. That is, according to the view we are considering, the heliacal rising of Sirius occurred on the 28th of Epiphi in the vague year. He fixes the date of the inscription between 127 and 117 B.C.' Now, 'as the Sirius-year is longer than the vague one, the first vague year will be completed before the first Sirius-year.' Hence, unless Prof. Lockyer really means that the view he is considering is that the 1st of Thoth in the vague year occurred on the 28th of Epiphi in the Sirius year (not, as he says, the heliacal rising of Sirius occurred on the 28th of

Epiphi in the vague year), there must ³ want 148 years to the end of the Sothic cycle (not, as he says, 148 years *have elapsed* since the cycle ended). In this case 1 Thoth in the vague year = 1 Thoth in the Sirius year, between the years 22-32 A.D., if Brugsch's date for the inscription is correct. The inscription dated *circ.* 1580 B.C. is not affected by this change; nor yet that of Pepi *circ.* 3044. If this is what Prof. Lockyer intends, it can only be said that such a solution cannot be put into any harmonious connection with any other known facts.

Subsequently he proceeds to discuss Censorinus' statement that a Sothic cycle was completed in 139 A.D. He there refers to the Alexandrian reform of the calendar 'in the year 23⁴ A.D.' when 'the first of Thoth would take place on August 29, a very important date.' But the Alexandrian reform took place in 26 B.C., and the first of Thoth was then Aug. 30; in 23 A.D. 1st Thoth must be Aug. 18th if Censorinus is to be believed, and Prof. Lockyer agrees that he ought.

We are thus led to suppose the solutions in *Nature* to be mare's nests due to a confusion of 26 B.C. and A.D. and to an erroneous calculation. If so, the assumed discrepancies of the inscriptions with Censorinus' accounts vanish.

Can we then, assuming Censorinus to be right, explain the other datings? Let us begin with some general considerations, that must be accounted for in our calculations.

Oppolzer⁵ showed that the heliacal rising of Sirius was in 1601 B.C. on July 18.6 Julian = July 4 Gregorian, and in 1 B.C. on July 19.7 Julian = July 17 Gregorian. In 139 A.D. we know from Censorinus that it was on July 20 Julian = July 19 Gregorian,

³ There is roughly a change of one day in four years. That Prof. Lockyer has overlooked his own intention will appear if we compare his statement in vol. 46, p. 105 'in relation to the established year the solstice would sweep forward among the days; in relation to the true year the 1st of Thoth would sweep backwards' with the plan he has adopted for his chart of the movement of the heliacal rising through the vague year in reversed order. Under figure 4 we read 'The distribution of the 1st of Thoth (representing the rising of Sirius) among the Egyptian years': and presently by a most unfortunate confusion 'the 1st of Thoth in the vague year.'

⁴ In vol. 47, p. 229 we have 23 B.C. given.

⁵ *Nature*, vol. 46, p. 105.

¹ This article was submitted to the editor of *Nature* for publication, and was declined by him on the ground of 'want of space.'

² The whole of Prof. Lockyer's papers are worth consulting although they are not actually consecutive: vol. 43, p. 559; 44, pp. 8, 57, 107, 199; 45, p. 296, 373, 487; 46, p. 104; 47, pp. 32, 228.

and we may roughly¹ calculate that in 2901 B.C. it rose on July 17. 7 Julian = June 24 Gregorian, and in 1401 B.C. on July 18. 7 Julian = July 6 Gregorian.

Since the vague Egyptian year was shorter by $\cdot 242392^2$ of a day than the true solar year, in 1506 years the vague year would return to where it before was in the true year. Hence if 139 A.D. gives the beginning of a cycle which brought the vague year back to its old position in the true year, that cycle began previously in 1368 and 2874 B.C.

The period of time required for the Sirius-rising to return to the same date in the Egyptian vague year would be roughly $(1506 - 13 \cdot 1 \times 4)$ years if Oppolzer is correct³ in giving the interval between the Sirius risings of 1601 and 1 B.C. correctly. Thus the Sirius period is $1506 - 52 \cdot 4$ years = 1453·6 years.

Thus if 2874 B.C. begins the first Sothic period—that the *first* period began hereabouts has been conjectured with plausibility—the Sirius rising would be on the same day of the Egyptian vague year again in 1420 B.C., and again in 34 A.D. It cannot be accident that this is the year in which as we read in Tacitus *Annals* vi. 28, the phoenix appeared in Egypt. According to some, we are told, the bird lived for 500 years; according to others for 1461 years, *i.e.* for the Sothic period roughly calculated, since $1461 = 365\frac{1}{4} \times 4$. The former birds flew into Heliopolis—the name is to be noticed—in the reigns of Sesostris, Amasis, and Ptolemy,

¹ These figures and the others throughout the rest of the paper, though only approximations, are almost certainly so accurate that no correction that may be necessary will invalidate the reasoning based upon them. In 139 A.D. the exact date would be 20·5 Julian.

² I have left Prof. Lockyer's figures (*Nature*, vol. 46, p. 105), although $365 \cdot 242193$ is given by C. A. Young (*General Astronomy*, pp. 137, 528) as the length of the tropical year. This would make the length of the solstice cycle 1507 years, and a little over: so that two cycles would perhaps cover 3015 years. The first period would begin in **2877 or 2876 B.C.**

³ If we use Oppolzer's figures as precise, and work rigorously so that Sirius in 1600 years rises later by $\frac{401 \cdot 1}{1600}$ days than would be given by a 365 day year, we get 1455·9 years, virtually 1456 as the length of the Sirius cycle. In such long periods of time a small error in the calculation of Sirius' rising and in the estimate of the length of the year becomes momentous. It may be suggested that the date 2876 B.C. should be used to correct the Sirius calculations with, and not *vice versa*. It should be noticed that in 2876 B.C. Sirius rose 17·9 Julian, and the solstice was July 17·3. Biot (*Nature*, vol. 46, p. 105) is obsolete.

3rd king of the Macedonian dynasty. Now it is of course possible that we have preserved in our various authorities different beginnings of Sothic periods, in consequence of the date of the Sirius-rising⁴ being different at different places: but it is at any rate worth noticing that this date 34 A.D. *may* harmonize with the Brugsch inscription, if its date should be really between 117–113⁵ B.C. Again, it is also worth noticing that the period of 500 years = 125×4 is the period in which the Sothic cycle would alter by 4 months and the 5 epagomen days; and there is some trace of the Egyptian year being grouped into periods of 4 months—the other 4 month periods would revolve in 480 years. Three months would take 360 years, and it may be worth pointing out that Tacitus says that as the period from Ptolemy to Tiberius was less than 500 years, some supposed the phoenix of 34 A.D. to have been spurious; while from Ptolemy (247–222) to Censorinus' date for the beginning of the Sothic cycle is 385–360 years—we are not told in which year of Ptolemy's reign the phoenix appeared.

It is reasonable, however, to connect with the appearance of the phoenix in Ptolemy's reign a decree that is preserved to us, and which was published in 238 B.C.—the decree of Canopus or Tanis which puts the heliacal rising of Sirius on 1 Payni. In regard to this decree, we may grant the probability of Prof. Lockyer's suggestion that the calendar was revised, when the vague year had deserted the true year by 4 months, but again we must point out that instead of the cycle beginning as he supposes in $238 + 380 = 618$ B.C.—a date which then requires him to elaborate a conjectural explanation of its origin—the cycle began in roughly $238 - 380$ years = 143 A.D., or to be quite accurate since the Sirius-rising in 238 B.C. would be about July 19·6 Julian = July 15 Gregorian, and about 143 A.D. it is on July 20 Julian = July 19 Gregorian, there is not an interval of $95 \times 4 = 380$ years required to bring the Sirius rising from 1 Payni to 1 Thoth, but only the number of years that will by the difference between them and the Julian year yield 94^6 days. This number is 376 years, and this gives us again Censorinus' date for the beginning of the cycle 139 A.D.

Lastly there are some inscriptions at

⁴ *Nature*, vol. 47, p. 33.

⁵ Or reckoning accurately 113–109 B.C.

⁶ 5 Epacts + 30 Mesori + 30 Epiphi + 30 Payni = 95. And this must have 1 subtracted for the difference between July 19 and 20 Julian.

Edfu,¹ said to have been cut between 117 and 81 B.C.; in them we find the rising of Sirius referred to under 1 Mesori. To calculate roughly this would give the date of these inscriptions as $(30 + 5) \times 4 = 140$ years before either 139 A.D., which is out of the question, or before 34 A.D. This would give the date as 107 B.C. In any case we can see that it is a mistake to turn the cycle the other way, and make it begin 140 years before 117 B.C.

In conclusion it may be well to repeat what Prof. Lockyer has well pointed out, that feasts would be *fixed for some considerable time to a particular day in the vague year*: only at intervals, as the vague year took these dates out of their connexion with the natural phenomena which the feasts celebrated, would the authorities rectify the calendar. Thus there might be at the outside 12 rectifications in each Sothic cycle when the calendar had shifted by a whole month: at intervals, then, of 120 years or so.² This may perhaps explain the difficulty of the same³ date being found constant for

certain feasts in the reigns of Ramses II. and III.—covering a period of 120 years.

T. NICKLIN.

Llandoverry.

While this has been passing through the press, I have received from the kindness of Mr. T. G. Pinches, of the British Museum, a note of a paper which he heard read at Rome in October last by Prof. Erman about an Egyptian inscription, a short *précis* of the contents of which appears in bulletin no. 7 of the Orientalist Congress held in that city, p. 20.

The document was found at Kahun, and is now in the Berlin Museum. It consists of two fragments, and the text shows, that in the 7th year of Usertesen III. the Sothis-star rose on the 16th day of the 8th month. From this the author concluded that the 7th year of the king mentioned fell between 1876 and 1872 B.C. This is a rough calculation, allowing 4 years for the change of one day, and would put the beginning of the Sothic period about 1314 B.C. If my arguments are sound, the inscription should be about either $1420 + 558 = 1978$ B.C. or $1368 + 577 = 1945$ B.C. It confirms a conjecture I had made that the Egyptian calendar was readjusted *ten times* in each Sothic cycle—the presence of three diverse inscriptions with the equivalent 28 Epiphi can hardly be fortuitous.

¹ *Nature*, vol. 47, p. 230. It is noteworthy that Edfu and Philae, where the dates appear that yield 34 A.D. for the beginning of the cycle, are not remote from one another, and are roughly 300 miles south of Memphis. Cf. *supra*, p. 147 b.

² Perhaps more probably every 480 years or so. See *Nature*, vol. 47, p. 228.

³ *Nature*, vol. 47, p. 32.

NOTES ON THE SEVENTH BOOK OF THE GREEK ANTHOLOGY (ED. STADTMÜLLER).

11, 3 ἀλλ' ἐτέρων πολλῶν δυνατώτερος (scil. ὁ γλυκὺς Ἡρίνης πόνος).

δυνατώτερος is undoubtedly corrupt. I would read πινυτώτερος (cp. 22, 7). But if δν in A is corrected from λν, as Stadtmüller thinks possible, γλυκερώτερος might be thought of.

17, 1 Αἰολικὸν παρὰ τύμβον ἰὼν, ξένε, μή με θανοῦσαν †

τὰν Μιτυληναίαν ἔννεπ' αἰδοδόλον.
μ' ὑποδύσαν seu με χαδεῖν γὰν con. Stadtmüller. Read μὴ ἴδοθεν οὔσαν (which is diplomatically more probable than μὴ μ' ἐνεοῦσαν or μὴ μ' ἔτ' ἐνοῦσαν or μὴ μ' ἔθ' ἱποῦσαν, which one might also conjecture).

21, 8 ἀλλ' ὁ περισσὸς
αἰὼν ἀθανάτοις δέρεται ἐν σελίσιν.

δέρεται, for which various conjectures

have been made, is sound: 'shines.' It illustrates, and is illustrated by, Pindar's δέδορκεν φάος, Nem. iii. 84.

25, 7 μολπῆς δ' οὐ λήγει μελιτερπέος ἀλλ' ἔτ' ἐκείνον

βάρβιτον οὐδὲ θανὼν εὔνασεν εἰν Ἀΐδῃ.
ἔτι τείνων Stadtm., alii alia. Read ἔτ' ἐκείνοις sc. τοῖς νεκροῖς.

26, 6 ὥς ὁ φιλακρήτου σύντροφος ἁρμονίης.
Write Ἀρμονίης,

27, 8 ἥδ' οὐ μέν βλύζων, ἀμφίβροχος εἴματα
Βάκχῳ,

ἄκρητον θλίβων νέκταρ ἀπὸ †στολίδων.

These verses describe Anacreon taking part in a kômos (cp. v. 2 μῆτ' ἐρατῶν κώμων ἀνδρα μῆτε λύρης, which means, not without flute nor lyre), and as the kômos was sung to flutes we can easily restore

ἄκρητον θλίβων νέκταρ ἀπὸ στομίδων.
στορίς, the mouthpiece of the flute.

34, 3 οὐ μέλος εἰσαίων φθέγγαιό κεν ὥς ἀπὸ
Μουσῶν
ἐν Καδμόν θαλάμοις σμῆνος ἀπεπλά-
στατο.

ὥς ποτε Heck. ὥς ρα τὸ Stadtmüller. ρα is
useless, and ποτε is not wanted. Read φθέγγαιό
κεν 'αὐτὸ τὸ Μουσῶν—σμῆνος ἀπεπλάστατο.'
One τὸ fell out, αὐτὸ became ἀπὸ, and the
insertion of ὥς was a natural consequence.

28, 2 ὦ ξένη, τόνδε τάφον τὸν Ἀνακρείοντος
ἀμείβων
σπείσόν μοι παριών· εἰμι γὰρ οἶνο-
πότης.

Stadtm. suggests that παριών with ἀμείβων
is redundant and offers some conjectures.
But πάρειμι means not only to pass by, but
to come forward or approach. The passing
stranger is asked to approach the tomb:
σπείσον παριών = πάρῃθι καὶ σπείσον.

48, 4 καὶ ἡ πόνοσ' εἰνδοίους τῇδε παρερχομένοις.
(On Euripides). I would read πόθος.

49, 4 τρίς γὰρ ἐπαστράψας, Εὐριπίδῃ, ἐκ Διὸς
αἰθῆρ
ἦγγισε τὰν θνατὰν σήματος ἡ ἱστορίαν
σώματος Barnes, alii; σώματι συστροφίαν
Stadtm. Read

σώματος ἁρμονίαν

Cp. 383 6 νεύρων καὶ κώλων ἁρμ; 489 2;
472, 8 ὀστών ἁρμ.

51, 6 σὸν δ' οὐ τοῦτον ἐγὼ τίθεμαι τάφον ἀλλὰ
τὰ Βάκχου
βήματα καὶ σκηναὺς ἔμβαλε ἡ ἐρειδο-
μένης

Stadtm. gives ἔμπεδ' ἐρ. Many other con-
jectures have been made. Read simply ἔμβολ'
ἐρειδομένης. ἔμβολα = ἐπιστύλια, see Eurip.
Bacch. 591. The words mean 'with firmly
supported beams.'

79, 3a. "Ὁνθρῶπ", Ἡράκλειτος ἐγὼ σοφὰ μόνους
ἀνερῶν
φαμί· τὰ δ' ἐς πάτραν κρέσσονα καὶ
σοφίης.
λάξ γὰρ καὶ τοκέων ἡ ἀσίῳ, ξένη,
δύσφρονας ἄνδρας
ὑλάκτεν. β. λαμπρὰ θρεψαμένοισι
χάρις.

In attempting to restore the third line of
this notoriously difficult epigram, we have to
choose between two possible views of the
meaning. Either there is a reference to
unfilial conduct on the part of Heraclitus
towards his parents, conduct prompted by
patriotic motives; or there is no such
reference and τοκέων conceals some other
word. In the latter case, it seems
necessary to suppose that the δύσφρονες

ἄνδρες were the whole body of citizens
against whom Heraclitus was in a minority
of one; otherwise there seems to be no point
in θρεψαμένοισι χάρις. We should then have
to read ἀστούς for ἀσίῳ, and replace τοκέων
by the participle which λάξ demands—καὶ
πατέων or καππατέων. Perhaps it is safer to
believe that the Palatine text is correct so
far as it preserves a reference to the parents
of the philosopher. In that case, assuming
λάξ to be sound, we have in a similar
manner to supply a participle and are
therefore almost driven to read

λάξ γὰρ καὶ τοκέας πατέων, ξένη, δύσφρονας
ἄνδρας
ὑλάκτεν.

The epigram goes on:

a. οὐκ ἀπ' ἐμῆ; β. μὴ τρηχὺς. a. ἐπεὶ τάχα
καὶ σύ τι πεύσῃ
τρηχύτερον πάτρας. β. χαῖρε σὺ δ' ἐξ
'Ἐφέσου'

πάτρας probably belongs to β. Read
τρηχύτερον. β. πάτρας χαῖρε φύλαξ Ἐφέσου.

97, 3 Οὐ μόνον ἐς Πέρσας ἀνέβη Ξενοφῶν διὰ
Κῦρον

ἀλλ' ἀνοδὸν ζητῶν ἐς Διὸς ἦτις ἄγοι
παιδείης γὰρ ἑῆς Ἑλληνικὰ πρᾶγματα
δείξας

ὥς καλὸν ἡ σοφίῃ μνήσατο Σωκράτεος.

In this epigram of Diogenes, one expects
to find in the corrupt words παιδείης γὰρ ἑῆς
a reference to the Cyropaedia, so that the
four chief works of Xenophon may be
mentioned. Reiske's π. παρ' ἑῆς in this
sense will not do. I would point out that
the reading of the MSS. ΠΑΙΔΕΙΗΣ
ΓΑΡΕΗΣ suggests another view: namely
that the reference is not to the Cyropaedia,
but to the work on the Constitution of the
Lacedaemonians. παιδείῃ or παιδείῃν Σπάρτης
would be diplomatically a simple correction.
If we read παιδείῃ, which seems better, we
take it with ζητῶν; while παιδείῃν would
depend, along with πρᾶγματα (asyndeton),
on δείξας. The objection to this view is
that Diogenes would not have omitted the
Cyropaedia; but in so condensed an
epigram he might have thought that the
first line would cover the two works relating
to Persia.

114. 4 ἀλλὰ διεψεύσθης, σεσοφισμένε· διὴ γὰρ ὁ
μὲν θῆρ
ἦε δράκων, σὺ δὲ θῆρ, οὐ σοφὸς ὢν
ἐάλως.

ἐ* ἄλωσ C ἐλίλωσ A* ἰάλωσ D. A contrast
is required to the keen-sighted beast—δράκων.
Read.

σὺ δὲ θῆρ, οὐ σοφὸς ὢν, ἀλαός.

123, 4 οὐκ ἔρέω δ' ὅτι σαντὸν ἐκὼν βάλες ἐς
 ῥόον Αἴτνης
 ἀλλὰ λαθεῖν ἐθέλων ἔμπεσες οὐκ
 ἐθέλων.

Stadtmüller's ἀλλ' ἀθρεῖν is attractive; but λαθεῖν may possibly be right: wishing it not to be known that you courted death, you fell in as if οὐκ ἐθέλων. I suggest, however, that Diogenes wrote θαρεῖν, 'though (as a philosopher) willing to die.' The corruption would have easily arisen from a dittogram of λα—ἀλλὰ λαθαρεῖν.

132, 2 Καὶ σέ, Πρωταγόρῃ, σοφίης ἴδμεν βέλος
 δξύ

ἀλλ' οὐ τιτρώσκον <τι πινύσκειν> δὲ
 γλυκὺ χρῆμα.

So Stadtmüller. The supplement is quite uncertain; but for χρῆμα P gives κρήμα, and we should read, I think, κνήσμα (or κνίσμα), which is appropriate to βέλος.

200, 3 χεῖρα γὰρ εἰς αἰράν παιδὸς πέσον
 (τέττιξ loquitur).

εἰς νεαρὰν coni. Stadtm., alii alia. Perhaps εἰς λαϊὰν.

220, 4 δάκρυ δ' ἐπισπείσας Ἑχάροις, γύναι· ἐκ
 γὰρ ἀκουῆς
 οἰκτεῖρω σε' ἔφην ἣν πάρος οὐκ
 ἰδόμεν.

σέ γ' ἔφ Wakefield, σ' ἐφάμην Heck, σε τᾶφών coni. Stadtm. Read οἰκτεῖρων σ' ἔφθην ἣν πάρος οὐκ ἰδόμεν.

The next verse begins:

ἃ πόσον ἡθέων νόον ἦκαχες·

I propose:

ἃ πόσον ἡθέους νέον ἦκαχες·

233, 4 νοῦσον ὅτ' εἰς ὑπάτην ὠλίσθανε τέρμα
 τ' ἄφυκτον

εἶδεν ἀριστεῖν ἐμφανὲς † εἰς ἰδίην.

(On the general Aelius). It is clear that τέρμα depends on εἶδεν, and that there was a verb in the latter half of the pentameter. Stadtmüller's conjecture ἡμφάνισ' (perhaps ἐμφάνισ') seems to be right; but ἰδίην is, I think, also corrupt, while εἰς may easily be a repetition of the last syllable of ἡμφάνισ'. I would read

εἶδεν, ἀριστεῖν ἡμφάνισ' ἀμφαδίην.

256, 1 οἶδε ποτ' Αἰγαιοῖο βαρύβρομον οἶδμα
 λιπόντες

Ἑκβατάνων πεδίω κείμεθ' ἐνὶ μεσάτῳ.

ὑδατος Αἰγ. Stadtm. Perhaps οἶνοπος.

286, 4 τὰ δ' ὄλβια κείνα μελαθρα
 φροῦδα. ἢ. πάσης ἐλπίς ὄλωλε Τύρου.

(On Nicanor, a rich Tyrian who perished in a shipwreck.) The conjecture which Stadtmüller prints in his text

φροῦδ', ἐφόδον δὲ πάτρης ἐλπίς ὄλωλε Τύρου,

hardly gives an adequate meaning, and it violates the principle that when there is a lacuna it is dangerous to alter the adjacent text. Perhaps simply: φροῦδ', ἅμα καὶ πάσης.

291, 3 ἡ γὰρ ὀρινομένου πόντου, δείσασα
 θαλάσσης

ὑβριν ὑπὲρ κοίλου δοῦρατος ἐξέπεσες.

δείσασα is undoubtedly corrupt. Reiske's λένσουσα may be right, but I suggest θαμβέυσα, which is distinctly superior in meaning. The corruption can be easily explained by parablepsia: θα<μβέυσα θα>λάσσης. δείσασα was then inserted, an unfortunate supplement. (This explanation would also apply to Stadtm.'s conjecture θαρσοῦσα, but θαμβέυσα or θαμβοῦσα is better).

302, 2 τῶν αὐτοῦ τις ἕκαστος ἀπολλυμένων
 ἀνιάται,

Νικόδικον δὲ φίλοι καὶ πόλις ἦδε
 πολή†.

ποθεῖ Brunck, Πόλη (urbs Istriæ) Salmasius, πολύ Boissonade &c. I may hazard yet another guess: Παλεῖς. But the absence of any indication, in this 'Simonidean' distich that Nikodikos was slain in war, forbids us to suppose that he could have been one of the two hundred Παλεῖς of Cephallenia (Hdt. ix. 28) who fought in the Greek army at Plataea.

325, 1 τόσος' ἔχω, ὅσσ' ἔφαγόν τε καὶ ἔμπιον †
 καὶ μετ' ἔρωτων
 τέρπν' ἐδάην.

With the version ἔμπιον we might read ὅσσα τ' ἔρώτων (or ἐρώντων).

377, 6 ὥστ' ἀγορεύσαι

πηλὸν Ὀδυσσεῖν καὶ βάτον Ἰλιάδα

Stadtm. conjectures βόλβιτον for καὶ βάτον. We might propose, in a similar sense, καὶ σκύβαλ'. But βάτον is sound. Parthenius compared the Iliad to a wild bramblebush, meaning to imply that it wanted the artistic elaboration of Alexandrine compositions.

382, 5 ἡ τύμβευε κενούσα καθ' ὑδατος.

κανοῦσα Heck, κυθοῦσα or ἐνέχουσα Stadtm. Perhaps μ' ἐλοῦσα or ἐλεοῦσα.

386, 2 δύσμορος ἡ μαστῶν...ἐπηξα γάλα.

στάζον Stadtm. alii alii. Perhaps ναστὸν.

ib. 4 Ἀἶδεω πολὺς ὄλβος ἐμῆς ὠδίνος ἀριθμός,
 ἡ τέκον. ὦ μεγάλης λείψανα πυρκαΐης.

The least violent changes which have been proposed are those of Reiske and Heck, who would read respectively ὠδ., ἀριθμοῦς ἡ τ., and ὠδ., ἀριθμὸν ἡ τ. But ἀριθμός should not be altered. Read

ἢ <τε> τέκον, μεγάλης κ.τ.λ.

My children and I who bore them enrich Hades.

393, 2 Μή με κόινι κρήνητε, τί γάρ; πάλι μηδ' ἐπὶ ταύτης

ἡόνος οὐκ ὄντοσιν γαῖαν ἐμοὶ τίθετε.

οὐ γνωτὴν Salmas., ὄγνωτὴν Huschke. I have no doubt that the true reading is οὐκ ἄνυτῖν. Although the usual form of this verbal is ἄνυστος and is justified by the Homeric ἄνυστος and by the form ἄνυτικός. ἄνυντον is precisely the sense required.

ib. 6 πάρεται σταθερῇ μιμνέμεν ὡς ἄταφος ἀρκοῦμαι Jacobs. Perhaps αἰρεῖμαι.

408, 3 ἄρτι γὰρ Ἰππώνακτος ὃτ' καὶ τοκέων καταβαύξας

ἄρτι κεκοίμηται θυμὸς ἐν ἡσυχίῃ.

I suggest: ὁ κύντατα κάρτα βαύξας.

409, 8 καὶ Ζεὺς τοι κρέσσων Ἑννοσίχθωνος· ἀλλ' Ἑννοσίχθων

τοῦ μὲν ἔφην μείων ἄθανάτων δ' ὕπατος.

ἀλλ' ἑτέρων or ἄσσοτάτω δ' Stadtm. But nothing is to be done with ἄθανάτων which is clearly an unfortunate supplement to fill up a gap. The correction is perfectly simple:

τοῦ μὲν ἔφην μείων <μειοτέρων> δ' ὕπατος.

411, 6 ὦ στόμα πάντως

δεξιῶν, ἀρχαίῳ ἡσθὰ τις ἡμίθεον.

(πάντως seems the simplest correction of πάντων.) Violent emendations have been proposed. Perhaps read ἀρχαίοις 'in the eyes of the ancients.'

444, 1 Χείματος οἰνωθέντα τὸν Ἀνταγόρεω μέγαρ οἶκον.

Stadtm. proposes ὀχληθέντα, and other suggestions have been made since Scaliger's οἰωθέντα. But the text is sound. οἶκον means the household as well as the house, as is shown by the verb which governs it, ἔλαθεν. διὰ τὴν μέθην, in the lemma, implies the reading οἶν., but this is not of much consequence.

447, 2 Σύντομος ἦν ὁ ξεῖνος ὃ καὶ στίχος· οὐ μακρὰ λέξω·

Θῆρις Ἀρισταίου Κρής ἔπ' ἐμοὶ δολιχός.

Stadtmüller's ἐπώνει δολιχόν is unacceptable. O. Schneider (Callimachea 415) adopts ἔπ' ἐμοὶ from Planudes, reading

Θῆρις Ἀρισταίου Κρής ἔπ' ἐμοὶ· δολιχός.

That is δολιχός ὁ στίχος, and I feel sure that this explanation of δολιχός is right. On the other hand ἔπ' ἐμοὶ is superfluous and therefore condemned by the point of the epigram. The question is, what information was needful or desirable in addition to the name, father's name, and country of the

dead? Surely, whether he died young or old; some indication of his age. σύντομος suggests that the epigram is on a child; and I therefore propose to read

Θῆρις Ἀρισταίου Κρής δεκέτης· δολιχός.

δεκέτης might have disappeared after Κρής, and ἔπ' ἐμοὶ or ἔπ' ἐμοὶ was a convenient commonplace to fill its place.

465, 3 γράμμα διακρίναντες, ὁδοιπόρε, πέτρον ἴδωμεν

λευρὰ περιστέλλειν ὅστέα φατὶ τίνος

The meaning clearly is that the leaves (φύλλων ἡμιβαλεῖς στέφανοι l. 2) are to be drawn aside in order to read the inscription. Read φύλλα διακρίναντες. Since φ and ρ are written in papyri with the perpendicular strokes reaching far below the line, φ under certain conditions might be mistaken for γρ, and φύλλα read as γρυμα. γράμμα would easily follow.

467, 3 Ὡλετ' ἐμᾶς ὠδίνος ὁ πᾶς πόνος εἰς πόνον ἔπυρ.

εἰς σποδὸν εἰς Canter, ἐς κενὸν, ἐς Stadtm. alii alia. Perhaps ἐς πνόνον, ἐς πῦρ. (See Hesych. πνός). Cp. 468, 8 εἰς ἀνέμους.

484, 3 ἡ μὲν ἀρίστη οὔσα καὶ εὐτεκνος.

ἀριστοτόκεια might be conjectured.

537, 1, 2 ἡρίον οὐκ ἐπὶ πατρὶ πολυκλαύτου δ' ἐπὶ παιδὸς

Λῦσις ἄχει κενεὴν τήνδ' ἀνέχωσε κόνιν.

Stadtmüller observes: 'offendit ἐπὶ praep. bis ratione differenti adhibita.' We should boldly read πολυκλαύτῳ δ' ἐπὶ παιδί. The genitive was probably due to an erroneous connexion of ἐπὶ with ἄχει.

614, 8 τὼς δὲ συννεῖνως

ἔκτανε ἄ τήνας τῇδε βιησόμενος.

Stadtm. supplies δὴ, but τῇδε can hardly be sound. καὶ τ. στείλε Reiske, καὶ τ. εἶλε Brunek. I propose: καὶ τήνας σπεῖνδε. πενδε is not far from τειδε.

ib. 12 ἄψ δ' ἐπὶ πάτραν

ἤκετον; ἐν δ' αὐτῷ† κείσθον ἀποφθιμένα.

αὐτᾶ vulg. Read αὐτοῦ—in your country and in this spot.

622, 34 εἴπετό οἱ σκυλάκων τις ὃ καὶ βοσίν, ὃς φάγε λεπτήν

σχοῖνον ἀνελκομένῳ χραινομένην μέλιτι.

Various suggestions have been made for ἀνελκομένῳ; but it is perfectly intelligible, if we suppose that Borchos, suspended on the face of a cliff at the end of a rope, passed honeycombs to a comrade who drew them up by means of another cord, and that in this process the honeycombs (μέλι ἀνελκόμενον)

rubbed against the *σχοῖνος* which supported Borchos.

640, 3 νῆα γὰρ ἀπλοίῃ πεπεδημένον ἔφθασε
ταύταις

λῆιστέων ταχυνή δίκροτος ἐσομένη.

Perhaps the simple correction ἔφθασεν αὐτοῦ is as likely as ἔφθασε κοντοῖς (Stadtμ.) or any of the emendations that have been proposed.

643, 4 ἦρπασας, ὦ ἀλλιστ' Ἀίδῃ, τί πρόωρον
ἐφίεις

μοῖραν τῇ πάντως σοὶ πόθ' ἔσομένη;

σεῖδ' ποτ' Plan. (which does not explain the origin of ποθ'). Perhaps σοὶ ποθ' ὑπεσομένη.

646, 3 ὦ πάτερ, οὐ τοι ἔτ' εἰμί, μέλας δ' ἐμὸν
ὄμμα καλύπτει

ἦδ' ἀποφθιμένας κνάνεος θάνατος.

μέλαν δ' Brunck, τάλαν' Bergk, νέφος δ' Stadtμ. I propose πέλας δ'.

652, 7 Τιμάρης δὲ κενὸν τέκνου κεκλαυμένον
ἀθρῶν

τύμβου δακρύει παῖδα Τελευταγόρην.

κεκλαυμένους Herm., κεκλυσμένους Jacobs, &c. Read κεκλημένον—'the empty tomb, called his son's.' κεκλ. is appropriate to a cenotaph, which might be described as a sepulchre only in name.

656. καὶ πᾶν κέκρυπται ὑπ' ὀξείης παλιούρου
κ.τ.λ.

Perhaps καὶ κατὰ πᾶν κέκρυπται.

665, 3 ὤλεσε καὶ Πρώμαχον πνοιῇ μία, κῦμα δὲ
ναύτας

ἀθροὺν ἐς κοίλῃν ἐστυφέλιξεν ἄλα.

δ' ἐν ἄτης Unger, δ' ἐν οὕτως Stadtμ. Perhaps κῦμα δ' ἐν αὐτῇς (sc. πνοιῇς, caused by the wind).

710, 2 πένθιμε κρῶσσε,
ὅστις ἔχεις Ἀίδα τὰν ὀλίγαν σπο-
διάν.

It may be suspected that τις is a metrical supplement, inserted to replace a word that fell out before ὁς. Perhaps <κτῆμ'> or <σκῦλ'> ὁς ἔχεις Ἀίδα τὰν ὀλίγαν σποδιάν.

713, 4 τοιγάρτοι μνήμης οὐκ ἤμβροτεν οὐδὲ με-
λαίνης

νυκτὸς ὑπὸ σκιερῇ κωλύεται πτέρυγι.

Read εἰλύεται (with ὕ, as sometimes in late poets).

719, 1 Τελλῆνος ὁδε τύμβος ἔχω δ' ὑπὸ †βώλεω
πρέσβυν.

βώλεω points not to βώλακι (Reiske), but to βώλει, and perhaps it would not be too rash to assume for βῶλος this heteroclitite form.

726, 6 καὶ τι παριστίδιος δινευμένη ἄχρῃς ἐπ'
ῆους

κεῖνον Ἀθηναίης σὺν Χάρισιν δόλιχον.

(With τι sc. ἦεσεν from preceding distich.) κοινὸν Emperius; Stadtmüller conjectures κλεινὸν or τέινεν. Read δεινὸν (δινον)—δολιχόν.

ib. 7 χειρὶ στρογγύλλουσ' † ἡ μερόεσσα κρόκην.

One might conjecture ἡμερόνυχτι (= νυχθήμερον), but there is no visible reason for such a corruption. Perhaps ἡμερόεσσα conceals some coinage like ἡμερόθησσα.

ib. 10 ἡ καλὰ καὶ καλῶς Πλατθὶς ὑφηνάμενη.

ἡλακάτην καλῶς Heck. Read rather ἡλάκαθ' ἡ καλῶς.

729, 1 Εὐήθης Τριτωνὶς ἐπ' οὐκ ἀγαθαῖς ἐλ-
χεύθῃ

κληδόσιν.

I am surprised to find that Stadtmüller accepts F. G. Schmidt's poor conjecture εὐειδῆς. Tritonis was doubtless a courtesan, and εὐήθης has the same force as *bona*. In l. 4 τὰ πολλά means her large business.

733, 6 ἐτέων δ' οὐ φθόνος † ἰσοσίῃ.

Stadtmüller prints in his text Meineke's ἐσθ' ὀσίῃς, though not satisfied with it. I would read: ἡ 'σθ' ὀσίῃ, which, allowing for etacism, involves only the insertion of θ.

ib, 8 αἱ δὲ παλαιαὶ

πρῶθ' ἡμεῖς Ἀίδην πρηνὴν † ἀνιάμεθα.

Stadtmüller is nearly right, I think, in supposing that ἀνιάμεθα represents ἀνιέμεθα which excellently expresses the peaceful dissolution of old age. His conjecture, however, is weakened if we have to resort to the further change at the beginning of the verse of πρῶται ἄμ', or something of the kind, which he proposes for πρῶθ' ἡμεῖς. On the other hand, instead of ἀνιέμεθα we should read, I think, ἀνιέμεθ' ἄμα. The perfect here is better than the imperfect: and if we

suppose that ἄμα was written above (ἀνιέμεθα), the corruption can be explained. I would read, without any other change,

αἰδὴν πρηνὴν ἀνιέμεθ' ἄμα,
taking αἰδὴν as an inner accusative with ἀνιέμεθα. αἰδῆς was the ἀνεσις.

725, 2 ἐς ἀπρύγετον νύκτα κατερχομένη.

Perhaps ἀφρυκτον, death's torchless night.

748, 7 δᾶμος αἰὲ μακαριστός, ὃς ἄστεσιν Ἡρακ-
λεῖης

οὐρανίων νεφέων τεύξεν ἐπ' εὐρύαλων.

Stadtmüller reads ὅσαν κτίσιν, and makes various suggestions on the second line. I suggest that in these verses lofty Heraclea is fancifully conceived as a staircase for its eponymous hero to his heavenly abode, and

that the lemmatist was right in reading
 Ἡρακλῆος. I would restore
 ὃς ἄμβασιν Ἡρακλῆος
 οὐρανίαν νεφέων τεύξεν ἐπ' εὐρύαλυν
 Since these notes were written, I read

Professor Ellis's review of Stadtmüller's edition in *C.R.* Dec. 1899. I observe that he has made a somewhat similar suggestion on 733, 6.

J. B. BURY.

ON TWO EPIGRAMS OF THE GREEK ANTHOLOGY.

PROF. BURY's paper of suggestions on the second volume of Stadtmüller's *Anthologia Graeca* has recalled to my mind two epigrams in the first one upon which I believe that I have new proposals to offer.

The first is the anonymous epigram in the anthology of Constantinus Cephalas (Stadtm. 100), which I give in the form in which it appears in Mr. W. R. Paton's *Anthologiae Graecae Eroticae*.

A. χαῖρε κόρη. B. καὶ δὴ σύ. A. τίς ἡ
 προιοῦσα; B. τί πρὸς σέ;
 A. οὐκ ἀλόγως ζητῶ. B. δεσπότις ἡμετέρη.
 A. ἐλπίζειν ἔξεστι. B. θέλεις δέ τί; A. νύκτα.
 B. φέρεῖς τι;
 A. χρυσίον. B. εὐθύμει. A. † καί†.
 B. τόσου οὐ δύνασαι.

τόσον is Paton's emendation for τόσον, which Stadtmüller retains (dividing the dialogue A. καὶ τόσον. B. οὐ δύνασαι); and it appears to be a right one. But then of course καί is corrupt. I propose τῇ. The gallant holds out the gold piece. If τῇ became τε, a further corruption to καί was almost inevitable.

The second is Leonidas of Tarentum's address εἰς Ἑρωτα τοξότην (no. 187):

οὐκ ἀδίκεω τὸν Ἑρωτα, γλυνκὺς μαρτύρομαι
 αὐτήν
 Κύπριν· βέβλημαι δ' ἐκ δολίου κέραος

καὶ πᾶς τεφροῦμαι· θερμὸν δ' ἐπὶ θερμῷ ἰάλλει
 ἀτρακτον, λωφᾷ δ' οὐδ' ὅσον ἰοβολῶν
 χῶ θνητὸς τὸν ἀλιτρὸν ἐσώκει θνητὸς ὁ δαίμων
 τίσομαι· ἐγκλήμων δ' ἔσσομ' ἀλεξόμενος;

Mr. Paton rightly says that line 1 is unintelligible. But read λύκος, μαρτύρομαι αὐτήν. Love's own mother will say how fierce a beast he is. So Meleager speaks of him as a lynx, λύγκα παρ' αἰπολίοις.

Of line 5 some twelve or thirteen conjectures are quoted by Stadtmüller, none of them affording the least satisfaction, except Piccolo's ἔχω καὶ δαίμον' ὁ θνητός, the first half of which occurred to me independently. As I do not know how this scholar understood the passage, I would say that to me it contains a very patent allusion to the phrase εἶρε θεὸς τὸν ἀλιτρὸν, Leonidas suggesting that in this case the tables shall be turned and the mortal will punish the god. I would propose χῶ θνητὸς τὸν ἀλιτρὸν ἔχω· καὶ θνητὰ σ', ὁ δαίμων, τίσομαι. θνητὰ = *mortalia*, i.e. 'a punishment such as mortals feel,' a punishment in kind, a use amply illustrated in the lexicons. ὁ δαίμων is exactly the English 'you god.' For this idiomatic employment of the nominative see e.g. Ar. *Ach.* 242 πρόιθ' ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν ὀλίγον ἢ κανηφόρος, and the grammars as Kühner-Gerth, ii. 1, p. 47.

J. P. POSTGATE.

UPON VIRGIL, *AENEID* VI., Vss. 893-898.

THE February number of the *Classical Review* contains an interpretation of the *porta cornea* and *porta eburna* of which I venture to say Virgil was wholly unconscious. Without going through the history of conjecture on this subject, I proceed to give my own interpretation, which I have held and taught for over thirty years. The lines are intended as an indication of time

—no more and no less, meaning that Aeneas terminates his stay in the world of the departed *before midnight*. At dawn he has entered it (vs. 255). While talking with Deiphobus, he is reminded by the Sibyl that midday is long past (Vss. 535-539) while he has all Tartarus to hear about, the bough to deposit, and all Elysium to explore. The review being ended and advice given, the

datum tempus draws to its close, and Anchises brings him to the gates of sleep to make his exit. All commentators whom I have ever read assume that both of these gates afford an equal passage at this or any time. But such was no part of the myth. After midnight, the gate of horn is opened for true dreams, or rather in Virgil's words, "truth-telling shades"; before midnight, therefore, only the ivory gate, through which deceitful dreams pass. When, therefore, Aeneas and the Sibyl are dismissed by the ivory gate, it is because their departure is taken before midnight.

The *loci classici* for the belief that true dreams find their way out after midnight or towards morning are pre-eminently Horace, *Sat.* i. 10, 33, and Ovid, *Heroides* xix, 195. Almost equally to the point are Moschus ii. 2, and Plat. *Crito* 44 A. On this latter Stallbaum quotes *Odyssey* iv. 841, xx. 82-91. The second of these is not very clear, and the former would be more satisfactory if it did not turn on the obscure word ἀμολγῶ, which if we can judge from *Iliad* xxii. 317, may mean just after sunset, instead of just before sunrise. But the general drift of the tradition that only dreams after midnight are *vera*, and have the gate of horn open to them is unmistakable.

There are not wanting other passages in Virgil to the same effect, notably *Aeneid* viii. 68 *seqq.* *Aeneid* v. 835, 840, and v, 738, taken together are very instructive. Neptune sends a deceitful dream to Patruvius just before midnight; Anchises comes as a *vera facies*, *verus nuntius* to Aeneas as soon as midnight is past, and departs when he "scents the morning air." Turnus's vision of Allecto (vii, 406 *seqq.*) takes place at midnight (414). It is a marvellous compound of fact and fiction. Hector's appearance to Aeneas is said to be at the *prima quies* (ii. 268). But according to Deiphobus (vi. 513), the revelry had been kept up well into the night, so that the *prima quies* would not have come till after midnight.

In this vision of Hector it is to be noted

how delicately accurate Virgil is in his description of dreams. Aeneas imagines that the Penates and sacred implements are brought to him by the shade of his lamented friend; in fact he receives them from Panthus (ii. 320).

We may notice also that Virgil's conceptions of the Elysian fields as a region illuminated by sun and stars, into which Aeneas emerges after going through the *alta caligo* of the *lugentes campi* and the Banks of Phlegethon is exactly conformed to what any one now sees in the country west of Naples, where the scene of *Aeneid* vi. is laid. Volcanic convulsions since Virgil's time have so changed the face of the country that a specific identification of each spot he had in mind is futile. But the traveller now is carried into the very bowels of the earth, on the shoulders of all but naked men, plashing through seething waters, lighted only by Tartarean torches. When he comes out into the full sunlight of some sequestered amphitheatre, like the Solfatara, with which all volcanic countries abound, though the particular ones change from age to age, he feels in another world, knowing its own air and sun. The soil which cracks and fumes with sulphur under your feet no doubt teems with forebodings of subterranean torment, scenes into which one may now penetrate even deeper than Aeneas; but there are a score of spots close by Baiae, Bauli, and Cumae, which are the very type of Elysium. The circle of the bay of Naples contains all the charms of Nature in perfection, interlocking with her utmost horrors. Though Vesuvius was not active till Virgil had been all but a century dead, all volcanic regions then known, like Aetna, Lipari and Avisanctus, fascinated him.

Every reader of Dante will remember how his progress through the Inferno and Purgatorio under Virgil's escort is marked off by repeated references to the movements of sun and stars through the twenty-four hours.

WILLIAM EVERETT.

ON VIRGIL, *AENEID*, XII. 813-818.

(*Juno is addressing Juppiter.*)

Iuturnam misero, fateor, succurrere fratri
suasi et pro uita maiora audere probaui,
non ut tela tamen, non ut contenderet
arcum :

adiuro Stygii caput inplacabile fontis,
[una superstitio superis quae reddita
diuis].
et nunc cedo equidem pugnasque exosa
relinquo.

I would thus print the lines, bracketing line 817 as the note of a glossator, whose knowledge of the ancient theology exceeded his power of writing Latin. (This, though Lactantius, *Inst.* 1, 11, quotes the verse.) The line, considering the speaker and the hearer, is superfluous; unless we suppose it to be an expression of regret that the gods have only one method of asseveration open to them. Moreover *superstitio* is explained to mean here:—(1) ‘an object that inspires dread’ (Lewis-Short, and Benoist-Goelzer), or (2), *der ängstlich bindende Eidschwur* (Georges), and the present passage is, naturally, the only example given in any lexicon of this impossible use. In the only other passage where Virgil has the word *superstitio* (viii.

187), it bears its ordinary sense. The expression, ‘*superi diui*,’ too, where *superi* is an adjective, is unknown to the poet: where the gods are meant, *superi* always stands by itself as a substantive in Virgil. Further, what meaning can be got out of ‘*reddita (est)*’? The word must be taken in one or other of two ways:—(1) ‘was (has been) restored,’ or (2) ‘was (has been) given as owing.’ Either sense fails to justify itself. The composer of the line shows ‘padding’ in the use of the unnecessary ‘*diui*,’ and the same vice, added to ignorance of its proper meaning, in using ‘*reddita*’ for ‘*data*.’

A. SOUTER.

Aberdeen.

ON SOME PASSAGES OF VALERIUS FLACCUS.

ii. 235

diras aliae ad fastigia taedas
Iniciunt adduntque domos.

In support of the conj. *abduntque* (*J. of Philol.* ix. 53) may be cited *Iust.* xxiv. 1, 6 *quoniam conspectum illis metus et incendiurum fumus abstulerat*. Here the body of incendiaries (*illis*) are themselves hidden from view by the smoke of the burning houses: in Valerius the houses themselves cannot be seen for the volumes of smoke in which they are wrapt.

337

Forsitan hoc factum taceat iam fulmen in antro.

This seems right as it stands. ‘It may be that the bolt is already made, and now silent within this cavern,’ *i.e.* the forging of it is completed and therefore no sound of hammering can be heard.

619

stupuitque fragore
†Ianus et occiduis regnator montibus Atlans.

Langen in his careful, but not always convincing commentary (Berlin 1896) retains *Ianus*, and supposes the poet to mean that disruption of two continents, such as was supposed to have happened at the Hellespont and in Sicily and Africa, took place in the early prime of the world, when Ianus was king in Italy. It is equally possible that *Ianus* is a corruption: *Haemus* or

Aemus might be suggested; then the two mountains, Haemus and Atlas, would be taken as representing the two countries (Thrace and Libya) respectively. Cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* i. 6 fin.

641, 2

Non tamen haec adeo semota neque ardua tellus
Longaque iam populis tñperua lucis Eoae.

Madvig conj. *inter uia* and *tam* for *iam*: ‘non tam longam uiam populis lucis Eoae (hoc est suis, Asiaticis) interiacere et eos a ceteris occidentalibusque separare dicit.’

This explanation ill agrees with 641. Cyzicus, King of Cyzicus, would then say ‘This land where I dwell is not so far removed or inaccessible, nor is the journey between so long (to traverse) for the tribes of the East.’ Far removed, that is, from the home of the Argonauts, Greece. After telling the Argonauts that Cyzicus was not so far from the west, he would hardly go on to say ‘nor have the Eastern peoples such a distance to traverse between themselves and Greece.’ Rather, he would say: ‘Cyzicus is not so remote, nor the clime of the East (in which C. is included) at such a distance for the nations of the world to traverse.’ I think therefore that Valerius wrote

Longaque tam populis *in iter uia* lucis Eoae.
uia lucis eoae = the path of the morning, *in iter* after *longa* ‘distant for travelling.’ *populis* in a general sense, the nations, with some

extra notion of the more civilized and cultured regions of the west.

iii., 169, 170

occumbens tet nunc ait Herculis armis
Donum ingens semperque tuis mirabile
fatis.

For *et* I suggest *fer*, on which *Donum* would depend.

222

iam passim uacuos disiecta per agros
Credit ouans: tales tauditus, ea gaudia
fugit
Ira deum.

Köstlin conj. *obitus*, Schenkl *aestus*, Bury *auctus*. Nearer to the reading of Vat. would be *aditus* 'such approaches of frenzied joy.' Similarly Curtius v. 9, 3 *aditum nefariae spei praeeparans*. See on vi. 681.

703

Iamne animis, iam mente pares? atque
inclita tuului
Dextera?

Madvig conj. *aeque* (so Voss) *i. fulgit Dextera?* explaining 'iamne aeque inclita dextra uestra est?' But (1) *fulgit* is not a good form for *fulget* (2) the flash of Hercules' sword, is a bad description of him as a hero. Perhaps *satne i. fulsit Dextera?* 'Has his far-famed right-hand done all it need to support you?' *fulsit* perf. of *fulcire*.

v. 645

Est honor hic etiam suus: ego clara My-
cenes
Culmina

My conj. *est honor his etiam suus*, [est.] *ego c. M.* (*J. of Philol.* ix. 57) is very like Prud. Passio Vincentii 77, 8 *At sunt et illic spiritus, Sunt*.

686, 7

Donec et Aecten inopis post longa senec-
tae

Exilia heu magnis quantum licet † inopia
fatis

Nata iuuet Graiusque nepos in regna re-
ponat.

If Gronov's explanation of *inpia* (so the Monacensis for *inopia* of Vat.) as not included in the exclamatory parenthesis,

heu magnis quantum licet, inpia,
fatis!

Nata

is thought too venturous, it is still possible to retain *licet*, translating 'till Aectes is restored to his throne by his daughter Medea,—a daughter alas, impious to the full extent allowed to a high destiny:' *inpia* (*in*) *quantum licet magnis fatis* (*esse*). Till we know more details about the later MSS. of Valerius, (see A. C. Clark's important paper, *Cl. Rev.* for 1899 p. 119, *On the literary discoveries of Poggio*), it is the course of wisdom not to alter the reading of Vat. unless it is absolutely untranslatable or impossible.

vi. 123

Namque ubi iam uiresque aliae, notusque
refutat

Arcus (Argus Vat.) et inceptus iam lancea
temnit erilis

refutat, which Langen alters to *recusat*, is too rare a word to be rejected hastily, and if it is rejected, *renutat* which Lambinus substituted for it in Lucr. iii, 350 *si quis corpus sentire refutat* (see Munro there), would be a less violent alteration. From Serv. on Georg. iv. 218 *traxit hoc de Celtiberorum more, qui, ut in Sallustio legimus, se regibus deuouent et post eos uitam refutant*, it would seem that Sallust had used the word = *negare*. In the passage of Valerius the idea might be this, 'when their strength changes, and the familiar bow (*Argus* a mistake for *Arcus*, as *agnota* for *ac nota*, vi. 535) declines to be strung:' but it would more naturally = 'disproves it' sc. *uires*: in neither case, if I am right, is *inceptus* to be constructed with *refutat*.

163-5

nec sic

Fratribus aduersa Boreas respondet ab
unda

Aut is apud fluuios uoluerum † clamor.

No doubt *canor*, as Heinsius conjectured; and so Bährens rightly prints. Valerius here has Lucretius in mind, iv. 181 *Paruus ut est cycni melior canor ille gruum quam Clamor*.

300 sqq.

utque iterum intrat

Vociferans, iterum belli diuersa peragrat,
Lancea caeruleas circum strepit incita
uitas.

Opprimit admissis ferus hunc Gesander
habenis.

hunc of Vat. was changed by Burmann to *hinc*. This is not necessary.

The pronoun is often so used without any marked emphasis, merely to call fresh atten-

tion to or identify the person spoken of, here the seer Aquites, father of Cyrrus. *Aen.* i. 476 *Troilus...Fertur equis, curruque haeret resupinus inani, Lora tenens tamen: huius cervixque comaeque trahuntur Per terram.* *Aen.* iii. 492.

355, 6

Quem pelagi rabies, quem nubila, quemque sequatur
†Ille dies.

Bury extols Haupt's *illuvies*: to me it seems impossible. Why should not *Ille dies* mean 'that day of storm,' when all the winds are contending for the mastery, and the question is which of them is to triumph over the rest? Possibly Valerius was fresh from Lucan's description of such a day of storm v. 597-646. Cf. 615 *A quoties frustra pulsatos aequore montes Obruit illa dies.* And again 627 *nox illa*.

417

Haut usquam Colchorum animi.

Heinsius, Bährens, Bury all think this wrong. Bury's *Haut quassi* is not far from the letters of Vat., but I am not convinced by it. May it not mean simply that the havoc produced by the scythed chariots was so confusing and disturbing, that the Colchians were completely distracted and could not concentrate their attention anywhere?

559

Centum lecta bouum bellator corpora, centum
Pactus equos; his ille animam lucemque rependit
Crudelis.

Langen finds a difficulty in *Crudelis*. Pius (1517) was, I think, right in explaining it of the cruelty of *Calais*, who will not spare Rhipeus' life for less than 100 choice oxen, 100 horses.¹

bellator is Rhipeus who engages (*pactus*) to give this ransom: *ille Calais* who makes this large demand as an ἀντάξιον (*Hom. Il.* ix. 401) for the life of Rhipeus. In *tandem* the poet seems to mean that the attempted ἀντάξιον did not come off, and to this I refer *iam cassus* (baffled in his attempt at last, not 'lifeless,' which would surely require *lumine* or *vita*), but that Rhipeus was killed by his antagonist.

696 *pharetratis* must I think be wrong. I suggest *figuratis* covered with patterns.

¹ I cannot believe that *crudelis* means 'cruel' as in *ipse* (Io. Wagner).

681

Inminet e celsis †audientibus improba muris
Virgo, nec ablatam sequitur quaeritue
sororem.

audientius Pius, and this is generally accepted by edd. It certainly agrees with Medea's no longer caring to be accompanied by her (supposed) sister. On palaeographical grounds I think it might represent *adeuntibus* (see on iii. 222), which would be constructed with *Inminet* 'hangs over' i.e. to scan more closely those who come near.

vii. 156

quando ardor hebet leuiorque pudori
Mensque obnixa malo.

Mr. Summers explains this 'since her love is waning, and being thus more mild is become a shame to her;' i.e. Now it is less fierce she feels how shameful her passion was. It is surely more probable that the sense is 'since her passion is dulled, and abates to the approach of shame' i.e. shame asserts itself with increasing strength against passion.

162

I precor atque istum quo me frustratur
amorem

Vince, precor.

Heinsius' *prior* after *Vince* seems right. 'Go, I beg you, and be the first (before me) to overcome that puling affection for parents and home by which she baffles my design' of making her consummate her love for Jason. *istum amorem* is said contemptuously of *family* love, as opposed to the more *erotic* love by which Juno aimed to fulfil her purpose.

457

matura ruebant

Sidera et extremum †suffecerat axe Booten

Possibly *subiecerat* (or *suffugerat*, cf. *Lucr.* 4, 360) *Acta*: Bootes is called *Actaeus* ii. 68.

483

Cur nullos stringunt tua lumina fletus?

'Why do your eyes squeeze out no tears?'

Bitterly, as feeling Jason's real want of love.

752

Nox simul astriferas profert optabilis umbras.

Prof. Whitley Stokes pointed out in the Academy of Jan. 3, 1885 that this line is

quoted in the Book of Armagh, a MS. written in Ireland about 707. Nox non inruit et fuscis tellurem non amplexerat alis et pallor non tantus erat noctis et astriferas non induxerat bosferus umbras. But the *induxerat* and *bosferus* (? Hesperus) make the identification uncertain.

viii. 167, 8

commune fuisset

Aut certe nunc omne nefas.

The sense becomes clear by writing *per te non*. 'The guilt would have been shared by us both (Medea and her mother) or would not have been attributable all of it to you' (Medea).

Much has still to be done for the criticism of Valerius. The latest contributions to the subject that I have seen, besides Mr. Bury's¹ articles in *Hermathena* xix. and xx., *Cl. Review* x., and Prof. Postgate's, *J. of Philol.* xxii., xxvii., are the *Studia in Val. Flaccum* of Johan Samuelsson, Upsala 1899 (mainly on the syntax and grammatical peculiarities of the poet), and Reuss' paper in *Philologus* N.F. xii. (1899) in which a considerable number of passages in i.-iv. are considered.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

¹ Mr. Bury's new edition of the text of Valerius is included in the forthcoming fasciculus of Postgate's *Corpus Poetarum*.

NOTES ON JUVENAL I. 62 AND VII. 114.

Cum fas esse putet curam sperare
cohortis

Qui bona donavit praecepibus et
caret omni

Maiorum censu, dum pervolat axe
citato

Flaminiam puer Automedon? nam
lora tenebat

62 Ipse, lacernatae cum se iactaret amicae.

The satirist's meaning seems perfectly clear¹ and may be stated as follows: A patrician youth who has squandered his ancestral wealth, so far forgets what Roman dignitas in a man of his social rank demanded, that he actually *drives in person*² through one of the most frequented streets of Rome, for the purpose of showing off to his mistress.³

But if these verses, as a whole, offer no difficulties, the term *lacernatae*, as applied to amica, seems to me open to insuperable objections and I cannot understand how the commentators can have rested so com-

placently satisfied with it. For we are simply told, that the amica was dressed as a man, the *lacerna* being a garment exclusively worn by men.⁴ It does not seem to have occurred to any one to ask the certainly pertinent question as to the poet's possible motive in assigning such an attire or disguise to the amica on the particular occasion under notice. And yet it requires but little reflection to see that such a disguise is wholly irrelevant and pointless, for Juvenal is not here describing 'mores meretricum.' In the second place, a *lacerna*, being a loose, short cloak would not even have effected the alleged disguise, the paenula, for instance, also a male garment, being far better suited for the purpose. On the other hand, it is not Juvenal's custom, as every careful student of his style well knows, to degrade highly expressive attributives to the level of otiose and meaningless 'epitheta ornantia' or metrical stopgaps, on the contrary, they are invariably chosen with a distinct object in view, but what his object may have been in calling the woman *lacernata* here, is inconceivable, quite apart from internal objections to the word itself.

¹ I intentionally ignore, as unworthy of serious attention, those interpretations that do not identify *Automedon* with *ipse*, or see in the latter a covert allusion to Nero or Domitian.

² That this was considered a violation of social etiquette seems to be also implied in the contrast noted by Tac. *Agr.* 12, *honestior auriga* sc. quam apud nos.

³ The false pretence involved was doubtless due to a desire to retain the favour of the amica, which might well have been withdrawn, had she learned of her lover's impoverished condition. With his conduct, cp. Petron. 38, *inclinatis rebus suis, cum timeret, ne creditores illum conturbare existimarent hoc titulo auctionem proscriptit*: 'C. Julius Proculus auctionem faciet rerum supervacuarum.'

⁴ That *lacernatae amicae* involves an obscene allusion to the notorious Sporus, under Nero, is a perfectly gratuitous assumption; for not even a contemporary Roman reader could possibly have detected or understood it, and this for the following reasons: (1) As the *Automedon* unquestionably represents a *type*, there was absolutely nothing to suggest an *historical* individual in the *amicae*. (2), *lacernatae...amicae* can only mean a woman dressed as a man; the identification with Sporus, however, imperatively demands the very opposite interpretation, namely an *amicus*, characterized by some attributive as a *woman*, because of his conduct (Cp. Suet. *Nero* 28, Dio Cass. 63, 13, 2).

Nor is this all, for commentators have also, so far as I have been able to discover, failed to consider the *locality*, where the poet must have supposed this *amica* to have been. There are only two possibilities and both are incompatible with *lacernatae*. She was either *in a house* on the Flaminian Way or else on the *crowded street* itself.¹

If the former be thought preferable, *lacernatae* is quite out of place, because the garment was never worn in-doors. If, on the other hand, we suppose the woman to have watched her lover from the street, we must assume that he had notified her previously of his plan; for he could not well have taken it for granted that his friend would be present to watch his unique performance. Again, he would scarcely have chosen an *unpleasant* day for his drive; but if so, his *amica*, supposing her present, would not under any circumstances have put on a *lacerna*; for this we are invariably told, was worn only in inclement weather or wherever men were for a long time exposed in the open air, as in the amphitheatre or in the military camp.

It will thus be apparent that *lacernatae*, from whatever point you approach it, is quite inapplicable to *amicae*, in the present context. Under these circumstances, an emendation is methodically justified. And if it not only proves to be paleographically extremely simple, if it does away with all the difficulties just pointed out and at the same time adds another satirical touch to the picture, the fact that it is suggested at this late date ought not to militate against its being generally accepted.

I believe that all the above mentioned conditions are fulfilled by reading *lacernatus* in place of *lacernatae*, and will only mention in passing that *ipse lacernatus cum se iactaret amicae* is a far more natural rhythm than the sudden stop in the middle of the first foot.² Not only, says the poet does this bankrupt aristocrat so far forget himself as to drive in person, like a professional Automedon, but he actually dons a garment which *drivers habitually wore*. That the *lacerna* was also a coachman's cloak³ is most

natural, but as it has not hitherto been so regarded the above assertion must needs be substantiated. This confirmation is happily not wanting. In Petron. ch. 69, a *nequissimus servus* of Habinnas entertains the company with a series of 'tableaux.' He had imitated flute-players and finally, stepping into the middle of the room, gives a pantomimic presentation of *mule-drivers* (*lacernatus cum flagello mulionum fata egit*). Now merely to go through certain gestures with whip in hand was hardly enough to suggest at once *mulionum fata*. To make the allusion more immediately intelligible something else was evidently needed, and this element, necessary to identification, is furnished by *lacernatus*, which would be meaningless or superfluous on any other supposition.

Now this passage from Petronius and the line of Juvenal, as emended, will also serve to vindicate the reading *Lacerna*, in Sat. vii. 114 which has been unwarrantably abandoned in favour of *Lacerta*, found in the inferior MSS., simply because of an inscription which is alleged to contain *Lacerta*, as the name of a charioteer. We shall presently see that the inference thus drawn is erroneous, and that, even if it were intrinsically more plausible than it is, we should still have no right to reject the reading *Lacerna*, unless scholars can with impunity and at pleasure cast aside incontrovertible facts, established by laborious and accurate investigations. One of these universally admitted facts is the general superiority of P, especially when in agreement with the at least two centuries earlier lemmata of its scholias. Accordingly we are not surprised that the reading *Cordi* in PS is now universally accepted over against *Codri* given by *wp*, this example being moreover especially emphasized as proving the superior excellence of P (see e.g. Duff, *Introd.* xliii). Now the passage under discussion presents an absolutely perfect parallel, to wit: *Lacerna*: PS; *Lacerta*: *wp*. By all the canons of textual criticism we ought therefore to give preference to the reading of PS in vii 114. or else be prepared to admit that our oldest MS., though by no means infallible, is *not* our most trustworthy guide, that in other words the recensio of Juvenal lacks a solid foundation.

It follows that only *internal* reasons of overwhelming force could justify our rejection of P in this instance. Is the inscription referred to of this nature?

comment translates *lacernatus* in the Petronian passage by 'Kutschermantel.'

¹ Cp. Mart. x. 6, 6, Totaque Flaminia Roma videnda via; Tac. *Hist.* ii. 64, Flaminiae viae celebritate.

² I know of only two analogous instances in Juvenal, viz. iii. 25, vi. 456.

³ One may compare the characteristic mantle of the German 'Droschkenkutscher,' worn in cold and rainy weather, although a garment of similar cut, but of finer texture, is also used by the well-to-do. So likewise we occasionally hear of costly lacernae, e.g. Mart. v. 8, 5. I note that Friedländer without

It is found on a lamp 'mit einem siegreichen Agitator' and reads as follows;¹ *C. Annius Lacerta Nica—Coraci Nica*. The *Lacerta* here mentioned, so Friedländer conjectured, being a charioteer, is probably an older namesake of Juvenal's charioteer, who simply adopted, as was not uncommon, the name of a famous predecessor. It will be seen at a glance that these are at best only plausible surmises, and as such not sufficient to cause the rejection of a proper name in our most trustworthy MS. On nearer inspection, however, Friedländer's inferences prove themselves to be wholly fallacious. For if *Nica* is a proper name, the charioteer would have been the proud possessor of four names, an intrinsically improbable supposition and disproved by the lonely *Nica* following.

I am convinced that *Nica* is not a proper name at all, but nothing more nor less than the Greek νικᾶ.² *Coraci* (κόρακι) is doubtless

¹ Henzen, cited by Friedländer, *Sittengesch.* ii. 323, 2. The original article is not accessible to me.

² Cp. the πῶτος ἐνικα in the Didascalia. Greek terms of the race track were in all probability as much in vogue in Rome as the similar English terms were adopted on the continent of Europe. So the words

an instrumental dative of *Corax*, the name of a winning horse. But if so *Lacerta Nica* must be similarly interpreted, i.e. Λακέρτα, another victorious horse, *Lacertas* or *Lacerta* by name. The entire inscription would then run as follows: *C. Annius* (the charioteer or owner of the two horses) Λακέρτα νικᾶ—Κόρακι νικᾶ. Possibly *C. Annius* owned or drove but one horse, while the owner or driver of *Corax* was given in the lacuna. But be this as it may, the charioteer *Lacerta* who is said to have adopted the name of a hypothetical predecessor of great renown and is without any evidence identified with the individual in Juvenal, according to the interpolated class of MSS., ought no longer disturb our reflections. The authority of PS remains unshaken and *Lacerna* will have to be restored to the text, whence it has so rudely been expelled. I shall only add in conclusion, that if the *lacerna* was a distinctive garment of drivers, as was shown above, we can readily understand how *Lacerna* might, as a proper name, be given to an auriga.

ALFRED GUDEMAN.

expressive of approval were also often Greek, e.g. σοφῶς, πάλιν, euge.

NE PROHIBITIVE IN CICERO.

(Being a summary of the Ciceronian usage from the manuscript of the late

SIR W. D. GEDDES.¹)

In extracting and tabulating the evidence from Cicero, the limits imposed by the space at disposal compel us to be laconically brief, and hence we have had to omit the actual citations, but the references to the sections will be sufficient to guide one to the texts enumerated.

I. RHETORICAL TREATISES.

No evidence of importance except *De Oratore* i. 17, 77; i. 24, 111; iii. 52, 201.

Result in I.: three auxiliary instances for Pres. Subj.

¹ See *Classical Review* for March, p. 97. For Sir W. D. Geddes' terminology the reader is referred to his previous articles, October and November, 1898, and February, 1899.—ED. C.R.

II. ORATIONS.

(1) *Ante-Verrines*.

Rosc. Amer. 26 [? 36], 104; *Divin. in Q. Caecil.* 4, 13—auxiliary to usage with Pres. Subj.

(2) *Verrines*.

ii. *Verr.* 23, 52. The plural excludes the notion of a 'ficta persona,' and Yonge renders 'do not suppose.'

Auxiliary to Pres. Subj. are: ii. *Verr.* v. 1, 2; v. 68, 174. Dubious, as depending on punctuation, iv. 66, 148.

(3) *Post-Verrines to Catilinarians, inclusive*.

Cluent. 2, 6. The two sentences opening with 'Deinde' and 'Tum' are claimed as examples of Ne Prohibitive with Pres. Subj.

Adminicular instances are: Caecin. 16, 46;
Cluent. 4, 11; 69, 195.

(4) *Remaining Orations except Philippics.*

Planc. 11, 27; 23, 56.

Adminicular instances are: Post Redi-
tum 1, 1; Sest. 55, 119; Vatin. 5, 13;
Rabir. 7, 18; 17, 46.

For Perf. Subj. may be quoted two ex-
amples with nihil in Muren. 31, 65, but
they are precepts from a schoolmaster,
which are virtually quotations and there-
fore not Ciceronian at first hand.

(5) *Philippics.*

ii. Phil. 5, 10; vii. Phil. 9, 27; xii. Phil.
12, 29 is uncertain.

Result in II.:

Pres. Subj.	Admin.	Perf. Subj.
7	12	0 ¹

III. EPISTLES.

(1) *Ad Familiares.*

Pres. Subj. with Ne Prohibitive.

Fam. i. 9, 23; v. 12, 3; xii. 26, 2; xiii.
1, 2; xvi. 4, 2; 9, 4. N.B.—We omit viii.
1, 1, an instance in Caelius of ne with
Pres. Subj.; but, though so far of value, it
cannot be claimed as Ciceronian.

Adminicular instances are: Fam. ii. 7, 4;
vi. 2, 1; vi. 20, 3; ix. 19, 2; xi. 19, 2;
xiii. 8, 1; xiii. 8, 3; xvi. 25, 1.

Perf. Subj. with Ne Prohibitive.

Fam. iii. 11, 5; vii. 17, 2; vii. 18, 3;
vii. 25, 2; xvi. 3, 2.

Result in III. (1):

Pres. Subj.	Admin.	Perf. Subj.
6	8	5

III. (2).

Epistolae ad Quintum Fratrem.

Pres. Subj.

i. 1, 4; i. 4, 1; iii. 1. 19; iii. 8, 2.

Adminicular i. 2, 14. (The absence of a
demonstrative, places this example in the
secondary or adminicular class).

Perf. Subj.

i. 4, 5; ii. 6 (5), 3; ii. 12 (10), 5. N.B.—
i. 1, 14 is left as indeterminate.

Result in III. 2:

Pres. Subj.	Admin.	Perf. Subj.
4	1	3

¹ *i.e.* no example of Cicero's own, apart from
quotations.

III. (3).

Epistolae ad Atticum.

Pres. Subj.

i. 6, 2; xi. 12, 4; i. 11, 1; ii. 4, 1; ix.
18, 3; xi. 12, 2; xii. 39, 1; xiii. 23, 3;
xiii. 49, 2; xiv. 1, 2.

Adminicular examples: xi. 7, 3; xi. 10,
2; xi. 25, 1; xiii. 19, 1. N.B.—Quo minus
mirere of viii. 1, 3 is virtually equivalent
to 'ne mirere,' but is left *in medio* although
it might have been fairly included in the
Pres. Subj. list above.

(Similar but non-Ciceronian, from Caesar
and Caelius: x. 8 (B), 1; x. 9 (A), 1; x.
9 (A), 2).

Perf. Subj.

i. 9, 2 (Orelli has v.l. dubites alongside of
dubitaris); ii. 5, 1; iv. 15, 6; iv. 16 (b), 7;
v. 11, 7; vii. 3, 2; ix. 9, 1; x. 13, 1; xvi.
2, 5.

Nine examples of Perf. Subj. with Ne.

N.B.—Four examples with nihil: v. 11,
7; v. 21, 14; vii. 8, 2; viii. 2, 1 are
probably prohibitive.

Three examples with nec: xii. 23, 3;
xiii. 22, 5; xv. 27, 3 are dubious.

Result in III. 3:

Pres. Subj.	Admin.	Perf. Subj.
10	4	9
		adding 4 with nihil
		—
		13

IV. PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS AND FRAG-
MENTS.

Pres. Subj.

Nat. Deor. ii. 29, 74; Off. ii. 14, 51; Off.
ii. 20, 71; Cato 10, 33; Repub. iii. 21, 32;
vi. 12, 12; Fragmenta, Pro Tullio § 6.

N.B.—The example in 'De Petitione
Consulatus' § 30, being from Cicero's
brother Quintus, is not included, but it is
good evidence as to the best diction of the
time, allowing the Pres. Subj. in a prohibi-
tion by Ne.

Auxiliary and adminicular De Fin.: ii.
1, 1; Tusc. Disp. i. 8, 17; Nat. Deor. i. 7, 17;
Off. iii. 2, 6.

Perf. Subj.

Acad. Priora ii. 40, 126; Tusc. Disp. i.
41, 98; i. 47, 112; Divinatio ii. 61, 127;
Leges ii. 15, 36; Paradoxa v. 41; Repub.
i. 19, 32.

Result in IV.:

Pres. Subj.	Admin.	Perf. Subj.
6	4	7

CONJOINT SUMMATION IN CICERO.

	Pres. Subj.	Auxil.	Perf. Subj.	Noli.
I. Rhetorical Treatises	0	3	0	7
II. Orations	7	12	0	69
III. Epistles (1) . . .	6	8	5	10
" (2)	4	1	3	4
" (3)	10	4	9	14
IV. Philosophical Works	6	4	7	13
Total	33	32	24	117

The preponderance of the polite Noli is notable throughout.

The general result seems clear. After the exercise of the largest deductions and notwithstanding the fullest scope for varying subjective estimates of individual instances as well as the accidents of vacillating readings, there remains a sufficient body of evidence to explode the canon of Madvig in its absolute rigidity, and therefore it must cease to be imposed as a canon in classical prose in the Latin tongue.

AN INSCRIPTION OF DYME IN ACHAIA.

THE letter of Quintus Fabius Maximus to the people of Dyme in Achaia, inscribed on a marble slab, now in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, has been repeatedly published: v. Dobree, *Classical Journal*, xxx. p. 127; Boeckh, *C.I.G.* 1543; Rose, *Inscr. graecae*, p. 393, 405; Hicks, *Manual of Greek Hist. Inscr.* 302; Viereck, *Sermo graecus*, No. 4. Dittenberger, *S.I.G.*² 316 (= *S.I.G.*¹ 242).

The last editor who actually collated the stone seems to have been Hicks, and a fresh collation made last year, when I was enabled by the kindness of Mr. White to take two

impressions, confirms Hicks' readings for the most part. I have, however, discovered traces of letters hitherto overlooked, traces confirmed by the impressions, which refute the restorations proposed for certain passages, and enable me to propose others.

For convenience of reference I give the text as published by Hicks, leaving blank the passages affected by the new collation. For the commentary which follows, I am largely indebted to a lecture delivered by M. Foucart at the Collège de France, of which I have his permission to avail myself.

Ἐπὶ θεοκόλου Λέωνος, γραμματέ-
ος τοῦ συνεδρίου Στρατοκλέος.

- Κοῖντος Φάβιος Κοῖντου Μάξιμος, ἀνθύπατος Ῥωμαίων Δυμαίων τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ συνέδροις καὶ τῇ πόλει χαίρειν· τῶν περὶ
- 5 Κιλλάνιον συνέδρων ἐμφανισάντων μοι περὶ τῶν συντελεσθέντων παρ' ὑμῖν ἀδικημάτων, λέγω δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμπρήσεως καὶ φθορᾶς τῶν ἀρχ(εί)ων καὶ τῶν δημοσίων γραμμάτων ὧν ἐγγόνοι ἀρχηγὸς τῆς ὅλης συγχύσεως Σῶστος Ταυρομένης ὁ καὶ τοὺς νόμους γράψας ὑπεναντίους τῇ ἀποδοθείσῃ τοῖς
- 10 Ἀχαίοις ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων πολιτ[είαι], περὶ ὧν τὰ κατὰ μέρος διη[λ]θο-
μεν ἐν [ΙΙ]άτραις μετὰ τοῦ πα[ρ]όν[το]ς συμβουλίου· ἐπεὶ οὖν οἱ διαπρα-
ξά[μενοι] ταῦτα ἐφαινοντό μοι τῆς χειρίστης κ[ατασ]τάσεως
καὶ ταραχῆς κα[τάπειραν] ποιούμενο[ι] ἢ οὐ μόνον . . . τῆς προ[σ] ἀλλήλου[ς] ασυναλλα[. . .] καὶ χρε[.]
- 15 . . . ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀποδοδομένης κατὰ [κ]οινὸν τοῖς Ἑλλη[σιν] ἐλευθερίας ἀλλοτρία καὶ τῇ[ς] ἡμετέ[ρα]ς προαιρέσεως· ἐγ[ώ] παρ-
ασχομένων τῶν κατηγορῶν ἀληθινὰς ἀποδείξεις, Σῶ-
σον μὲν τὸν γεγονότα ἀρχηγὸν [τ]ῶν πραχθέντων καὶ νο-
μογραφήσαντα ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς ἀποδοθείσης πολιτεί-
- 20 α]ς κρίνας ἐνόχον εἶναι, θανάτῳ πα[ρ]εχώρ(η)σα, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ
Φορ[μίσκον] Ἐχεσθένης, τῶν δαμοργῶν τὸν συμπράξαντα
τοῖς ἐμπρήσασιν τὰ ἀρχαῖα καὶ τὰ δημόσια γράμματα, ἐπεὶ καὶ
αὐτὸς ὁμολόγησεν· Τιμόθεον δὲ Νικία τὸμ μετὰ τοῦ Σώσου

γεγονότα νομογράφον, ἐπεὶ ἔλασσον ἐφαίνετο ἡδίκηκώς ἐ-
 25 κλειυσα] προάγειν εἰς Ῥώμην, ὀρκίσας ἐφ[ῶι] τῇ νομιμῇ τοῦ ἐν-
]ς ἔστα[ι] ἐκεῖ, καὶ ἐμφανίσας τ[ῶι] ἐ[πὶ] τῶν ξένων στρατη-
 γῶι, ὅπω]ς ἂν [μὴ π]ρότερον ἐπ[α]ν[ε]ισ[ι] πρὸ]ς οἶκον ἐά[ν μ]ὴ αὐ . .

The letter deals with the destruction of the archives of Dyme by incendiaries. The crime formed part of a revolutionary attempt directed against the timocracy established by Rome (*Paus.* vii. 16, 6). The leader in the affair, a certain Sosos was condemned to death together with one of his fellow conspirators Phormiskos (?). A third conspirator, Timotheos, is sent to Rome.¹

1. 1-2. These lines are engraved in characters much larger than those in the body of the text. The stone-cutter had, however, begun with a small E which is still visible before ΕΠΙ.

θεοκόλον: an ecclesiastical title. Cf. *B.C.H.* ii. (1878) p. 41 ἐπὶ θεοκόλου—: *ibid.* p. 98. So again *ibid.* p. 96 we find ἐπὶ τὰν Δυμαίων ἐπὶ τὰν θεομ[υ]. . .

. .]νεοντω θεοκολίαν ἂν ἡ πόλις καθίσταται εἰ.
 These inscriptions were all found on what their editors consider to have been the site of Olenos. For the migration of the people of Olenos to Dyme v. *Polyb.* ii. 41.

Γραμματέος τοῦ συνεδρίου; cf. *γραμματεὺς τῶν συνέδρων* at Andania. *Ditt. S.I.G.*¹ 388 = Lebas-Foucart ii. 326^a, comm. p. 166.

The *συνέδριον* was that of Dyme and not that of the Achaean league, of which league Dyme was one of the original members. For the secretary of the Achaean league we find

ἐπὶ γραμμ[α]τέος τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς Στράτωνος
 Lebas-Foucart, ii. No. 16; cf. *ibid.* No. 12.

3. Who is this Quintus Fabius Maximus?

He is obviously proconsul of Macedonia, as Achaia was not constituted a separate province till 27 B.C. (v. Pauly-Wissowa s.v. Achaia) and it is evident that its subjugation is comparatively recent.

There are four persons to choose from:—

Q. F. M. Aemilianus cos. 145 B.C.

„ „ „ Servilianus „ 142 B.C.

„ „ „ Allobrogicus „ 121 B.C.

„ „ „ Eburnus „ 116 B.C.

Of these the first is improbable, as it is hardly likely that the league was restored so soon as 144 when he would have been proconsul. That it was already restored at the time of this rescript is evident from

¹ For a parallel to this affair, v. *Polyb.* 38, 3 the insurrection of Critolaus, and for the past relations of Dyme to Rome v. especially *Liv.* xxxii. ch. 21-22.

line 21, since there is no reason for assuming, as Hicks does, that the *δαμοργοί* referred to are the *δαμοργοί* of the late Achaean league. On the other hand 115 B.C. seems rather late in view of the apparently recent reduction of Achaia. On the whole it is most probable that the proconsul is Servilianus.

4. οἱ ἄρχοντες are mentioned with the *σύνεδροι*, in the mystery inscription of Andania, as responsible for the passing of a financial provision (Lebas-Foucart ii. 326^a, l. 56-7). Foucart (*Comm.* p. 166) identifies them with the *συναρχαί* which we find at Aegosthena in a federal decree of the Achaean league (*ibid.* No. 12 = *C.I.G.S.* i. 223, v. *Comment.* p. 7) and at Megara (*ibid.* No. 35^a = *C.I.G.S.* i. 15), and supposes that they acted as a sort of probouleutic college.

The *Σύνεδροι* are found in the Peloponnese at Megalopolis and at Mantinea (Lebas-Foucart, ii. No. 332 and 352^g), at Thuria (*ibid.* 303^a) and at Andania (*ibid.* 326^a).

5. Κυλλάνιον is a person and not the town of Cyllene, as Boeckh and Hicks interpret it. Cf. the ordinary phrase οἱ περὶ τὸν δαίνα. οἱ περὶ Κ. *σύνεδροι* means either 'the senators under the presidency of K.,' or 'the senators of the party of K.,' that is to say of the party that profited by the new timocratic constitution and the privileges it conferred.

6. ΥΠΕΡ should be read, and not ΠΕΡΙ, though Dittenberger retains the latter in his second edition.

7. ἄρχων for ἀρχέων (v. l. 22): a slip of the stone-cutter, cf. l. 1. The ἀρχεῖα were what are elsewhere called τὰ χρεωφυλάκτια, i.e. bureaux for the registration and preservation of private contracts. The δημόσια γράμματα were e.g. the registers of the tribute imposed, and of the census. The revolution was consequently not only political, but social as well, an institution of novae tabulae practically.

11. Συμβουλίων and not συνβουλίων should be read. This is the council of the general who organizes a province.

12-16. These lines have exercised the ingenuity of all the editors with varying results.

Hicks' restoration, which is largely based on that of Dobree, is ἐφαίνοντό μοι τῆς χειρίσ-
 της καταστάσεως καὶ ταραχῆς κατάπειραν ποιού-
 μενοι, ἣ κολαστέα ἐστίν, οὐ μόνον ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς
 M 2

ἀλλήλους οὔσα συναλλαγῆς καὶ χρείας τῆς κατ' ἰδίαν ἀλλὰ καὶ κ.τ.λ.

Dittenberger reads l. 14 τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους <a> συναλλαγῆς but does not attempt to complete the restoration. Viereck suggests καταβόλην ποιούμενοι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν πᾶσιν· οὐ μόνον γὰρ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους <a> συναλλαγῆς καὶ χρείας τῆς κατ' ἰδίαν.

None of these restorations is possible in its entirety. In the first place I read without hesitation at l. 14 ΤΗΣΠΡ... ΛΑΗΛΟΥ.ΑΣΥΝΑΛΛ...Τ...ΚΑΙ. The horizontal bar after ασυναλλ. does not appear to be broken, so that it is not part of a Γ. Moreover the letters ΗΣ would not fill the following blank, so that συναλλαγῆς becomes impossible. I suggest ἀσυναλλαξίας: the word is found in Stob. *Ecl.* ii. p. 320.

In the second place I clearly distinguish \. before ἀλλὰ (l. 15) which can only be the remains of an Α, and would supply οἰκεία or some such word. Finally, adopting (l. 14) a suggestion of M. Foucart χρεωκοπία, I would read the whole as follows: ἐπεὶ... ἐφαίνοντό μοι τῆς χειρίστης καταστάσεως καὶ παραχῆς κατασκευὴν ποιούμενοι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν πᾶσιν· οὐ μόνον γὰρ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀσυναλλαξίας καὶ χρεωκοπίας οἰκεία, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀποδεδομένης κατὰ κοῖνον τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐλευθερίας ἀλλοτρία.

16. ΕΓ[must be read. There is no trace of the second vertical bar of the Π, though there is room.

21. τῶν δαμιοργῶν refers probably to the

demiurgi of the Achaean league. Cf. *C.I.G.* 1542, l. 13, where a federal decree is dated ἐπὶ δαμιοργῶν—. Cf. Lebas-Foucart ii. 12 = *C.I.G.S.* i. 223.

It is not impossible that they may have been city magistrates of Dyme itself, as distinct from the demiurgi of the league, but in that case we should have expected τοῖς δαμιοργοῖς at l. 4 instead of τοῖς ἄρχουσι, and it is probable that, even had there ever been such magistrates at Dyme, they disappeared with the democracy.

25-6. ἐν[εστῶτος] is impossible as Dittenberger has shown. The word could only refer to the current month, and the phrase τῇ νομηνίᾳ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος in the present context would have no meaning. We must restore τοῦ ἐν[άτου μηνός]. This method of dating is found in other inscriptions of cities of the Achaean league, e.g. Lebas-Foucart, ii. No. 12, μηνὸς τρίτου (a federal decree). Cf. *Inscr. recueillies à Delphes*, No. 109.

τῶι ἐπὶ τῶν ξένων στρατηγῶι, the official rendering of praetor peregrinus.

27. Hicks restores ὅπως ἂν which Viereck, on grammatical grounds, replaces by τὸ δόξ[αν]. The line is too mutilated to decide whether we have the remains of a Σ or of a Ξ.

There is, however, no doubt that Hicks is right in reading Α\ and not ΑΙ at the end of the line.

T. W. BEASLEY.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

REMINISCENCES OF LUCAN IN ST. AUGUSTINE.

II. 271 nubes excedit Olympus.

The following passage of Augustine is derived from this, *Genesis contra Manich.* i. 24m mons.. *Olympus*...tantae altitudinis esse dicitur, ut in eius cacumine nec uentus sentiatur, nec *nubes* se colligant, quia *excedit* altitudine sua totum istum aerem humidum cet.

II. 273—*pacem magna tenent* is quoted by Aug. gen. ad litt. iii. 2.

The list of 'Testimonia' in Hosius (and Francken), though very full, is thus incomplete.

II. 331-333.

(Marcia) alios fecunda penates
inpletura datur geminas et sanguine matris
permixtura domos,

suggested Aug. bon. coniug. 21 ex. quod Cato dicitur fecisse Romanus, ut *traderet* uiuus uxorem etiam *alterius domum filiis impleturam*.

A. SOUTER.

* * *

AP. RHOD. III. 161-163.

δοῖω δὲ πόλοι ἀνέχουσι κάρηνα
οὐρέων ἡλιβάτων, κορυφαὶ χθονός, ἥχι τ' ἀερθεῖς
ἥλιος πρώτῃσιν ἐρέυθεται¹ ἀκτίνεσσιν.

I should like to invite the attention of readers of the *Classical Review* to the above lines. They have been explained in various ways, more or less unsatisfactory.

R. C. S.

* * *

CONFUSION OF *solus* AND *totus* IN LATIN MSS.

I should be very grateful for *certain* examples of the above confusion, especially from MSS. of prose writers.

J. P. P.

¹ v.l. ἐρέυγεται; Merkel has ἐρεῖδεται.

REVIEWS.

DIMITRIJEVIĆ'S *STUDIA HESIODEA*.

Studia Hesioidea scripsit Milan R. DIMITRIJEVIĆ. Lipsiae. B. G. Teubner, 1899. Pp. 1-234.

The author of this admirable treatise, Milan R. Dimitrijević, was born at Belgrade in 1875 and died prematurely at Leipsic in 1897. Though the work of so young a man, the book is the work of a master: not only does it exhibit extensive reading and research, but the skill and power shown in dealing with a peculiarly-difficult subject give clear proof of the high quality of the author's mental endowments. By his untimely death classical learning has lost a most promising disciple, and sympathy must also be felt for the bereaved mother, by whose wish this book was published 'pro monumento filii, ne deesset in litteris nostris optimae spei memoria.'

The title, *Studia Hesioidea*, is perhaps hardly sufficiently definite: for of the received Hesiodic poems only that which we know by the inadequate title of 'The Works and Days' is here discussed. After enumerating the chief MSS., the most important being Parisinus 2771 (saec. X/XI) C and Laurentianus XXXI. 39 (saec. XII) D, supplemented by two Egyptian papyri, the first (A) belonging to the Austrian Archduke Rainer, and already used by Sittl and Kirchhoff for their edition, the second (C) not hitherto used but made known to the writer by favour of Prof. J. Nicole, the author first considers the question whether the poem was known to the ancients in its present form, and claims to have proved from the testimony of ancient poets and commentators that it was so known as far back as the 6th century B.C. It is inferred, perhaps rather too confidently, from a statement in Plutarch (vit. Thes. 20), that Pisistratus established the text with the assistance of either Onomacritus or Cercops, in fact that Pisistratus did for Hesiod just what tradition says he did for Homer. Probably the one statement is as likely as the other. At any rate Pisistratus will serve as a terminus *a quo* in attempting a history of the Hesiodic text. In passing, it may be remarked that many, indeed almost all, editors have supposed that we possess only a portion of a much longer poem, the *Ἔργα Μεγάλα*, mentioned by Pliny. To this belief the author, following Sittl, gives no credit.

Now we come to the main purpose of the book, which is to establish on solid ground the assumption of two ancient recensions. Their relationship can only be ascertained from (1) the remarks of ancient writers, scholia, lexica, &c., and (2) from quotations of the verses of the poem in other ancient authors.

Consequently the scholia are subjected to examination. First comes the commentary of Proclus (A.D. 450) already edited in England by Gaisford from C. It is incomplete, as is proved from quotations in Tzetzes, the Etym. Mag. and other similar evidence. Next come the notes of the *Vetus Grammaticus*, hitherto anonymous but now identified by the author with Joannes Choeroboscus (A.D. 590). These notes too are proved to be merely excerpts from the original. The two commentators are sharply distinguished and an attempt is made to reconstitute their work by additions from Tzetzes and other sources. The discriminating test is the character of the annotation. If it be philosophical, moral or historical, it goes to Proclus; if grammatical or critical, it is referred to Choeroboscus. The dividing line is certainly clearly drawn, but we may doubt whether it is not after all too rigid. Soon it appears that Proclus drew all his historical and mythical lore from the older commentary of Plutarch, which was his primary source of information: in fact Proclus's work is to a large extent a rechauffé of Plutarch's with a colouring of Platonism. We have now to follow our author in his collection of the remains of Plutarch's commentary with its multifarious learning, its delight in moral interpretation and its disinclination to grammatical criticism. The proof is not always convincing; for it is hardly possible to feel complete confidence in the highly subjective argument, *quod universa tractandi ratio redolet ingenium Plutarcheum*.

In contrast to Proclus, the notes of Choeroboscus are essentially critical and grammatical. He draws upon the *Scholia Vetustissima* of the second century A.D., which again in our author's view are probably derived in the main from the writings of Aristonicus (B.C. 30) and Didymus (B.C. 10). Aristonicus wrote a dissertation *περὶ τῶν σημείων τοῦ Ἡσιόδου*, that is, an explanation of the critical marks attached to the edition

of Aristarchus (B.C. 210). Our author is decidedly of opinion against Waeschke and Flach that Aristarchus did not write a commentary on Hesiod. His argument against the evidence which is supposed to establish the opposite view (*v.* pp. 118 ff.) is strong and convincing. The commentary of Didymus recorded the opinions of Alexandrine critics, particularly those of Aristarchus, but the length of his remarks caused the scholiasts to prefer to make their extracts from the more concise Aristonicus.

Chapter III deals with the quotations by ancient writers, so far as they afford evidence of genuine variants. These are discussed with discrimination and good sense, but it may be well here to mention a few points of difference. In l. 64 Origen's *διδασκόμεναι* seems entitled to more consideration than our author is inclined to bestow upon it. The vulgate *διδασκῆσαι* is an atrocity, not in the least degree redeemed by Voss's apparent success in introducing *διδασκῆσαιμι* into Hym. Dem. 144. Again I find it necessary to protest against the idea, broached and defended in a long note pp. 172 f., that *ἔδωρήσαντ'* could stand before *πῆμα* in l. 82 by apocope. This is a much more serious matter than *ἔπος 'φυγεν*, the harmless oddity we meet in a well-known edition of Homer. It opens a ready way for the introduction of the most admirable and inextricable confusion into our conception of epic metre. By taking a few more liberties of this kind, *e.g.* turning *ὄνειρ* into *ὄνειρ* with another eminent authority, we should soon be enabled to scan the greater part of Herodotus and Thucydides. In l. 199 the defence of *ἴτην* against *ἴρον* is not convincing, nor is *ὅς κ' ἔμμορε* from Stobaeus in l. 347 a variant of any value. In l. 352 the *ἴσα ἄτησι* of A is really worth very little as evidence for *ἴσ' ἄτησι* pace Meineke and Nauck; for the writing *ἐκ πλήρους* must once have been universal. Still *ἴσ' ἄτησι* even without MS. support is a true restoration, though a surprisingly bold step for our

author, who rarely goes one jot beyond the tradition. He is essentially conservative and would doubtless have refused to believe that in l. 235:—

τίκτουσιν δὲ γυναῖκες ἑοικότα τέκνα γονέυσι,

setting aside the dispute between *γονέυσι* and *τοκεύσι* (D) the real remedy is transposition:—

τίκτουσιν δὲ γονέυσι ἑοικότα τέκνα γυναῖκες.

To return to the author's conclusions, the *testimonia veterum*, he observes, are either all for, or all against, the vulgate, never against one another; consequently they, the veteres, must all have used copies of the same edition, which was different from our vulgate. Of this other recension, as our author calls it, we have 52 readings more or less important, in fact nearly all better than those of the vulgate. Again 17 lines of the vulgate were not in this edition, which however had nine lines which the vulgate does not give. Next comes the question, what was the origin of these two recensions. The vulgate was in the hands of many in the first centuries of our era. In the fourth it alone existed. Proclus and Choeroboscus had it: the Alexandrines, *i.e.* Aristarchus with his contemporaries and predecessors, had it not. Neither had Seleucus or Didymus. Finally, whoever was the author, it must be pronounced a bad piece of work. The other, the earlier and better, recension was probably executed by Aristarchus, who would have for a foundation to work upon the supposed edition of Pisistratus.

The above will serve to indicate the scope of this treatise. It is, as the preface says, *opus imperfectum magis quam inchoatum*. Its merits are very striking, but can hardly be exhibited here without copious quotation: enough however has been said to prove that the work is one that no conscientious editor of Hesiod's *Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι* can well afford to neglect.

T. L. AGAR.

PATRICK'S *SEXTUS EMPIRICUS*.

Sextus Empiricus and Greek Scepticism. A Degree Thesis accompanied by a Translation of the First Book of the 'Pyrrhonic Sketches,' by MARY MILLS PATRICK. 8vo. pp. viii, 163 Cambridge, Deighton. 1899. 5s.

THIS little book deserves a hearty welcome as an introduction to the study of Sextus Empiricus. For the historian of philosophy the stores of information which Sextus accumulated respecting the tenets of his dogmatic foes have far more value than his

exposition of the doubting school to which he belonged. But in these matters fortune has a voice. While the writings of the Presocratics have made shipwreck, Sextus, like Seneca and Plotinus, has come down to us almost entire; we must perforce use such materials as we have. Nor is the later Scepticism lacking in interest of its own. Each of the five chapters, of which the work before us consists, suggests some fascinating problem for research. The historical relations of Sextus occupy us first. What was the scene of his activity as a teacher? Has he a claim to the title *Empiricus* which in *Hyp.* i. 237, 241 he seems to renounce? What was the succession in the Pyrrhonian school, and can it be fixed chronologically? Next the position and aim of Pyrrhonism is discussed. Then come the sceptical tropes in their threefold arrangement, followed by the so-called tropes of Aenesidemus against causality. A further question is raised by an obscure statement attributed to Aenesidemus or his followers (*οἱ περὶ τὸν Αἰνισίδημον*), viz. that the sceptical movement was a path to the system of Heraclitus. Sextus declares this statement to be absurd. Our author is perhaps seen at her best in the discussion of this question. She first gives a summary of the views previously advanced by Zeller, Pappenheim, Hirzel, Natorp, Brochard and others: views which mainly fall into one or other of two classes. Zeller and Pappenheim agree that Aenesidemus never really changed his sceptical views: hence they have to account for the statement in question, either as a blunder of Sextus, or as an assertion made by followers of Aenesidemus contemporary with Sextus, and not by Aenesidemus himself, then long since dead. The other alternative is to assume some change of view, or at any rate change of expression, in Aenesidemus, sufficient to justify the citation of dogmatic utterances by him in the remarkable form *Αἰνισίδημος καθ' Ἡράκλειτον*. The writer criticises all these explanations and then goes on to offer her own: viz., that although Aenesidemus was a sceptic and left the Academy when it was abandoning scepticism for eclecticism, and although he remained a sceptic to the end, yet in the two centuries which elapsed between him and Sextus there was a gradual narrowing of the limits of scepticism, so that what Sextus considers his apparent dogmatism might be accounted for by the eclectic spirit of the time and the psychological effect upon himself of formulating sceptical beliefs. 'He remained a Sceptic

as he had always been, but must have grown dogmatic in his attitude towards the sceptical formulae, and was thus able to adopt some of the teachings of Heraclitus, unconscious of their inconsistency' (p. 80). This suggestion deserves to be considered side by side with that of Brochard 'whose solution of the difficulty is on the whole the most logical' (p. 76)—a change of opinion on the part of Aenesidemus. To suppose, with Hirzel and Natorp, that the Heraclidean dogma 'contradictory qualities belong (*ὑπάρχει*) to the same thing' was understood by Aenesidemus only in the phenomenal sense, so that *ὑπάρχει* = *φαίνεται*, is a great strain on our credulity. In the last chapter Pyrrhonism is critically examined. The final judgment may be summed up as follows: 'I think we may safely say that Pyrrhonism was the most consistent system of scepticism ever offered to the world, and yet it proves most decidedly that complete scepticism is psychologically impossible.' This estimate is considerably higher than that which many have passed upon what Mr. A. W. Benn felicitously terms 'the philosophy of the dinner-bell.' And as Dr. Reid has pointed out in his introduction to the *Academics*, two assumptions greatly limit the scope of the ancient, as compared with the modern, discussion upon the bases of human knowledge: one is, that all knowledge comes from experience, and the other, that none of the disputants questions the existence of a real world of things lying behind the phenomena of which we are conscious. It is difficult to avoid confusion in any exposition of the world of phenomena as conceived by the Sceptic. Our author has, we believe, correctly apprehended Sextus, but the various expedients she adopts in translating *φαντασία*, *φαινόμενα*, and the like terms, render her statements perplexing to follow. Thus on p. 26 she says: 'Phenomena are the only things which the Sceptic does not deny, and he guides his life by them. They are, however, subjective.' So far, so good: but she continues, 'Sextus distinctly affirms that sensations are the phenomena and that they lie in susceptibility and voluntary [—a misprint for 'involuntary'—] feeling, and that they constitute the appearances of objects,' with references to *Hyp.* i. 22 and *Diog.* ix. 11, 105. But on the same page is cited from *Hyp.* i. 19 [it should be 22]: 'we call the criterion of the Sceptical School the phenomenon, meaning by this name the *idea* of it' (the italics are ours). It is clear that, if practicable, some attempt

should be made to preserve the connexion between *φαινόμενον* and *φαντασία* here (the original is *κριτήριον τοίνυν φαμέν εἶναι τῆς σκεπτικῆς ἀγωγῆς τὸ φαινόμενον, δυνάμει τῇ φαντασίᾳ αὐτοῦ οὕτω καλοῦντες*). One objection to 'idea' is its ambiguity: again Sextus opposes *φαινόμενα* to *νοούμενα*, objects of sense to objects of thought (§§ 31-33), where our translator rather lamely uses 'the intellectual' in opposition to 'phenomena.' Nor is 'idea' particularly appropriate for *φαντασία* in the first, fourth and fifth tropes (§§ 58, 59, 61, 113, 114, 117, 121, 123). In our opinion there are other terms—appearance, presentation, impression—which, whatever the objections to them, would upon occasion have been preferable to 'idea' as renderings of *φαντασία* in an account of perception.

Of the translation as a whole it may be said that it deserves, quite as much as the original, to be commended for 'beauty and facility of style' (p. 11). It is lively reading and fairly accurate. A few slips have escaped a perhaps hasty revision (to judge by misprints, e.g. *σύγγενος* for *συγγενής*, p. 44, Menedotus, p. 3, 'Thracian' for 'Thasian,' p. 123). The book of Sextus *Πρὸς φυσικούς* should not be described as 'against physics,' nor does *συνάγεσθαι*, § 36, mean 'to take place.' In § 32, *οὐράνια* = the heavenly bodies, and in the same context *κατασκευάζειν*, the technical term for 'establish a positive conclusion, maintain, prove' as opposed to *disprove*, has its force strangely exaggerated. The original *πρὸς τὸν κατασκευάζοντα ὅτι ἔστι πρόνοια ἐκ τῆς τάξεως τῶν οὐρανίων* is rendered 'to the one who from the order of the heavens builds a tower of reasoning to prove that a providence exists.' Again, § 223, 'when (Socrates) performs mental gymnastics,' *ὅταν γυμνάζηται*, is an odd way of alluding to the Platonic dialogues of search. On the other hand the translator now and then strikes out a line of her own with advantage: e.g. § 238, it is a

decided improvement, if the text is sound, to make *ὁ μεθοδικός*, and not *τὰ φύσει ἀλλότρια*, the subject of *ἀναγκάζει*. We append a note on one or two other points. The formula 'Nothing more' (§ 14; cf. 190, 226) is ambiguous and must mislead the English reader. Some extension of it is absolutely demanded by English idiom: not more (this than that), not more so (than the opposite), no more *Δ* than not-*Δ*. Such an equivalent should at least be appended in a footnote. Similarly Cicero *Acad.* ii. 43, *non eorum qui clament nihilo magis vera illa esse quam falsa*. In § 69 *φησὶ γοὺν αὐτὸν... ἐπιβάλλειν τῷ πέμπτῳ διὰ πλειόνων ἀναποδείκτων* is rendered [Chrysippus] 'said that the dog follows the fifth of the several non-apodictic syllogisms.' A note referring to *Hyp.* ii. 156 *sqq.* would have been of some service. By the *ἀναπόδεκτα* or *λόγοι ἀναπόδεκτοι*, the Stoics meant much the same as 'immediate inferences,' arguments syllogistic in form which are too obvious to need proof. The example of the fifth kind given ii. 158 has for the major premiss a disjunctive proposition of two members only: 'it is either day or night.' In § 69 it is humorously applied to the case of the dog: 'for when he comes to a meeting of three roads, after seeking the scent in the two roads through which his prey has not passed, he presses forward quickly in the third without scenting it. For the dog reasons in this way; the animal passed through this, or this, or this: it was neither through this nor this, therefore it was through this.' As in the disjunctive proposition which serves as the dog's major premiss there are *three* clauses, *διὰ πλειόνων* is introduced to distinguish it from the normal disjunctive of two clauses (either *A* or *B*). The omission of the article before *διὰ πλειόνων* is unnecessarily harsh and *τῶν* might easily have dropped out after *-τφ*.

R. D. HICKS.

WILCKEN'S GRIECHISCHE OSTRAKA.

Griechische Ostraka aus Aegypten und Nubien; ein Beitrag zur antiken Wirtschaftsgeschichte, von Dr. ULRICH WILCKEN (Leipzig and Berlin: Giesecke and Devrient, 1899). Pp. xvi. + 860 + 497. 42s.

STUDENTS of the Berlin papyrus-publication have been accustomed to see, in the notes to the texts published by Prof. Ulrich Wilcken of Breslau, references to a work entitled *Griechische Ostraka*, which has now

for some years past been described as 'demnächst erscheinend.' It has now appeared, and proves to be the important work which those who were acquainted with its scheme and with its author expected. The epithet 'epoch-making' is so freely mis-used nowadays that one hesitates to use it here; but this work is, in fact, epoch-making in the true sense of the word. It closes one period of study in the sphere with which it deals, and it opens another. It sums up all that is known in this department of science, and it will form the basis for all future work on this subject.

The importance of the work lies in the fact that it contains far more than its title implies; and to the same cause may partly be attributed the long delay in its appearance. Originally intended merely to be a publication of the Greek texts inscribed on ostraka discovered in Egypt, it has come to include an elaborate survey of the results derivable not only from this source, but also from the papyri which have recently come to light in such vast numbers. Hence the second volume, which contains the texts of 1624 ostraka, is quite outweighed by the first, in which, in an Introduction covering more than 800 pages, Prof. Wilcken gathers together all that is known with regard to the taxation-system of Egypt under the Ptolemies and the Roman empire, together with much subsidiary information upon economical, monetary, and metrological matters. It is a mass of material absolutely essential to any future student of the millennium of Egyptian history between the Macedonian and the Arabian conquests, and of considerable interest to the student of the Roman Empire in general; and it is handled by Prof. Wilcken with the skill and judgment which his former works have led us to expect. It is no small praise to say that the only book with which it can be compared is Lumbroso's admirable *Recherches sur l'économie politique des Lagides*; and in the 30 years since the appearance of Lumbroso's work, the material to be dealt with has increased out of all proportion to the lapse of time.

In the present notice the first volume alone can be taken into consideration. The second contains the texts of the ostraka, which, for most persons, are of importance only as providing the data upon which the conclusions set forth in the Introduction rest; and no examination of them would be profitable without a detailed collation of the originals. A brief summary of the contents of the first volume may be useful. A short

description of the material and appearance of ostraka in general is followed by tables showing the present homes of those included in this collection. Then comes the examination of the contents of these documents; and since the very large majority of them consists of tax-receipts, this resolves itself into an examination of the taxes in force in Egypt in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. The formulae of the texts are first examined and classified (pp. 58-129), the conclusion to which Prof. Wilcken comes (differing from that which he, like others, had previously held with regard to some classes of these receipts) being that most of them are receipts given, not by the tax-farmer to the tax-payer, but by the Government banks to the tax-farmer.¹ Under the rule of the Ptolemies practically all taxes were farmed out; and even under the Roman emperors the same system was largely used, though direct collection by Government officials was also introduced in a great number of instances. The taxes themselves (both in money and in kind) are next examined individually (pp. 130-410), and a formidable list they make. Prof. Wilcken gives no less than 138 heads of taxation as vouched for by the ostraka, and 80 more for which there is evidence from other sources (mainly the papyri); and although not all the headings here given really represent separate taxes (and some of them are not taxes at all), enough remain to justify the statement that there can have been hardly any commodity or occupation in Egypt which did not contribute something to the national revenue. This enumeration occupies the largest section in the book, and may be considered as its *pièce de résistance*; but it is followed by important and elaborate chapters on the methods of tax-farming and tax-raising under the Ptolemies and the Roman governors (pp. 422-629), on the banks and storehouses in which the products of the taxes were received (pp. 630-663), and on the information derived from the ostraka and papyri as to the coinage and the weights and measures in use throughout the period (pp. 718-780).

Such a work, dealing with a mass of details, many of them still beset with much uncertainty, on the one hand lends itself to criticism in many directions, and on the

¹ With regard to a large class of these receipts, however, Prof. Wilcken has already withdrawn this explanation (*Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, i. 141), definite evidence to the contrary having been furnished by a papyrus in the British Museum; a fact which strikingly illustrates the uncertainty which still surrounds much of the subject.

other renders adequate criticism impossible, within the limits available here, by its very bulk. The only form of criticism, however, which is of practical value in such a case, is for those who are in possession of material bearing on the same subject to make their contribution to the store which Prof. Wilcken has collected, whether in the form of correction or confirmation of his results. Prof. Wilcken has himself shown how usefully this may be done, by his own reviews of previous publications of papyri; and no doubt many students will be ready, within their own limits, to do the same good service to him. This book is not, and does not pretend to be, final. It is the gathering up of all the evidence extant up to a certain date, and as evidence has not ceased to pour in since that date, much that he has written will need to be supplemented and corrected as time goes on. But he has laid the foundations firmly, and if others are able to add something to the superstructure, it will largely be because he has taught them how to use the materials.

As luck would have it, after all the delays caused by the influx of new material, Prof. Wilcken's Introduction finally went to press at a date which just excluded from his view two rather unusually extensive publications of Greco-Egyptian texts, namely the second volumes of the British Museum *Catalogue of Greek Papyri* (1898) and of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (1899). The texts contained in the first-named work were partly known to him in brief provisional descriptions published in 1894, and the originals of many were seen by him during a visit to England in 1895: but these facilities naturally do not compensate for the want of a detailed publication, while the contents of Messrs Grenfell and Hunt's latest volume were, of course, wholly unknown to him. The principal object, therefore, of the following notes is to call attention to points in which these two volumes throw fresh light upon Prof. Wilcken's conclusions.

Pp. 132-3. The tax indicated by the abbreviation $\alpha\tau$ is as obscure to me as to Prof. Wilcken; but it is worth observing that in every case the sum named under this head is, as near as possible, $\frac{1}{10}$ of the sum preceding it. There is an apparent exception in Ostr. 1282, but there $\delta\upsilon\omicron$ should probably be read for the doubtful $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha$. The only explanation which offers itself is that $\alpha\tau = \alpha\iota \text{ και}$, meaning that the lower payment was (for some reason unknown) to be substituted for the higher. It

will be observed that when it appears in a statement of several tax-payments, each item after the first is introduced by the word $\delta\mu\omicron\iota\omega\varsigma$, but that this is never attached to an entry under the head $\alpha\tau$; which seems to indicate that this forms one item with that which precedes it.

P. 137. ff. Wilcken inclines to the view that the fisheries in Egypt were not a Government monopoly; but the high rate of payment required from the fishermen (25 per cent.) points the other way. Such a payment is more akin to the rents paid by a tenant to his landlord than to any ordinary taxation.

P. 146. the $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\acute{\xi}\omega\upsilon\upsilon$ was probably only levied on waggons kept for hire, since it is habitually coupled with the $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma \delta\eta\lambda\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$. The occasional use of the singular $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\alpha}\xi\eta\varsigma$, in which Wilcken finds a difficulty, is no real objection to this view. Village carriers not unfrequently have only one cart to let on hire.

P. 147 ff. The phrase $\gamma\epsilon\omega\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha \acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\omicron}\nu\omega\upsilon$, as the name of a tax, occurs also in Brit. Mus. Pap. CXCV.; but the term $\gamma\epsilon\omega\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$ applies not only to vineyards, but also to orchards and kitchen-gardens, as is shown by its being attached (l. 8) to a total in which these categories of fruit-land are included. It is, in fact, a generic term, denoting land-tax; a very intelligible modification of the natural meaning of the word, since a land-survey was a necessary preliminary to a land-tax.

P. 152. Why should not $\mu\epsilon\rho\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}$, which Wilcken does not undertake to explain, be identical with the $\mu\epsilon\rho\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega\upsilon \acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (p. 154)? The amounts paid are very similar.

P. 162. The tax $\epsilon\iota\varsigma \lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\omicron\upsilon\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\iota\kappa\upsilon\eta\eta\gamma\acute{\omega}\nu$ is illustrated by B. M. Pap. CCCCLIX, where mention is made of $\delta\eta\mu\acute{\omicron}\sigma\iota\omicron\iota \kappa\upsilon\eta\eta\gamma\acute{\omega}\iota$.

P. 172. The term $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\rho\delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ (= weaver, not in Liddell and Scott) occurs frequently in the poll-tax list contained in B. M. Papp. CCLVII-CCLIX; and $\gamma\epsilon\rho\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\acute{\omicron}\nu$, the tax levied upon this industry, is repeatedly mentioned in Oxyrhynchus Pap. CCLXXXVIII where the amounts vary between 36 and 40 drachmas per annum.

Pp. 173-176. It seems unnecessary to labour so much the proof that a land-tax, in any well-organised administration, must rest upon a survey, and that therefore it may not unreasonably be denoted by the term $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\epsilon\rho \gamma\epsilon\omega\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$. Clearly this is the case in B. M. Pap. CXCV., mentioned above, where it is coupled with $\acute{\alpha}\mu\pi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\omicron}\nu\omega\upsilon$. An exact parallel would be found in the use of $\lambda\alpha\sigma$ -

γραφία for 'poll-tax.' There is, however, also the possibility that charges ἐπὲρ γεωμετρίας, without qualification, may be fees for the re-surveying of land, which, to some extent, was necessary after every inundation. The smallness of the amounts named under this head in the ostraka is in favour of this view. The existence of such annual re-surveys is stated by Herodotus (ii. 109, quoted by Wilcken), and B. M. Pap. DCIV. is an official record of the extent of land (arranged under the names of the owners) inundated in the year 46-7 A.D. A more elaborate example of a land-survey, giving precise measurements, and deducting areas unfitted for cultivation, is contained in B. M. Pap. CCLXVII., where the constantly recurring abbreviation επιστ recalls the phrase of Herodotus, ὁ δὲ (Σεσωστρίης) ἔπεμπε τοὺς ἐπισκευομένους καὶ ἀναμετρήσοντας. With these materials a fuller account might now be given of the land-survey system in Egypt than was possible to Wilcken.

P. 182. The existence of the τέλος ἐγκύκλιον in Roman times is established by B. M. Pap. CCXCVIb, and Ox. Pap. CCXLII etc.

P. 185. ἐκφόριον is the regular term for the portion of the produce of a farm paid as rent by the tenant to the owner. It is found repeatedly in this sense in the papyri, and the formulas of the five ostraka published by Wilcken in which it occurs are entirely in accordance with this interpretation. There is therefore no ground for regarding it as a tax at all.

P. 199 ff. The classification of the taxes, according as they were paid in money or in kind, is useful and important; but the proof of it seems unnecessarily laboured. In many of the cases named, such as the poll-tax, bath-tax, etc., payment in kind was impossible; in many more, such as the taxes on employments, it was either impossible or so improbable as to need little demonstration. It is, in fact, only with regard to the land-tax that the principle is not clear *prima facie*, since (as Wilcken shows), while land bearing wheat, barley, and three varieties of oil paid the tax in kind, land bearing vines, palms, olives, or fruit-trees paid it in money; and kitchen-gardens paid it sometimes in one way, sometimes in the other. Corn was, no doubt, required by the government both for its annual supply of seed-corn to the cultivators, and for export; but it is less clear why oil should have been paid in kind.

P. 226. A contract for the lease of ἡ γραφική in two villages of the Fayûm occurs

in B. M. Pap. CCLXXXVI, and is wrongly explained in the *Catalogue* as a lease of the monopoly of laundry-work. The ostrakon published by Wilcken shows that it is rather a lease of the tax on the fulling industry. It would appear, however, from the papyrus that the tax should be placed among the farmed taxes, not among those directly collected, in the list on pp. 575-582.

P. 230 ff. The section on the poll-tax is very important, but it is just here that the new evidence necessitates most modification in Wilcken's view. The question is fully discussed in the British Museum *Catalogue* ii. 17-20, 42-46, 63, and in *Ox. Pap.* ii. 208-214, 217-222, and it is impossible to deal with it at length here. The chief modifications are with regard to the persons liable to the tax. Instead of all males from 14 to 65 and females from 12 to 65 (with the exception of certain privileged classes) being liable, it would appear that the tax was only levied upon males between 14 and 60, and not upon females at all; while a good deal of additional evidence is available with regard to classes wholly or partially exempt (notably the κάτοικοι of B. M. Papp. CCLX, CCLXI, and the descendants of gymnasiarchs and the μητροπολίται δωδεκάδραχμοι of Oxyrhynchus). On the other hand, the ostraka supply much evidence as to the rate at which the tax was levied in different parts of Egypt, with the curious result that it differed, not only at different times, but at different places, and even in different districts of a large town, such as Thebes. Apparently it must have been levied for local purposes, like district rates nowadays, and so was subject to local modifications. Wilcken appears (p. 244) to make unnecessary difficulty about the use of the term λαογραφία as = 'poll-tax,' and at one time regarded it as merely a payment to cover the expenses of a census. This seems, however, to be putting the cart before the horse. Rulers did not then hold censuses for purely statistical purposes. The numbering of the people was for the purpose of the tax, not *vice versa*. It is important to add, finally, that the evidence derivable from the ostraka is quite consistent with Prof. Ramsay's view that the fourteen-year census was instituted by Augustus about B.C. 10. On this point, however, the latest evidence is that furnished by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt (*loc. cit.*).

P. 256. The word μερισμός occurs in a Ptolemaic papyrus (B. M. Pap. CCXXXII.), but apparently not as the name of a tax.

A parallel to the men paying taxes at half the normal rate (p. 256, note 2) may be found in the B. M. poll-tax lists (cf. B. M. Catalogue ii. 53).

P. 259 ff. The ostraka do not clear up the doubts attaching to the word *ναύβιον*, but the gradual accumulation of evidence is slowly leading to more definite results. It is used in two senses, which must be kept apart. In Ptolemaic times it is a measure of cubic content, used in measuring amounts in the excavation of canals or the erection of embankment mounds. Here it is apparently identical with the equally obscure term *ἀωλίον*. The exact size of the measure is undetermined, but some reason has been shown in B. M. Catalogue ii. 130 for believing it to be a cubic cubit. In Roman times, however, this use of *ναύβιον* disappears, and it becomes simply the name of a tax, levied upon land, and perhaps devoted to the maintenance of the canals and embankments. There are difficulties as to the precise interpretation of the tax (cf. B. M. Cat. ii. 121, *Ox. Pap.* ii. 297), but it would require too much space to discuss them here.

P. 272. There seems no great difficulty in supposing that the same person kept donkeys (and donkey-drivers) for hire, and also carts.

P. 273. Ὀρμοφυλακία may be interpreted on the analogy of ἐρημοφυλακία, as a payment for the protection of merchandise stored at the wharves.

P. 276 ff. The various transit or customs taxes (*πεντηκοστή ἐξαγωγῆς*, *π. εἰσαγωγῆς*, *διαπύλιον*, etc.) need to be treated together. Cf. B. M. Cat. ii. 83-8, Grenfell and Hunt, *Greek Pap.* ii. 78-84.

P. 280. *πλεονασμός* in a technical sense, apparently denoting some form of additional taxation, occurs in two registers of the first century connected with the land tax (B. M. Papp. CXII, DCIV); but its precise meaning is not clear. One possibility which is worth considering is that it may denote additions to the land held by various individuals due to alterations in the cultivable area caused by the inundation.

P. 310. The pig-tax (*ὑκίη*) is abundantly established by the new Oxyrhynchus volume (*O.P.* CCLXXXVIII, CCLXXXIX etc.).

P. 338. That the abbreviation *επαγὰ*, occurring in several of the certificates for labour on the embankments, is really a place-name (which Wilcken disputes), is shown by B. M. Pap. CCCXXV b (*ἐν τῇ Ἐπαγάθ(ω) Σοκνοπαίου*, cf. CCCXXV a, *ἐν τῇ Βουβ(άστω) Σοκνοπαίου*).

P. 359. On ἐρημοφυλακία (the charge for the safe conduct of merchandise through the desert), cf. B. M. Pap. CCCXVIII (*Cat.* ii. 87).

P. 378. The annual camel-tax may perhaps have been 10 drachmas; cf. B. M. Cat. ii. 79.

P. 391. Wilcken is here misled by an error in Grenfell and Hunt's *Greek Papyri* ii. 60 (not 55, as misquoted by W.). The papyrus has, not *εγ λ' μ' τρ'*, but simply *εγλημπτορ'*, i.e. *εγλήμπτορος*. This correction was already made in *Class. Rev.* xi. 97, and Wilcken might have been saved some superfluous conjectures if he had seen it.

P. 384. On the τέλος μόσχου *θυομένου*, see B. M. Pap. CCCCLXXII.

P. 394 note. The true reading in Grenfell and Hunt's *Greek Pap.* ii. 58 is *ἐρημοφυλακίας Προσωπίτου καὶ [Λητοπολίτου]* as appears from B. M. Papp. CCCXVIII, CCCXXX, not Ἀρσινοίτου, as Wilcken conjectures. This also was stated in *Class. Rev.* xi. 97.

P. 431 note 1. The date of the document referred to by Wilcken (B. M. Pap. CCCXLVIII) is apparently A.D. 202-3, not 205-6. If Wilcken is right in fixing A.D. 202 as the date of the first establishment of a *βουλή* in Arsinoë, the *βουλευτῆς* here mentioned must have been one of the original members.

P. 432. *ἄμφοδον* apparently denotes a district, like *λαύρα*, rather than a street (*δύμη*); cf. *Ox. Pap.* ii. 189.

P. 438. The list of censuses here given can be increased from *Ox. Pap.* ii. 209 ff., where the direct evidence of the fourteen-year cycle is carried back to A.D. 19-20.

P. 448. Wilcken apparently still holds the view that *ἐπίκρισις* was a purely military function. As against this, see B. M. Cat. ii. 42-46, and *Ox. Pap.* ii. 217-222. The new evidence furnished by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt entirely supports the view expressed in the B. M. Catalogue that, in addition to the purely military *ἐπίκρισις* there was also an *ἐπίκρισις* by which youths were, at the proper time, admitted to the privileged class which was exempt from the poll-tax.

Pp. 453-4. Notification of the births of girls were not made in the *ὑπομνήματα ἐπιγεννήσεως*, because girls were not subject to the poll-tax (see above).

P. 455. The British Museum has four examples of death-certificates (cf. *Cat.* ii. 65-68), not only one.

P. 464. There is no proof that the returns of real property (land, houses, etc.) were made annually, and probability is against

it; cf. Grenfell and Hunt's full discussion of the point in *Ox. Pap.* ii. 177-179.

P. 480. An example of a land-survey book is preserved in B. M. Pap. CCLXVII.

P. 483. Not only the survey-books, but also the census registers were available for reference by the general public; cf. B. M. Pap. CCCXXIV (the document somewhat hesitatingly quoted by Wilcken on p. 487).

P. 505. The order of Ti. Julius Alexander, that the land-tax should be levied each year with reference to the extent of land actually inundated in that year, is illustrated by B. M. Pap. DCIV, which is a register of the land inundated in A.D. 46-7, twenty years earlier than Alexander's edict.

P. 607, note 1. Wilcken's note on B. M. Pap. CCCVI, which rests on a misunderstanding of the description in the B. M. *Catalogue of Additions*, is obviated by the complete publication of the text in the *Catalogue of Papyri*, the readings of which (l. 19 *σιτονίου* (?), l. 23 *αὐτῷ ὁ*) differ slightly from those of Wilcken.

Pp. 653-4. On the *σιτολόγοι* cf. B. M. *Cat.* ii. 88, 89, 95, where much the same conclusions are arrived at as here.

P. 657, note 2. On the phrase *γῆ προσόδου* cf. B. M. *Cat.* ii. 96. The parallels quoted there seem to make it almost certain that *γῆ προσόδου* = *γῆ ιδιωτικῆ*. Wilcken objects that the land in question was apparently cultivated by *δημόσιοι γεωργοί*, but we do not know that this term was limited to the cultivators of the royal domain-land. It may have applied to all who received advances of seed-corn from the state. In any case it seems impossible to believe that the classifications of land as *βασιλική*, *ιερά*, and *ιδιωτικῆ* of B. M. Pap. DCIV, *βασιλική*, *ιερά*, and *ἐτέρα* of B. M. Pap. CCLVI, and *βασιλική*, *ιερά*, and *προσόδου* of Berl. Pap. 20, are not identical.

P. 662. The interpretation of the name *Φαῦστος Πρίσκος Καίσαρος* in the B. M. *Cat. of Additions* has already been corrected in the *Catalogue of Papyri*, ii. 96.

P. 667. The rate of equivalence, 2 artabas of barley = 1 artaba of wheat, must not be taken as constant. In another of the Petrie papyri Mr. Smyly has found the ratio, 5 artabas of barley = 3 artabas of wheat.

P. 723. On the relation between silver and copper, see Grenfell and Hunt, *Ox. Pap.* ii. 188, where an explanation is given of the ratio 1 : 450 which Wilcken finds in the ostraka, and of the ratio 1 : 500 which appears in B. M. Pap. CCLXVI.

Pp. 732-3. It is noteworthy that Wilcken

withdraws the imaginary 'hexabol' coins which he believed he had discovered in B. M. Pap. CXXXI, the true reading being (as in the printed text of that papyrus) *ἑξ ὀβολῶν*. The references to Pap. CXXXI in the notes should be to ll. 529 and 530 and (p. 733, note 2) 339.

P. 741 ff. With regard to the artaba, there is much new matter to be incorporated from B. M. Pap. CCLXV, and the whole subject requires re-examination by a professed metrologist. We have (1) artabas of several different sizes vouched for by the ostraka and papyri and the ancient metrological authorities; (2) three artabas, whose relative proportions are known, but not their exact size, vouched for by B. M. Pap. CXXV; (3) six artabas, of which similarly only the relative proportions are known, vouched for by B. M. Pap. CCLXV. Hultsch and Wilcken have made some progress in correlating Nos. 1 and 2; but No. 3 introduces a large disturbing element, too extensive to examine here. Cf. B. M. *Cat.* ii. 257 ff.

P. 742. For Revillont's mis-reading, and consequent misinterpretation, of Petrie, Pap. II. 25 (b), cf. B. M. *Cat.* ii. p. xv.

P. 744. An artaba of 48 choinices in Roman times seems to be established by B. M. Pap. CXCI, but the data of that document are somewhat conflicting, some of the entries seeming to point rather to an artaba of 36 choinices. In any case the *διχοίνικον* appears to be a payment of two choinices on the aroma of land, not on the artaba of wheat as stated in *Cat.* ii. 121 (cf. l. 5 of that papyrus).

P. 750. On the smaller measures, the *τέταρτον*, *ἕκτον*, etc., cf. also B. M. *Cat.* ii. p. xv.

P. 751. Wilcken's notification of a measure named *μάτιον*, as occurring in the ostraka, explains a difficulty in B. M. Pap. CCCCXXVIII, where the word appears in an abbreviated form, and apparently interchanged with *μέτρον*. Its size here appears to be $\frac{1}{15}$ of an artaba. Brugsch, according to Wilcken, has calculated it at $\frac{1}{12}$; but we do not know what artaba is used in either case.

P. 755. *ζεύγος* as a measure (merely = 'a pair') occurs not only in B. M. Pap. XIV., but also in Papp. CX, CCCCXXIX.

P. 761. Wilcken's correction of the view that a *κεράμιον* = $\frac{1}{2}$ *μετρητής* deserves especial notice. For this must be substituted Brugsch's equation, 1 *κεράμιον* = $\frac{2}{3}$ *μετρητής* = 8 *χόες*.

P. 763. The symbol for *ξέστης* (a *ξ* with

an oblique line drawn through it) occurs also in B.M. Pap. CCLII, of the fourth century.

P. 766. κοῦφα, in the sense of casks, occurs in B.M. Pap. CCCXC.

P. 771. On the μέτρον δρόμῳ τετραχόινκον see B.M. *Cat.* pp. xv. 257 ff. According to the British Museum papyri, δρόμῳ is the right reading, not δρόμον or δρόμων. The fact that the δρόμος-artaba has as its subdivision a μέτρον τετραχόινκον is in favour of the identification of that artaba with the 40-choinix artaba, which also harmonises with the fact that the δρόμος-artaba is the largest of the six named in Pap. CCLXV. (N.B.—The interpretation of μέτρον ξεστόν in B.M. *Cat.* ii. p. xv., as a measure containing one ξέστης, must be withdrawn.)

P. 810. The identification of the month Σωτήριος as = Pauni is established by B.M. Pap. CXLI (previously published in *Palaeog. Soc.* ii. 146). The identification of Νερώνειος Σεβαστός as = Pharmouthi rested on the fact that Nero gave his name to the month April (Suet. *Ner.* 55, Tac. *Ann.* xii. 16); but as

an ostrakon shows (if the reading is correct) that the name was in use under Claudius, the ground of this identification is cut away.

P. 811. Another month-name should be added to the list, viz. Δομιτιανός, apparently equivalent to Phaophi (B.M. Pap. CCLIX, l. 99).

P. 813. The use of the name Ἰουλία Σεβαστή as the title of a special day is established against Wilcken's suspicions by *Ox. Pap.* ii. CCLXXXIII, τῇ αἰ Ἰουλία Σεβαστῇ τοῦ ἐνεστώτος μηνός.

It is to be feared that these details have proved long and tedious, although they have left many points of controversy and interest indicated rather than discussed. But the best tribute to so useful and important a book is to try, in one's own way, to render its accuracy yet more accurate; and it is in a spirit of admiration, and not in the least of detraction, that these criticisms are offered.

F. G. KENYON.

TYRRELL AND PURSER'S CORRESPONDENCE OF CICERO.

The Correspondence of Cicero, edited by R. Y. TYRRELL and L. C. PURSER. Vol. VI. Dublin University Press Series. Dublin and London, 1899. Pp. cxvii, 347.

The sixth volume of Messrs Tyrrell and Purser's great edition completes the correspondence of Cicero and the editors promise the final volume containing the index at an early date. They are to be congratulated upon the successful termination of their arduous task. In their modest Preface they speak apologetically of the time which they have taken and hint that they might have worked more rapidly, if all their leisure had been given to their work. It is, however, difficult to conceive greater rapidity of production than that which has attended their efforts of late, volumes IV., V., and VI. having been published in a space of five years. It is noteworthy that this rapidity has not been attended by any falling off in quality. On the contrary the later volumes are fuller and more thorough both in plan and in execution than the earlier ones.

The Introduction to Vol. VI. consists of three parts, viz. (i) Cicero at the head of

the State, (ii) Cicero's correspondents, (iii) the correspondence with M. Brutus. The first of these is a sympathetic sketch of the services rendered by Cicero to his country in the last struggle against despotism, and is a most valuable source of information for the history of the period. The correspondents of Cicero whom the editors portray in their well-known manner are Plancus, D. Brutus, Pollio, P. Lentulus Spinther, Furnius, Cassius, and M. Brutus. It seems odd that Lepidus is not included in the list, considering the important rôle which he played, while we could have spared the brief sketches of Lentulus Spinther and Furnius, who are but minor characters. The editors have drawn largely from various learned works, particularly in the case of Plancus from the 'charming monograph' of M. Jullien (Le fondateur de Lyon), and in that of M. Brutus from a pamphlet of O. E. Schmidt, whose unfavourable estimate they adopt. They also acknowledge their obligations to various dissertations upon the style of various writers, e.g. to Schmalz upon the language of Pollio, to Köhler on that of Lentulus, to Hellmuth on that of Galba, to Rhodius and Gitlbauer on the letters of Plancus. The

sketch of Plancus is full of subtle insight into the character of this favourite of fortune, the *morbo proditor* of Velleius. The editors quote many valuable remarks from M. Jullien, *e.g.* p. xli., when speaking of the letter written in March 23, in which Plancus, who previously had maintained a consistent reserve, declares for the Republic, they say 'What was the real cause of this sudden alteration of the views of Plancus? It was, as M. Jullien acutely sees, the demand of Antony to be given Gallia Comata in exchange for Cisalpine Gaul. Plancus had been, as the saying is, "sitting on the hedge," but now that one of the parties interferes vitally with his interests, he takes a side.' With one view which the editors adopt silently from M. Jullien I find myself unable to agree. This in connection with the foundation of the colony of Lugdunum by Plancus and Lepidus, which they assign to June 23, after the junction of Lepidus with Antony on May 29 and before June 30, when Lepidus was declared a *hostis*. They say (p. lxxi.) that 'the Senate during June were at their wits' end to know how to treat Lepidus. Their chief aim was to keep him from immediately marching into Italy. Accordingly, they gave him orders to join with Plancus in founding the colony.' As this is very conjectural, it would have been well to quote the arguments upon which Jullien bases his hypothesis. Our authority is Dio Cassius, who (xlvi. 50) assigns the foundation of Lugdunum to the period between the relief of Mutina, and the junction of Lepidus with Antony, *i.e.* between April 21 and May 29, the object of the Senate being to prevent the coalition of Lepidus and Antony. The date given by Dio is impossible in view of the letters of Plancus written at this time, and so Jullien proposes the theory above-mentioned. I cannot think it credible that the Senate would confer this task on Lepidus after his defection, especially in view of the danger that the troops of Plancus and D. Brutus, who was then with Plancus, might fraternise with those of Lepidus and Antonius. I would prefer to suppose that the order was given to Plancus while his attitude was still dubious, *i.e.* before March or April, in order to keep him employed. The association of Lepidus with Plancus in this task is contradicted by all other evidence, and is probably due to an error on the part of Dio.

The essay upon M. Brutus is the longest of the seven. In it the editors quote largely from O. E. Schmidt, many of whose

criticisms are admirable, *e.g.* p. xcvii. on the interest which both the friends and the enemies of Brutus had in spreading the rumour that he was the son of Caesar, or p. 261 on the conclusion of Cicero's letter to Brutus, where they remark that 'Schmidt has done more than anyone else to put the characters of Cicero and Brutus in their true light.' The editors (p. c.) go so far as to agree with Dante, who in the *Inferno* places Brutus in the jaws of Satan, though on another occasion (p. cx. n.) they allow him the 'good qualities of his faults.' I do not feel that he receives full justice at the hands of his critics. A special point urged against him is that he treated with clemency his prisoner, C. Antonius, allowing him to use the title Proconsul in a letter to the Senate. This is ascribed to treachery on his part, and a wish to make friends with the Antonians (p. xlv.). Surely this is rather hard. Brutus was at all times averse to blood-spilling, and, apart from such considerations, it was a wise policy not to set the example of putting prisoners to death, in view of the fact that D. Brutus was himself besieged in Mutina. C. Antonius was a hostage for the safety of D. Brutus. Dio Cassius tells us that after the death of D. Brutus, the interest of Brutus in his prisoner ceased (xlvii. 24. 4). Further, Brutus, like other Roman nobles, was greatly influenced by family ties, and held that much might be excused in a connection. He blames Cicero for his passionate attacks on Antony, and intercedes on behalf of Lepidus, just as Metellus Celer had intervened in 62 on behalf of Metellus Nepos, and as the nobles petted Clodius in the Senate. Brutus could not forget that Lepidus was his brother-in-law, and that his nephew, the son of Lepidus, was married to the daughter of Antony. Such considerations would appeal even more strongly to women, and it is clear from these letters that Brutus was ruled by women, and especially by his mother Servilia, the great lady who was able to have a clause removed from a *senatus consultum* (Att. xv. 11. 2). Servilia, Porcia and Tertulla form a Cabinet of ladies, who direct the movements and the actions of Brutus. It is, therefore, not surprising that his policy should appear emotional and inconsistent.

The editors show great judgment in dealing with the vexed question of the letters to Brutus. They consider them all genuine with the possible exception of l. 16 and 17, though they argue very strongly in favour of the genuineness of these also.

They thus occupy a midway position between C. F. W. Müller who says briefly '*Brutinas epistulas credo veras esse omnes, etiam XVI. et XVII.*' and Gurlitt, who, although the champion of the other letters, thinks that 1. 16 and 17 are *Suasoriae* of a later age, though in the case of 1. 17 he thinks § 7 a genuine fragment to which a forgery has been attached. The arguments of the editors in favour of the general authenticity of these letters are to my mind wholly convincing. I find it difficult to understand how anyone ever could have suspected such a letter as I. 8, in which Cicero briefly commends to Brutus a certain C. Nasennius of Suessa who had been a centurion under Metellus Creticus, while several others *e.g.* 1. 5, 1. 6, 1. 11 are full of detail, and very unlike the work of a forger. The two letters 1. 16 and 17 in which Brutus rates Cicero for truckling to Octavian differ from the others in that they contain topics which would naturally present themselves to a forger. This, however, does not prove that they are forgeries. The editors admirably remark (p. 153) 'It is possible that the letters may be the composition of a rhetorician; but it is by no means impossible that they may have been the work of the narrow-minded, stiff, and ungracious Brutus. With regard to the poverty of thought displayed in this letter and the following, we think that a mark of genuineness. When a feeble man gives way to irritability he is generally verbose: and at this time Brutus in his relations with Cicero was dominated by one single ground of complaint, and he urges that complaint in every possible and conceivable way.' This is excellent criticism, and a fair specimen of the notes upon these two letters.

The letters contained in vol. vi. are 114 in number, of which only 11 are written to Atticus. It necessarily follows that in brightness and interest they are inferior to many of those contained in previous volumes. The lighter side of Cicero's correspondence is however represented by a charming letter to Paetus (820), while letters of conspicuous interest are 815, in which Quintus Cicero, characteristically choosing the freedman Tiro for his confidences, writes with his usual *abandon* and indiscretion concerning the past record of Hirtius and Pansa; 877 in which D. Brutus informs Cicero of the story which was in circulation concerning his fatal *mot* regarding young Octavian (*laudandum adolescentem, ornandum, tollendum*), and 896 in

which Pollio tells of the 'fantastic tricks' performed by Balbus, then quaestor at Gades, who, modelling himself upon Caesar, made an actor an *eques*, continued his office of *quattuorvir* for another year after the pattern of Caesar's dictatorship, and appointed magistrates for two years in advance, while, unlike Caesar, he showed savage cruelty in burning alive in the forum an old soldier of Pompeius, and exposing Roman citizens to wild beasts. Most of the letters, however, are melancholy reading. Cicero is struggling hard to organise the republicans, but everywhere has to deal with men who, if not traitors at heart, are blind to all but their immediate advantage. Plancus wishes to step at once into the shoes of Hirtius (862), D. Brutus resents the fact that he was not made one of the decemvirs for the distribution of land to the soldiers (877. 1), Furnius wishes to leave Gaul in order to stand for the praetorship (907), Pollio confesses that he could have done more, if more notice had been taken of him (896. 5), while even young Marcus wants to come home in order to obtain a priesthood (913. 1). With infinite dexterity and patience Cicero brings to bear upon each one the influence most likely to induce him to remain loyal to the party, and above all to remain at the front.

In the usual *Conspectus* at the beginning of the volume the editors give one passage (807. 6) where they successfully defend the reading of the MSS. *quisquam* against the conjecture *quicquam* generally adopted, and two where with great probability they adopt the reading of H Pal., *viz.* 806. 2. *sed* H Pal. (and Erf.): *sed* si M; *sed* *st vulg.*, 861. 3. *nimisque* H Pal., *miisque* M, in *eisque vulg.* They record 13 conjectures of their own, one of which, however, appears to be wrongly included, since in their note on the passage (864. 2) it is ascribed to Cobet. The other cases are 799. 1. *†asta*] a Septimia (*ab ista Boot*).

ib. *sine* *†vallo* Luciliano] *sine* φραγμῶ Luciliano, on the analogy of πεφραγμένως λέγειν. This is highly ingenious. The editors do not mention Gurlitt's brilliant conjecture (published in 1898, when possibly their work was already in print) *sine* φαλλῶ Luciliano. The difficulty which I feel about φραγμῶ is that Lucilius did not hide his meaning, or beat about the bush (Juvenal 1. 165, Persius 1. 115). An unpublished conjecture of Turnebus, which I recently met with, is worth mentioning here, *viz.* *sine* allio, *i.e.* 'the plebeian flavour of Lucilius,' for which may be quoted Varro

(ap. Nonium 201. 6), atavi nostri cum allium ac saepe eorum verba olerent, tamen optime animati erant.

837. 5. The editors add <ab ipso senatu> as having dropped out after *in senatu*. The context seems to require something like *veneror ne possit altera*, or *non potest altera*.

844. 1. consules <esse>. The insertion seems almost necessary, and the corruption is very simple (viz. *ēē* is omitted after *ēs*).

ib. usque in Capitolium deductus maximo clamore atque plausu in rostris collocatus sum]. As this seems to imply that the rostra were on the Capitol, the editors conjecture <et postea reductus> after *deductus*. It is possible that *max* may have dropped out before *maximo*.

850. 2. <sed> statuit sibi eundum <domum>. The addition of *sed* is highly probable. For the second the editors say 'we have added *domum*, which can easily have been lost after *eundum*.' This is quite true but *eundum* rests on very weak authority, viz. *Pal.*³ The reading of M is *statuit id sibi*. Gurlitt says '*excidit non licere*.' Possibly *statuit haud sibi <licere>*.

864. 5. vivere <per se> et pecunias habere . . . volumus. The addition distinctly improves the sense.

865. 5. liceat ergo patrem appellet Ciceronem. referat omnia <ad Ciceronem>, laudet. As Brutus is the writer, elegance can hardly be expected.

866. 3. neu semper primi cuiusque mali excidendi causa sit, ut aliud renascatur illo peius. The editors suggest that *ea* should be inserted after *causa*, 'which might easily have dropped out before the abbreviation *ca*.' This is on palaeographical grounds most ingenious and attractive, but I have some difficulty in construing the passage.

874. 3. seditione quae facta est in legione quarta de Catoniis—in bonam partem accipies—magis mihi probatur militum severitas quam tua]. So the MSS. *Quarta* is corrupt, since that legion was elsewhere. The editors who accept Hermann's *fraude C. Antonii* for *de Catoniis*, suggest either that *quarta* arose from 'a misunderstanding of LEGIONIV' in uncials (V for B as often), a clever suggestion, or that it stands for *capta*, less probably. With Wesenberg they add <clementia> after *tua*, and refer to intrigues of C. Antonius with the troops of Brutus. I would suggest that the soldiers of Brutus had attempted to lynch partisans of Antonius, and that Brutus had suppressed them with severity. The simplest correction of *de Catoniis* is *de Antoni-*

anis. In a letter of Brutus (837. 2) he says of C. Antonius 'et moveor hominis precibus et timeo ne illum aliquorum furor excipiat.' The editors remark on *excipiat* "carry off," a slightly unusual meaning.' I do not find any parallel for *excipere* in the sense of 'rescue,' and if this is the sense, would conjecture *eripiat* (Cf. Dio. Cass. xlvii. 23 ὅπως ἐξαργάσωσιν αὐτὸν). I would suggest that it means 'cut off,' i.e. kill, and that Brutus feared that his soldiers would take the law into their own hands.

913. 1. Domitii, Catonis, Lentuli, Bibulorum. In the Conspectus the editors suggest *Bibuli, aliorum*, a very good suggestion which deserves to be mentioned under the text.

914. 9. ne magis videor providus fuisse, quam gratus. [hoc ipsum nimium]. In the words bracketed the editors recognise the addition of a reader who thought Cicero's statement too highly coloured. This is very attractive. Cf. 819. 2. where a glossator adds in the margin of M *sile obsecro*.

The editors omit to place in this list three conjectures which they print in the text, viz. 842. 4. causae <tamen> non defuit: 864. 5. <id> non concesserim: 897. 3. nemo alio <in> magistratu, the last of which seems necessary. Their modesty also leads them to assign a place to conjectures of other scholars in preference to good suggestions of their own, e.g. 813. 3. haud frequens, (aut frequens MSS. haud infrequens vulg.,) 843. scribis me e maximo otio exisse (scribis me maximo otio egisse MSS.) 906. 2. quoi ego certe favissem (qui ego certe fuisset MSS.).

It is sometimes hard to see on what principle readings are included in this Conspectus or excluded from it, e.g. 869. 1. Madvig's 'fine emendation' equitum milia quinque (equitum M. itaque H. *Pal.*: equitum itaque M) is placed in the Conspectus though printed both by Mendelssohn and Müller, while 842. 3. Celer Pilius, the 'brilliant emendation of Ruete' made in 1883, and since then printed by Müller, does not appear. Also, while omitting from the Conspectus readings of which they express approval under the text or in the Adnotatio Critica e.g. 789. 2. statutum habeo esse Müll. '*luculente*' (statuo habere esse M), 797. qui quidem *Boot*: qui quidem MSS., 'which cannot be right,' 915. 5. obsurdescunt *Manutius* (obdurescunt MSS), 916. 1. mutua Klotz 'very cleverly' (in tua MSS), they include conjectures of which they say nothing, or express disapproval,

under the text, e.g. 808. 4. cura *Rhodium* (sum *MSS*), 826. 3. inita *Kleyn* (ea *MSS*)

I note the following discrepancies:

805. 3. quadret (eaderet *MSS*.) is called under the text, 'the conjecture of Boot and C. W. F. Müller,' in the *Adnotatio Critica* it is assigned to Müller only. It is true that Wesenberg attributes it to Müller, but Boot says *correwi*, and Müller, who prints it silently, does not claim the emendation.

841. 1. The editors learnedly defend *potuissimus* (so *MSS*.) against *potis essemus*, the conjecture of Hellmuth, which, however, appears in the *Conspectus* as a reading 'recorded with approbation.'

864. 5. Under the text we find, 'most *MSS*. omit *ab aliis*, see *Adn. Crit.*' On turning to the *Adn. Crit.* the only note which I find is, 'de hoc loco in *Commentario disputavimus.*'

In spite of their well-known skill as textual critics, the editors are excessively conservative, e.g. 828. 2, they merely speak well of, but do not print, the conjecture of Manutius (revived by Mendelssohn) [$\overline{\text{xx}}$], i.e. 2,000,000 sesterces ($\overline{\text{xx}}$ *MSS*. i.e. 20,000), though it can hardly be supposed that Cornificius was seriously embarrassed, if the Senate did not vote him £180, and 916. 6 they print 'quod exercitus [habent] non contemnendos habent,' remarking '*habent* in textum ex proximo irrepsit.' In this they follow Mendelssohn, the most conservative of critics, but I fail to see why so indisputable an addition should be allowed to survive within brackets and thus deface the text.

The notes throughout reach the high standard previously set up by the editors. Those upon the chronology are particularly admirable and represent a vast amount of labour, not only on the part of other scholars, especially Schmidt and Gurlitt, but also of the editors, who on every point have brought to bear their fresh and unprejudiced judgment. Among the most excellent may be mentioned those on the date of 809 and 859, and generally the notes upon 864, the letter of Brutus round which so much controversy has raged. The comments of the editors are enlivened by witty phrases and happy translations, such as we expect from them.

I add a few remarks which struck me while reading the volume. 787. 2. *magnae cum diligentiae est <tuaeque curae> tum etiam fortunae*. The editors add *tuaeque curae* from H, *om.* M Pal. The position of *tuae* seems awkward, while the omission of the words from Pal., which Gurlitt has

shown to have been copied from the Lorsch MS. used by Cratander, shows that the addition in H has not the undivided support of the Transalpine family. For the same reason I should hesitate to read with the editors from H in 854. 2 *quantam cupiditatem hominibus <honoris> inciat vacuitas*, *om.* honoris M Pal. These passages differ from e.g. 790. 2, 883. 3, 895. 3, where they rightly admit from H Pal. passages omitted by M.

801. 2. The editors print *ensoribus* in italics, with the note 'this word must be supplied.' Not only, however, is it inserted by Cratander, who took readings first printed by himself from a MS. (Lehmann p. 71), but is quoted by Lambinus from his *v. c.* (i.e. Z). On the other hand they print in ordinary type 805. 3, *imperatoris officium*, an addition which has identically the same authority.

807. 2. *agi prorsus vehementer et severe volo*. From this passage I would read in Att. 1. 13. 3. *vehementer adhuc agit <et> severe* (*om.* et, *MSS*. edd.)

ib. 5. *res familiaris movet, rem dico?* The editors approve of Boot's conjecture *res dico*, saying that 'it is Cicero's custom to preserve the exact case and form of the word reflected.' This hardly covers e.g. Phil. ii. 67. *Charybdis...Charybdis dico?* xiv. 22. *decreta est: decretam dico*.

821. 2. *belli omne discrimen in D. Bruto positum...qui si...erupisset Mutina nihil belli reliqui fore videbatur* *MSS*.: all editors write *belli reliquum* with Lambinus. I would suggest that *belli* is dittography of *reliqui*. For the confusion cf. Phil. xiii. 3. *reliquorum V: belli quorum D*.

841. 4. *delevit fugavit eodemque loco ubi erat pugnatum*]. The editors quote Wölflin who says that 'it is more glorious to defeat the enemy on the original battlefield than in a subsequent engagement elsewhere,' which seems fanciful. Some early editors read *fugavitque eodem*, which is a very simple correction.

ib. 5. *Hirtius in ea castra redit, unde Pansa exierat*. The editors say that *redit* is a historical present coupled with a past tense. In *MSS*. however, *redit* is frequently written for *rediit*, which is restored by editors, e.g. Phil. xiii 17: cf. Att. 1. 14. 7. *redii* Madvig: *redi* *MSS*.

864. 1. *Particulam litterarum tuarum*]. I prefer *litterularum* the reading of the *v. c.* Cratandri (C). Brutus expresses his spleen by the two diminutives.

882. 3. *Rhodium autem tanta in pravitate animadverti*]. The editors remark that the

in is curious. The omission of *esse* seems more so. Possibly *in pravitate esse* should be read, *esse* (*i.e.* *ēē*) having dropped out after *-te*.

ib. 5. (Rhodii)...nullo exemplo neque nostra ex parte <provocati> neque nostro praesentium neque imminenti Italiae urbiue nostrae periculo...mederi... voluerunt]. *Provocati* is an addition of Wesenberg, while *voluerunt* is only read by some inferior MSS. (*noluerunt* M). The sentence is very awkward in spite of these changes, as will be seen from the paraphrase given by the editors, who make the apodosis begin with *neque nostro praesentium* etc. It would be simpler to remove *neque* before *nostro*, as introduced from the preceding *neque*, and otherwise to read with M, *viz.* nullo exemplo neque nostra ex parte neque nostro praesentium imminenti Italiae...periculo...mederi... noluerunt, *i.e.* 'without any provocation from our party or myself here present, they have refused to help in averting the danger' etc.

ib. 6. Pecuniam ... cogam omnibusque rationibus ad vos mittam]. The editors say that 'inferior MSS. read *omnibus cum rationibus*.' Old editors print silently *omnibusque cum rationibus*, as I think rightly (Cf. Mendelssohn 'est sane mirus nudus ablativus,') but I cannot find any MS. authority for *cum*.

896. 3. depressus in ludum bis gratis depugnasset]. The editors render 'compelled to join the gladiators' school.' Possibly *deprehensus* should be read for *depressus*, in ludum being an ungrammatical addition from the context.

900. This letter used to form part of 859 (Fam. xi. 13), a letter of D. Brutus. Gurlitt acutely saw that it is a despatch of Plancus and D. Brutus to the Senate after they had joined forces, an important event alluded to elsewhere (905, 913. 2, 916. 4). It would be well to add a reference to Gurlitt's dissertation.

910. tecum enim illum [et te] in Italiam celeriter esse venturum confido]. The editors suggest that *et te* is a gloss on *tecum*. Possibly it is a senseless variant for *esse*, which after being relegated to the margin, has been inserted in the wrong place.

914. 1. se exercuit in verissimo genere dicendi]. Perhaps *severissimo* should be read cf. Brut. 113. *severum* genus dicendi, Quintil. x. 1. 131 *severiore* genere satis firmatis legendus. The reference to Brut. 23 'qui eloquentiae verae dat operam' is hardly a sufficient parallel.

ib. 5. Italiae sua studia profitenti remi-

sistis], The editors translate 'declined to use.' Possibly, *renuntiavistis*, 'you said farewell to,' cf. Seneca, Nat. Q. vi. 1. 10 Campaniae renuntiavere, Quintil. x. 7. 1. civilibus officiis renuntiabit.

The spelling used in the volume is not always consistent, *e.g.* 901. 4. we find *Laudiceam* (so *II, Pal.*, *Laodiceam M*) but 891. 7, *Laodicea* (so *M*, *Laudicea II. Pal.*). The evidence seems the same in each case. In 915. 4. we find *gerundis*, though *-endus* is generally adopted. In 901. 3. *civitatium* but 914. 11. *civitatum* (Neue 1², p. 266 prefers *civitatium*). A note seems required on the rare form *scii* used by Plancus (808. 1).

I have noted the following misprints which are not rectified in the list of *Errata*, p. xxxv. note, for Caelius, read Calenus; letter 814. 2 for *nemini*, read *nemini*; 860. 3 in the text *et* has been accidentally omitted before *ab re publica*; 870. 2 in the note upon *exercitu*, for 'they fell out in H,' read 'they fell out in M'; 900, in the note upon the date, for 869, read 859: Frag. Epp. ad. C. Caesarem I. iii. for *radito*, read *tradito*; 914. 4 for *consentens*, *nos* read *consentiens—nos*. In 882. 1. I prefer the punctuation of Müller *novarum, maximeque* to that of the editors, *novarum. Maximeque*.

Now that the task of the Dublin editors is so nearly completed, one may be permitted shortly to summarise their services towards the study of Cicero's Letters. They have given us the correspondence chronologically arranged with Historical Introductions and sketches of the leading men which are remarkable for learning, sobriety of judgment and lightness of touch. The notes combine in a succinct form the results gained by the most ancient and the most recent scholars, extracted alike from the ill-digested *Variorum* and from countless monographs. Above all the editors have never feared to amuse as well as to instruct their readers. In their six volumes there are no dull pages. With this brilliancy they have combined most valuable original work. Dr. Purser's collation of the Harleian MSS. was an important contribution to knowledge, while the conjectures of the joint-editors have gained them an honourable place in the long list of scholars who have worked upon the purification of the text. The respect with which Continental critics regard their work is shewn by the fact that the veteran editor of Cicero, C. F. W. Müller, quotes their variants *in extenso*. Such consideration is rarely shewn to English scholars, and the editors must be conscious of that

modest satisfaction expressed by Cicero's quotation from Naeivius.

Laetus sum laudari me abs te, pater, a laudato viro.

They are careful to point out that their work is not final. It is impossible that it should be, since the conditions have greatly changed during the past twenty years. A flood of light has been thrown upon various problems connected with the Letters by German scholars, and notably by Lehmann, Gurlitt, Schmidt and Mendelssohn. Indeed during this period more progress has been

made than at any previous epoch, except possibly that of the great French scholars, Lambinus, Bosius, and Turnebus. The editors therefore have modified their views on various points and do not claim to be consistent throughout. Such consistency will doubtless be arrived at eventually by a new edition of the earlier volumes. Meanwhile the English student can gratefully reflect that he is able to read the letters of Cicero in greater comfort and with the help of fuller knowledge at his disposal than anyone who is not familiar with his tongue.

ALBERT C. CLARK.

TAYLOR'S HISTORY OF ROME.

A Constitutional and Political History of Rome. By T. M. TAYLOR, M.A. Methuen and Co. Pp. 507. 7s. 6d.

MR. TAYLOR has supplied a very real want, and on the whole has supplied it well. Teachers and pupils will now be able without plunging into the mazes of Mommsen's *Staatsrecht* to acquire a good general notion of such important matters as the powers of the Senate in the successive stages of its history, the origin and development of the Equestrian 'Order', the financial and military organization of various epochs. Here is set forth in our own tongue an outline of the advance of the Roman polity from an aristocracy of birth through what seemed an incipient democracy to the rule of a nobility of office, and thence after a space of revolution and anarchy to the military monarchy; the necessity of this last and the benefits it brought to the world at large, Mr. Taylor recognizes emphatically without falling down and worshipping Caesar as a faultless being.

He is successful, once the extreme obscurity of the early period is left behind, in indicating the relations of the external, especially the military, history to the growth and working of the constitution. This is notably the case in the account of the Punic Wars (pp. 177-188), where the weak and strong qualities of both senate and populus are shewn with admirable fairness of appreciation. The effect of important personalities, too,—an element which may easily be slighted in a book of this kind,—is clearly brought out; the sketches of Flaminius (p. 173 f.), Scipio the Elder (p. 188), Gaius Gracchus (p. 247 f.), are particularly

good. The summary that closes the chapters on "The Struggle between the Orders" (p. 142 f.), the account of Gaius Gracchus' legislation (p. 248 ff.), that of Caesar's work (p. 363 ff.), the outline of the various tentatives made by Augustus for clothing his autocratic power (p. 408 ff.) and the chapter on "The Princes and the Government" (p. 425 ff.) are well executed and will doubtless be found very useful.

The first part of the book is less satisfactory, partly of necessity, owing to the uncertainties of the subject. Mr. Taylor is careful to warn his readers against resting in fancied security on any pretty hypothesis, and contrives to indicate in small space several of the divergent views, in many cases pointing out the difficulties that attend on each supposition—a method which the average student will probably not appreciate, though it is more salutary than dogmatism on matters so doubtful. However, a clear and logical theory is given of the origin and relations of the Concilium Plebis arranged by curies and by tribes, and the Comitia Tributa (pp. 61, 66, 72); also of the nature of plebiscita before 449 B.C. and the changes effected by the three laws supposed to have dealt with their validity (p. 85 ff.). In a few passages the difficulty of the subject is increased by a want of lucidity in the treatment. Thus on p. 153 'Another class of "cives Romani," or full citizens, was formed by the Roman colonies' should imply by its 'another' that these were not included in the tribes, a statement which presumably is not intended. And similarly on p. 155 the discussion of the 'praefecturae' is introduced by 'There was also a class of towns

called "Praefecturae," although the conclusion is that these were the same as the second class of municipia mentioned just before. In the summary of political parties on p. 237 f, the difference should be made clearer between the 'Whig' party of the Elder Scipio and the 'Moderates' such as Aemilius Paullus who are distinguished from the 'Whigs.'

On p. 168 it is said that in the reform of the Comitia Centuriata the property qualifications for the various classes were probably not raised; a few lines lower down we are told that the assessments were raised; even if there is no real contradiction the expression might be improved. These are small points, but not unimportant as tending to confusion. I have noted one or two mistakes. Thus Cicero's noteworthy interview with Caesar in 49 B.C. took place at Formiae, not at Arpinum (p. 359), though the letter describing it is dated from the latter place. Only one son of Drusus was adopted by Tiberius, was popular and died before his adoptive father; Drusus the younger whom Mr. Taylor appears to have in mind as the other person answering to this description was the son of Tiberius. If 296 B.C. is given as the date of the publication of the Calendar (p. 137), it should not be stated that patricians alone were eligible to the Pontificate, since this ceased to be the case in 300 B.C. (p. 138).

Mr. Taylor by no means always adopts the views of Mommsen's *Staatsrecht*. Thus he accepts (p. 58) the oath by the whole community as the basis of the sacrosanct character of the Tribunes, a theory which Mommsen (*Staatsr.* 23. 287) believes to be a bit of later constructive work. Mommsen's conjectures as to the probable date of the Reform in the Comitia Centuriata and its connection with Flaminius are adopted, but the commonly current view is taken as to

the number of centuries, namely that there were 70 for each class (p. 169); Mommsen's hypothesis grouping the 280 divisions of the 2nd-5th classes into 100 centuries (*Staatsr.* 3. 275 ff.) is not mentioned. *Patres Conscripti* are 'Senators on the Roll' with Willems, not 'Fathers and Enrolled' with Mommsen (p. 48). Those who interpret thus and at the same time accept, as Mr. Taylor does, the admission of plebeian members, must remember that they are supposing plebeians to have been formally included under the name 'patres.' It seems to me that this is impossible and that the impossibility is a strong argument for the 'Fathers and Enrolled' view, to which the 'qui patres qui conscripti' of Festus also lends support.

Mr. Taylor does not consider Cicero a 'trimmer' (p. 316); he also refuses the quality of statesman (pp. 317, 326), but grants that of honest republican (pp. 340, 380). The estimate given of Pompey is extremely contemptuous (p. 360 f.), though his loyalty to the republic is allowed to be a merit and not, as Mommsen would have it, a disgrace (p. 335). The introduction of monarchy is regarded not as a necessary evil but as a gain, and on the slaying of Caesar, Mr. Taylor pronounces that 'a more brutal and stupid crime was never perpetrated' (p. 377). Tiberius he believes to have shown himself a ruler of great ability in his management of the provinces and the army (p. 476); but the evils of the trials for *Maestas* are not passed over and no attempt is made to whitewash Gaius or Nero, though even under Nero the government is declared to have been good in the main (p. 484). The impression left by the book is that of great fairness and of a lucid and interesting presentment of a large proportion of the matters treated.

M. ALFORD.

ROUSE'S DEMONSTRATIONS IN GREEK IAMBIC VERSE.

Demonstrations in Greek Iambic Verse. By W. H. D. ROUSE, M.A., Cambridge. University Press. Pp. viii., 248.

MR. ROUSE, like King George I, 'surveying with judicious eyes the state of both his Universities,' sent to the Clarendon Press his 'demonstrations' in Latin elegiacs, and

has since sent to the Pitt Press a companion volume of demonstrations in Greek iambs. As a Cambridge man, I am sorry to say that I think Oxford had the better bargain. The later book seems to me inferior both in interest and in merit to the earlier.

It is true that much of this inferiority is due to the difference of the subjects. Latin

elegiacs are bound to seem ingenious and usually are so, and to watch a man making them has something of the interest of watching a man cutting fantastic shapes out of an orange peel. Greek iambs, on the other hand, are bound not to seem ingenious and usually are not so, and to watch a man making them is generally not much more interesting than to watch a man peeling potatoes. Mr. Rouse is evidently sensible of this difference, for his demonstrations deal largely with passages of stichomythia, which obviously tax the ingenuity. Besides that, he attempts to import into the problem more limitations than really exist. He begins by dividing iambic lines into twelve types according to the form of the words of which they are composed. So far as I can see, the only useful facts thus disclosed are that a final cretic must be preceded by a short syllable and that a bacchius can only stand just before the penthemimeral caesura. Mr. Rouse says that a molossus can only stand before the final iambus and (apparently) that a cretic can only occur in three positions, all of them behind the penthemimeral caesura. This is inexact.

and $\pi\acute{o}\rho\tilde{\rho}\omega\theta\epsilon\nu\ \epsilon\iota\sigma\acute{o}\psi\epsilon\iota\ \tau\acute{o}\ \Delta\alpha\rho\delta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega\nu\ \pi\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omega\nu$
 $\pi\acute{o}\rho\tilde{\rho}\omega\theta\epsilon\nu\ \epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\delta\acute{\omega}\nu\ \tau\acute{o}\ \Delta\alpha\rho\delta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega\nu\ \pi\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omega\nu$

are good enough lines for occasional use. He says also that a trochaic quadrisyllable can only occur before a final cretic or after an initial palimbacchius. But $\tau\eta\varsigma\ \delta\acute{\rho}\theta\omicron\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\ \Theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\iota\pi\upsilon\mu\eta\gamma\tau\alpha\ \pi\alpha\iota$ is a good line too. In fact, in all his remarks on rhythm he takes too little account of the large number of highly significant monosyllables in Greek. He goes on to show, by examples, that a sense-pause may occur after any syllable in the line and directs the student to break up his lines so that the sense-pause may not 'too often' occur at the caesura or the end of the line. That does not seem good advice for a beginner, who is pretty sure to think that 'too often' means 'very often.' In the various hints that follow nothing is said of the scansion of $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$, $\tau\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$, and I notice (on p. 17) that Mr. Rouse quotes an unmetrical line (Soph. frag. 832) and mis-scans it. It would have been worth while here to call attention to the valuable chapter on the diction of tragedy in Rutherford's *New Phrynichus*. A long chapter is next given on language and style. About half of this, dealing with the similes and metaphors used in tragedy, is interesting, and must have cost much

labour, but is strictly irrelevant, for a translator is surely not at liberty to import similes and metaphors that are not indicated by his original. The remainder, on repetitions, synonyms, compound nouns and adjectives, and allied topics, is admirably well done, and seems to me the most useful part of the book. The 'demonstrations,' twenty-two in number, begin at p. 77. Here pieces of English (all but one in verse) are elaborately considered, by single lines or short passages at a time, with a view to translation. First the choice of words is discussed, then the 'form' or combination, but this division is not strictly maintained. Mr. Rouse appears to think that he is the first person to practise this kind of exercise. He is mistaken: many teachers use it from time to time, myself among them. I must confess, however, that I find these demonstrations almost unreadable. Here is the shortest example that I can find (p. 89):

'Pol. O altares of my country soile.

'WORDS.—'Altar': $\beta\omega\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$. 'Of my country': $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\tilde{\omega}\varsigma$, or paraphrase, as $\tau\eta\varsigma\delta\epsilon$ or $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma\ \pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma\ \chi\theta\omicron\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$.

'FORM.—It is possible to make a line out of the words suggested, but the tautology of $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\tilde{\omega}\varsigma$ and $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ is ugly. We therefore cast about for some verb, such as 'I hail,' 'I salute': $\pi\rho\sigma\kappa\upsilon\nu\omega$. Now we get a simple beginning with spondee ($\beta\omega\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$) and bacchius ($\pi\alpha\tau\rho\tilde{\omega}\varsigma$); $\tau\eta\varsigma\delta\epsilon$ being a trochee, place $\pi\rho\sigma\kappa\upsilon\nu\omega$ in the second cretic position and write:

$\beta\omega\mu\acute{o}\varsigma\ \pi\alpha\tau\rho\tilde{\omega}\varsigma\ \tau\eta\varsigma\delta\epsilon\ \pi\rho\sigma\kappa\upsilon\nu\omega\ \chi\theta\omicron\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$.'

There are 170 pages of this, o *dura doctorem ilia*! No doubt the teacher is only expected to read one copy at a time, but I have difficulty in doing even this, and soon find myself picking out the version and skipping the explanations. There are more ways of making an iambic than of making a pentameter, and the demonstration entirely lacks the charm of the inevitable. The versions also do not seem to me so uniformly good as the Latin elegiacs were. They are not free from slips, such as $\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\ \alpha\mu\acute{\upsilon}\nu\omega\nu$ (p. 124), $\alpha\pi\acute{\omega}\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ (p. 154), $\pi\lambda\alpha\nu\eta\gamma\eta\varsigma\ \delta\acute{o}\delta\omicron\varsigma$ (p. 184), $\phi\lambda\omicron\gamma\alpha\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ (p. 211): and there are some passages which, I think, would not be easily intelligible to a reader who did not know the English. This fault arises naturally from doing the translation by snippets and ignoring such little words as *the, my, his* every time. I will repeat therefore a criticism that I made on the demonstrations in elegiacs and suggest that Mr. Rouse should review his pieces as a whole and himself pass a judgment on the general effect of each. In my experience, this is a necessary part, and often the best part, of every such lesson. In conclusion, I will express my

regret that I am unable to give a more favourable account of a book which evinces on every page the highest qualities of a

teacher, knowledge and cleverness and patience.

J. Gow,

BRIEF NOTICES.

The Histories of Thucydides. Book VI. Translated by E. C. MARCHANT, M.A. Bell's Classical Translations, 1s.

How to Learn Philology: a simple and introductory book for Teachers and Learners. By EUSTACE H. MILES, M.A. Swan Sonnenschein. 5s. net.

THERE is certainly room for a new translation of Thucydides. So far, Dale's holds the field; for Jowett's can hardly be called a serious competitor, if only for its cost. Dale's translation, with all its faults has deserved its success, for, though there are many mistranslations in it, and it has no more style than a financial circular, the student can generally get at the meaning of Thucydides with its help. Jowett, again, had a marvellous art in smoothing over rough places, so that it is often impossible to say whether or no he understood the Greek, and the style is distinctly too modern. In matters of criticism and interpretation Mr. Marchant is ahead of them both, and so far any one who has used his valuable school edition of the sixth book will be ready to trust his judgment. It is not often we find such a questionable rendering as 'they survived the battle' for *περιγενόμενοι τῇ μάχῃ* (vi., 16); and he sometimes distinctly improves upon the received interpretation, as in Chap. 77, where the last phrase is neatly turned 'a master not less shrewd, but less scrupulous' (*οὐκ ἀξυνετωτέρου, κακοξυνετωτέρου δέ*). We may mention that in this place he has been anticipated by Hobbes. As to style, the new version is undoubtedly better than Dale, and we prefer it to Jowett. This is not saying that Mr. Marchant has produced the ideal translation of Thucydides; we speak comparatively. The style is not strong enough, and we doubt if this age of commonplace correctness can produce anything strong enough for Thucydides. Mr. Marchant in his preface speaks in a slighting vein of the old version by 'Leviathan' Hobbes; but Hobbes gives the air of Thucydides better than any other translation we know. He can manage the period as Mr. Marchant

cannot do. See, for example, the end of Chap. 69, and note Hobbes's neat turn for *ἐν παρέργῳ*. Mr. Marchant has '... while the enthusiasm of the subject allies was chiefly concerned with the prospect of immediate and irretrievable ruin in the event of a defeat, though not unprompted by the hope that in return for helping the Athenians to subdue others, they might find their own yoke lightened.' But Hobbes:—'and their subject-confederates came also on with great courage, principally for their better safety, as desperate if they overcame not, and withal upon the by, that by helping the Athenians to subdue the country of another, their own subjection might be easier.' If Hobbes had had Mr. Marchant's knowledge, we need have looked no further for a Thucydides. One word to the publishers, and we have done. Why must they publish their translations so cheap? They are throwing needless temptations in the way of schoolboys. We wish they would give the whole work at six shillings, and there an end.

If we may judge from internal evidence, this book consists of a number of miscellaneous papers set and solved by Mr. Miles in his capacity as "Honours Coach in Classics and Philology." There is a rich variety in the subjects. Beginning with the Advantages of Studying Philology and the relation of the parent language to its offspring, Mr. Miles touches upon Greek Dialects, Latin Inscriptions, Grimm's Law, some General Principles in Philology, the Analysis of Words, some Sound Changes and Technical Terms, Accents and Pronunciation, and then (but not before) he explains How Sounds are Made, the history of the classical Alphabets. The last chapters are on *Sémantique*, Greek Particles, Textual Criticism, and Eminent Philologists, with bibliography in an Appendix. As will be seen, Mr. Miles is not methodical; we should expect the organs of speech and the alphabet to come first, technical terms and principles next, things general before details. We do not think Mr. Miles's is the

right way to learn Philology, but there is no doubt that both teachers and learners will find the book useful. There is, as Mr. Miles says, no practical introduction for those who know nothing; and if the learner will rearrange his knowledge when he has studied this book, he will certainly be able to tackle Giles's *Manual* or Lindsay's *Latin Grammar* with greater benefit. For answer-

ing critical papers this book contains a mine of information. It remains to add that Mr. Miles is on the whole conservative, and a safe guide. The book, as we have said, is not methodical, and it does not cover the ground in any one of its numerous sections; but apart from the faulty form, the matter is good.

W. H. D. R.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

SAUER ON THE THESEION.

Das sogenannte Theseion und sein plastischer Schmuck, von DR. BRUNO SAUER. Leipzig (Giesecke and Devrient). 1899. 4to. Pp. x + 274. 32 M.

THE appearance of a monograph on the Theseion at once suggests a comparison, as the author observes in his opening sentence, with the famous work of Michaelis on the Parthenon. The present work, however, is strangely different in character from that sober and careful survey of all the materials available to illustrate the subject in hand.

After a few pages devoted to a sketch of the mediæval and modern history of the building, the author turns to his main purpose, which is to determine the subjects of the pedimental groups, and so to find a name which shall finally supersede that of Temple of Theseus. As everyone knows, there is not the smallest fragment of sculpture in either pediment, and it was only by degrees that archaeologists became aware that there was once a group at each end. At the east end there are a few holes for supports in the tympanum blocks, and bedding-marks on the floor of the pediment. At the west end there are bedding-marks only. In 1890 Dr. Bruno Sauer, whose useful studies of the floors of the Parthenon pediments are well-known, undertook an examination of the Theseion. He carefully mapped all the marks, but as he frankly tells us, for two and a half years the results seemed almost *nil*. At the end of that time he could only say of the west pediment 'The only certain fact is that no figure stood exactly in the middle' (p. 15). But then, as he goes on to tell, 'Things took a surprising and delightful turn.' As the result of prolonged study, first the east and then the west pediment

groups began to take shape and an 'abstract reconstruction' of both was proved to be feasible. By a happy chance it appeared that in each pediment, but especially in the eastern, there was a figure of a peculiar kind from which it was possible to interpret the subjects, and thereby to name the temple. 'Thus only, the temple and its sculptures had become a single whole, and conclusions were justified, which could never have been drawn merely from the extant sculptures of the nameless building' (p. 15).

After these preliminaries, the reader approaches the investigation with a feeling of profound distrust. The author begins with a minute examination of the bedding-marks of the various plinths, and considers the probable attitudes of the figures that they supported, formulating, with rather more solemnity than the case seems to require, the law that the outlines of the plinths, and therefore of the bedding-marks, conform to the *Grundumrisse* of the statues—a law, however, which he does not always observe (cf. p. 50). The crucial fact in his examination of the East pediment is that between two of the bedding marks, numbered J and K, there is a considerable space, while a cutting away of the tympanum block in the interval to receive a projecting piece of sculpture, indicates that there must have been some piece of sculpture projecting over the interval, and counterpoised by its base. Starting from this foundation, and taking into consideration two holes for metal stays high up on the tympanum blocks, the author decides that the sculpture in question must have been a *Mischwesen*, since he cannot imagine either man or beast that would satisfy the conditions. On the other hand a *Mischwesen* (say Cecrops) might uplift human hands to the level of the upper stay holes, and if it projected over its base, the human

torso might be comfortably counter-balanced by a mass of curling tail.

The West pediment has no such significant message for the author, but he finds that the two ends were occupied with teams of four horses rising and sinking (as on the Parthenon, but withershins) and the middle by two seated figures, and a rather smaller kneeling figure.

At this point in the investigation (p. 51) the reader is solemnly warned that what follows is not written for the sceptic. Hitherto we have been examining actual marks on the floor; we now have to build upon them. The first thing to be done is to cast around for possible gods to own the subjects that were shown by the figures that stood on the plinths, that fitted the beds, that lie in the floors of the pediments of the temple that Sauer has rebuilt. The possibilities seem numerous, but after scrutiny the deities concerned are limited to Aphrodite, Apollo, Ares, Hephaestos, or Heracles (arranged with the impartiality of an alphabetical order). But for various reasons, all are ruled out except Hephaestos. The *Mischwesen* is Cecrops, and the scene is the birth of Erichthonios, and the temple is the Hephaisteion, tenanted jointly by Athene and Hephaestos. One trifling objection occurs, that Hephaestos himself, though he appears on vase paintings of the subject, is not present in the restored pediment of his own temple. Athene, seated, occupies the middle. Hephaestos might have stood beside her, but does not, for what reason the author cannot say (p. 70). Having recovered the pediment it only remains to criticize it, and the sculptor is roughly handled for his artistic mistakes. 'He left out entirely an important personage, he has torn asunder the principal group, which one would like to see as closely united as possible, he has substituted a moment of mere preparation for that of most pregnant meaning, he has omitted to inform us whence Ge and the child have come from. These are four bad offences against custom, and the artist has hardly anything to adduce in his defence, except the constraint of the unfavourable space' (p. 72). The criticism may be just as applied to the published pediment, but on the evidence an impartial reader may think it hard upon the reputation of Amphion of Cnossos (who is subsequently drawn from his retreat and identified as the culprit) that he should be called on to defend the composition.

It is unnecessary to examine the west pediment at length. It is sufficient to say that it represents Hephaestos, newly fallen

from Olympos and doing homage to Thetis, who, as we know, received him kindly on that occasion (*Iliad* xviii. 394). Hephaestos is represented as a youth, lightly bending on one knee. There is no indication whatever of how

'From morn

To noon he fell, from noon to dewy eve
A summer's day, and with the setting sun
Dropt from the zenith like a falling star.'

Such are the main outlines of the investigation. The proofs, if proofs they can be called, absolutely fail to convince, and the drawings in which the conclusions are embodied are insipid and improbable. The whole fabric falls to pieces when an alternative is proposed. In this connexion it is interesting to observe that Prof. Furtwaengler (who has himself on occasion obtained notable results from a study of footprints on pedestals—see *Meisterwerke*, pp. 451–506) has brushed away Sauer's 'fantastic reconstructions' in order to substitute two figures which were obtained independently in Rome, and are now together in the Jacobsen collection at Ny Carlsberg (*Sitzungsber. d. Philos.-philol. Cl. d. k. bayer. Akad.* 1899, ii. p. 279). The figures are Niobids, from a pediment group of 450–440 B.C. by Cresilas, and may be assigned to the Theseion, which in that case is a temple of Apollo Patroos. Furtwaengler hopes to obtain casts of the plinths, and try if they can be fitted to the bedding marks of the pediment. For the present purpose it is only necessary to remark that the two figures are quite unlike anything imagined by Sauer.

After discussing the pediments, with the results above described, the author begins a more sane and profitable examination of sculptures that really exist. Probably there are few readers who will not obtain a clearer conception of the more mutilated metopes from a study of his plates, and the superimposed tracing-paper restorations. But it is on his rediscovery of the pedimental groups that the author lays most stress. His solution is proposed in all good faith, but a parody of current archaeological methods would not be written otherwise.

A. H. SMITH.

SCHMIDT'S *VILLAS OF CICERO*.

Ciceros Villen. von OTTO EDUARD SCHMIDT.
Leipzig, Teubner. 1899.

No one has deserved better of Cicero's Epistles than Dr. O. E. Schmidt. On every

department of investigation which bears on their restoration, arrangement and elucidation, he has contributed disquisitions learned, acute, patient, comprehensive, and convincing. All these qualities are exhibited in this attractive treatise on Cicero's Villas; but there is something additional here which we have not noticed elsewhere in his writings, vivid description of landscape, poetical feeling for the mass of associations which every spot almost of Italian ground calls up, and deep sympathy for the 'humanity' of the great man to whose memory he is devoting his learning and his genius.

There is a natural tendency among archaeologists to dispute any traditional site of a celebrated place or event. In each locality where we know Cicero had a Villa, some spot is pointed out to the tourist as the Villa di Cicerone: but archaeologists are loth to accept them. Thus for the Tusculanum they reject the position which the guide-books give on the hill sloping up from Frascati to the Castle of Tusculum, and put it down in the valley near the Via Latina. Dr. Schmidt seems to me to have all but demonstrated that Cicero's Villa lay on the hill; see his admirable discussion, pp. 31-33, especially the quotation from the Schol. Cruquianus on Horace Epod. 1. 29 '*Tusculi superni*, hoc est in monte siti ad cuius latera superiora Cicero suam villam habebat Tusculanam.' In the course of this discussion he maintains with a high degree of probability the view that the Aqua Crabra was an aqueduct which brought water from the high hills east of Tusculum and was used mainly, if not entirely, by the numerous villas which studded the slope of the Tusculan hill; cf. Frontinus *De Aq.* 9 ea (sc. Aqua Crabra) namque est quam omnes villae tractus eius per vicem in dies modulosque certos dispensatam accipiunt: Strabo v. 239 states that the villas were mostly on the rising ground. Again Dr. Schmidt shows (pp. 53 ff.), against Overbeck, that the Villa di Cicerone just outside the walls of Pompeii, on the Street of the Tombs, must have been his Pompeianum. No other place in this vicinity, says Dr. Schmidt, is visible from Bauli (cf. *Acad.* ii. 80), and from no other place close to Pompeii could his near neighbour Marius, who probably owned what is called the Villa of Diomedes, see the bay of Stabiae (cf. *Fam.* vii. 1. 1). There is considerable probability that Cicero's Formianum, also called Caietanum (*Att.* i. 4. 3), was where local opinion places it, viz. in the Villa Caposele, where the inscription of an Arrius was found, *C.I.L.* x.

6101; and the round tower near Formiae called Sepolero di Cicerone almost certainly stands on the spot where the orator was murdered, even though it may not have been intended to perpetuate his memory (p. 29). The position of the Villa di Cicerone west of Puteoli was probably the Puteolanum. It is also called horti Cluviani, and was owned by the banker Cluvius. In 45 B.C., on the death of Cluvius, it was bought by Cicero as a speculation and appears to have been let out by him at a considerable profit; he hoped ultimately to get 100 per cent. on his outlay (this seems to be the meaning of *Att.* xiv. 10. 3). The position of the Cumanum, the fashionable villa where Cicero entertained his distinguished guests such as Caesar, is accurately described by Pliny *H.N.* xxxi. 6—who, however, erroneously calls it Academia, which doubtless was a gymnasium in the Cumanum, cp. the Academia and Lyceum in the Tusculanum (*Att.* i. 4. 3, *Tusc.* ii. 9, *De Div.* i. 8)—as on the Lucrine Lake, where it was skirted by the road from Lake Avernus to Puteoli. It accordingly lies buried under Monte Nuovo. The house which Cicero owned at Antium cannot be fixed; perhaps it has been swallowed up by the sea. Nor the lodge at Astura. As regards the Arpinas, there is universal agreement that it lay in the delta formed at the junction of the Fibrenus and the Liris, and most probably on the spot where the Dominican convent of S. Paolo now stands.

Interspersed with arguments establishing the position of the villas are interesting discussions on details. The Amaltheum Dr. S. regards as an integral part of the villa at Arpinum, a sort of basilica at its eastern end. I should prefer to consider it an independent little temple in the grounds. As regards *τοποθεσία* (*Att.* i. 16, 18 Velim ad me scribas cuiusmodi sit Ἀμαλθεῖον tuum quo ornatu, qua *τοποθεσία*) he seems to hold that it refers to paintings of landscapes on the walls of the shrine. Perhaps a simpler view would be to take it as referring to the surroundings which would form a 'setting,' accessories and background, to the shrine itself, such as (say) flower-beds, fountains, trees. Indeed we hear of plane-trees which were planted about the Amaltheum of Atticus *De Leg.* ii. 7. The actual ornamentation of the shrine itself would seem to be included under 'ornatu.' And it is not by any means certain that the relief which Dr. S. (p. 18) adduces from Roscher, *Lexikon der Mythologie* i. 263 refers to the nourishing of Zeus by Amalthea, cf. Saglio in his *Dict.* i. p. 220.

The arguments by which Dr. S. (pp. 20-23) desires to convince himself that Cicero's earthly remains rest with those of his fathers in his ancestral home, must fail to carry conviction to his readers, however willing they may be to believe it. Martial (xi. 48) says that Silius Italicus owned the tomb of Virgil and the lands of Cicero, and that neither Virgil nor Cicero would have preferred any other heir *sui tumulive larisve*. It would appear that the poet meant *tumuli* to refer to Virgil, and *laris* to Cicero: and the passage cannot be adduced as a proof that in owning the Arpinate estate Silius owned the tomb of Cicero. But that it was the Arpinate estate which Silius owned, not the Tusculanum or Cumanum, Dr. S. and Nissen are right in holding. The Arpinas was the only villa of Cicero's with a considerable amount of land attached. The riddle in *Att.* xii. 47 (40), 3 as to the owner of a magnificent villa at Baiae (optimas Baias) who yet spent a considerable part of his time at lonely Astura is answered by Dr. S. as evidently referring to Hortensius. Possibly, but not evidently. True, it was at Astura that Cicero conceived, if he did not actually write, the famous treatise which bears that orator's name: but the splendid villa of Hortensius was at Bauli south of Baiae (*Acad.* ii. 9) while the villa of Hortensius which Cicero wished to buy was at Puteoli (*Att.* vii. 3, 9). It was perhaps an inferior building which Cicero intended to let out as a speculation like the Cluviana praedia. In Cicero's time we find that Philippus, the step-father of Augustus spent a portion of his time at Astura, *Att.* xii. 9: 16: 18, 1: xv. 12, 2; though he owned a villa close to Cicero's Cumanum, xiv. 11, 2; cf. xiii. 52, 1: but the imperfects (*habebat . . . solebat*) show that the reference is to a man who was dead. Perhaps Cicero was thinking of the father of Philippus, the great orator, who may have left the villas in both places to his son.

That Cicero's friend Marius owned the so-called Villa of Diomedes just outside Pompeii, Dr. S. thinks probable pp. 56, 57. It would appear that Marius as well as Cicero (see pp. 48, 55, 61) liked to have a view of the sea when he was working; so he made a window in the back of his house which gave him a view of the Bay of Stabiae. The passage *Fam.* vii. 1, 1 might accordingly be thus emended '*ex quo tibi <fenestras> perforasti et patefecisti sinum Stabianum.*' The latter word got out of place (or just possibly was a gloss on *sinum*), was written over *fenestras*, and finally extruded it: *perforare* is used in two passages

of Cicero with reference to opening out a window, cf. *N.D.* iii. 9; *Tusc.* i. 46.

But the learning and ingenuity of the author—and they are great—are not more worthy of admiration than the generous and warm sympathy which he has for Cicero, the man. We gladly quote at length a passage towards the end of the treatise (p. 61), not only because it sums up the many relations in which the many-sided Cicero stood to his villas, but also because it is instinct with the feeling which all broad-minded and fair-minded critics of Cicero must entertain for his whole personality.

'There can be no doubt. The Pompeianum was as regards its position the crown of all the possessions of Cicero. Here as well as at Tusculanum he was not the statesman as at Rome, nor the philosophizing country-gentleman as at Arpinum; not the bearer of his great name and the man of society as at the Lucrine Lake, nor the representative of the earning-classes and man of business as at Formiae and Puteoli: here he was not the cheerful comrade of his friends as at Antium, nor the mourning father as at Astura—but here he was a man in the highest sense of the word. And his humanity was after all the crown too of his nature, and of this no one can rob him, not even he who disputes his title to be a statesman, an orator or a writer. Pure human-ness remains, after all is said, the greatest and most refreshing element in his letters and in his philosophical writings; and the imperishable value of these lies just in this, that they are the outcome of a living personality and let us feel throughout the pulsation of real life.'

L. C. PURSER.

MONTHLY RECORD.

GERMANY.

Rhenish Provinces.—The pre-Roman and Roman fortifications in Northern Alsace and the Southern Pfalz have now been thoroughly investigated. Twenty-four new earthworks have been brought to light, and a series of tumuli and ancient trackways surveyed. There was evidently a complete system of fortification against attacks from the East, as indicated by the series of small *castella* along the roads. These appear to be the *burgi* of Vegetius and Orosius. On the Wasenburg by Niederbronn were found about twenty sculptures of late Roman date, including a copy of Hermes with the child Dionysos in relief.

Investigations have also been made on the right bank of the Rhine, with similar results. These earthworks appear to fall into four classes, two barbarian and two Roman: (1) pre-Roman, oval and ring-shaped; (2) post-Roman quadrangular "refuges"; (3) late Roman road and river-passage forts of irregular form; (4) late Roman *speculae*.¹

Köngen.—At this well-known Roman station several interesting objects have lately been found. Among them are a milestone of A.D. 129 inscribed A SYMEL [OCENNA] M P XXVIII; and an inscription: I H D D I O M | PLATIAE D C | ... MELOCENES | VICI GRINAR | MACERIAM D S P. This fixes the situation of Grinario, mentioned in the Peutinger Table, but not hitherto settled. It is suggested that the second and third lines should be restored PLATIAE DENTRAE SYMELOCENES. The distance between Sumelocenna and Grinario is now fixed for the first time by these two inscriptions.²

ITALY.

Rome.—Excavations are taking place under the Church of S. Cecilia, where the discovery of a bath-room has led to the finding of a whole palace of considerable extent, dating from the latter half of the second century. The walls are of brickwork, with marble decorations, and there are pavements of mosaic. Two good marble sarcophagi were found, one representing the Calydonian boar hunt.³

The excavation of the Basilica Aemilia has been concluded for the time being, but sufficient knowledge has been gained of its plan and elevation. It consists of three parts: a central hall with nave and

aisles, two rows of *tabernac* or cells on either side opening outwards, and porticoes on the long sides. The central hall or basilica proper resembles Trajan's, except that it has two aisles instead of four. The pavements which are well preserved, were covered with loose copper coins of about 500 A.D., many melted together in masses. The central hall had an upper colonnade like that of the Basilica Julia. On the frieze of the lower order is a commemorative inscription of which only two fragments have so far been recovered, with the words REST . . . PAVL. But even these tell us something of the history of the building. It was, as we know, rebuilt by L. Aemilius Paullus in B.C. 59 with the spoils of Gaulish wars, and solemnly dedicated in B.C. 34, after twenty-five years' work. The fragments recently discovered are of the time of Tiberius.⁴

ASIA MINOR.

Ephesus.—Excavations in the theatre have resulted in the laying bare of the stage-buildings and orchestra, also of the huge north wall of the auditorium, and the streets leading up to it; the work on the south side is still in progress. The partial draining of the marshes in the direction of the ancient harbour has yielded a large archway of Hellenic times, the end of a street from the theatre. Numerous inscriptions and sculptures are now at Vienna. They include a life-size bronze athlete and a bronze group of Herakles and a Centaur, both from the Roman Agora, and a series of statues and reliefs from the decoration of the theatre-buildings.⁵

H. B. WALTERS.

¹ *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 17 Feb.

² *Ibid.* 10 March.

³ *Athenaeum*, 13 Jan.

⁴ *Athenaeum*, March 3.

⁵ *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 20 Jan.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. Vol. 55, Part 1. 1900.

Etruskisch-Kampanische Urkunde, F. Buecheler. Here is given the text of an Etruscan inscription found on a clay slab in the cemetery of old Capua, which since last year has been in the royal museum in Berlin. *Zu Platons Philebus*, C. Apelt. Various critical and explanatory notes. *Untersuchungen zu Ciceros Timaeus*, C. Fries (conclusion). The date of the preface is after the *Academia*, so after B.C. 45, in which year Nigidius Figulus died. The fragment was about the time of the *Tusculans* and there is no difficulty in reconciling the date of the fragment with that of the preface. It is difficult, on account of Cicero's eclecticism, to say what was his object in making the translation—Hermann's hypothesis that we may see in this part of a dialogue upon *φυσικά* is probable. In an appendix are given the readings of cod. Par. 6624, some extracts from the translation by Marsilius Ficinus, and the reason why no fragments of Cicero's translation of the *Oeconomica* are given upon the question of the authenticity of the *Timaeus*. *Der Schluss der aeolischen Epos vom Zorne des Achill*, W. Helbig. The old Aeolic epic ended with the death of Hector. When taken over by the Ionians it was re-edited and various interpolations made. It is probable that 184–191 of Book 23 were

added by the Ionian editor, whose business it was to make a more or less consistent whole out of poems of different styles and partly inconsistent contents. *Neue Fluchtafel*, R. Wünsch. Some elucidations of Ziebarth's *Neue attische Fluchtafel*. *Die Idee der ersten Eclogie Vergils*, M. Schanz. Tityrus combines in himself two irreconcilable elements—if Augustus is to be thanked for giving him freedom, he must be a slave, if it is for protecting his property, then Tityrus must be a free man. He is at once the representative of Vergil and of the Roman people. *Vermischtes zu den griechischen Lyrikern und aus Papyri*, F. Blass. The well-known fact that the Greek poets, lyric as well as tragic, were accustomed to strengthen the correspondence between strophe and antistrophe by the use of like-sounding words is illustrated. Critical notes on some of the fragments published by Grenfell and Hunt. *Der Inhalt des Georgos von Menander*, K. Dziatzko (conclusion). Examines the *Epidicus* in connexion with the *Georgos*, and thinks that Plautus imitated with great independence. *Zur aristotelischen καθάρις*, G. Lehnert. Agrees with Nicolai's polemic against the statement 'that the end of tragedy is the arousing of the passions, and that the best tragedy is that which arouses the passions to the highest degree, not that which is intended to purify them.' *Porcius*

Licinus über den Anfang der römischen Kunst-dichtung, R. Büttner. Maintains the usual opinion that the lines of Porcius Licinus quoted by Gellius (xvii. 21, 42) refer to Ennius, while Leo and Schanz refer them to Livius Andronicus. *Der Pindarcommentator Chrysippos*, A. Koerte. He was one of the successors of Aristarchus and may be put about the end of the second century B.C. Probably he is the one mentioned by Cicero in a letter to his brother (54/3) and the pedagogue to whom Cicero entrusted his son. *Zur Epitome des Adamantios*, R. Foerster. A new text given from a Paris MS.

MISCELLAN. *Varia*, L. Radermacher. *De Sophoclis Electra loco nondum satis explicato*, J. M. Stahl. On vv. 221-229. *Der anonyme Hermogenes-Kommentar in Messina*, H. Rabe. The text given with critical notes. *Zu den versus cuiusdam Scoti de alphabeto*, A. Breysig. *Berichtigung und Entgegnung zu Thukydides*, J. M. Stahl. On iv. 63. 1 διὰ τὸ ἥδη φοβεροῦς παρόντας.

Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, etc. Vol. 3. Part 9. 1899.

Zum gegenwärtigen Stande der Platonischen Frage (conclusion), O. Immisch. He makes out five groups, (1) early works: the two *Hippias* and *Ion*. In 403 *Phaedrus* and soon afterwards *Protagoras*. (2) The first decade of the 4th cent. till the first Sicilian journey: *Gorgias* (399 or thereabout). Residence in Megara and journeys: *Apology*, *Crito*, *Euthyphro*, *Meno* (about 395), *Cratylus*, *Rep. I. Rep. V. 18-VII.* (3) From the date of the founding of a school to the second journey (367) or, in round numbers, the second and third decades of the 4th cent. The didactic group, i.e. *Laches*, *Euthydemus*, *Menexenus*, *Charmides*, *Lysis*, *Rep. II.-V. 16* (except IV. 6-19), *Symposium* (after 384), *Phaedo*. (4) Between the second and third journeys (361): completion of the *Republic*, *Theaetetus*. (5) Dialogues of old age: *Parmenides*, *Philebus*, *Sophistes*, *Politicus*, *Timaeus*, *Critias*, *Leges*. This order is based on the development of the artistic form of the dialogue, not on statistics of language.

Part. 10. *Die neueren Forschungen in Kleinasien*, E. Kalinka. Excavations in Pergamum, Magnesia, Priene, etc. give us information about the classical period. Next are the geographical and topographical investigations in the provinces, the makings of ancient streets and naming of ruined statues. Most works of the best art are in safety, for coins the land is almost an undiscovered country. Most of the inscriptions (about 20,000) are in Greek; there are about 150 in the Lycian tongue, probably of 6th-4th cent. B.C. Kalinka agrees with Kretschmer in thinking that the Lycians with the Carians, Pisidians and Cilicians are neither semitic nor indogermanic in language but belong to a group by themselves. *Die Stellung der arbeitenden Klassen in Hellas und Rom*, F. Cauer. Hesiod first tells us of the worth of labour. At first it was honoured at Athens. The Sophists set no value on it however and Socrates, while he honoured the labourer as such, considered him unfit for politics. Greek philosophy despised the common workman, as by this time such work was done by slaves. In Rome demoralisation quickly followed the wholesale expropriation of the small landholders. The estates were worked by slaves, while the peasants flocked to Rome. Sulla's colonies were a failure; Caesar and Augustus made a new position for peasants but they could not withstand the social forces against them.

Mnemosyne. Vol. 27. Part 4. 1899.

Spicilegium Statianum, H. T. Karsten. *Varia ad varios*, H. van Herwerden. Notes on Pindar, Theo-

critus, Sophocles, the Oxyrhynchus papyri, Epigraphica, Photii Lexicon, Stobaei Florilegium, and Stobaei Eclogae. *Observationes Miscellaneae ad Plutarchi Vitae Parallelas* (continued), S. A. Naber. *Quisquilae* II., J. W. Beck. On *Porro*=antea, supra, prius. Besides in Apuleius this meaning is found in *Ov. Fasti* I. 635 and *Cic. Sen.* § 43. On *Distentare vel Distennare* in Apuleius, illustrated by Plautus.

Vol. 28. Part I, 1900.

De fragmentis Ennianis a Paullo Merula editis, P. J. Blok. Maintains the good faith of Merula in this publication. *Acidilem gero*=acidilitatem gero, J. W. Beck. See *Apul. (Met. I 24)* for this. *Ad Aeschyl. Agam.* 25 sqq. J. C. Vollgraff. In 32 reads τὰ δεσποτῶν γὰρ ἐπὶ περὶνθ' ὡς ἥδουαι. *Apulei Floridorum fragmentum xvi.*, J. van der Vliet. Critical notes. *Ad Anthologice Graecae librum vii.*, H. van Herwerden. Critical notes on Stadtmüller's edition. *Ad Tertullianum*, J. W. Beck. Note on *Apolog.* 24. *Thucydidea*, J. C. Vollgraff. Notes on Book II. with reference to Hude's edition. *Ad Apuleium*, J. W. Beck. In *Met. v. 28* for *vel maxime* reads *ut maxime*. *Observationes de iure Romano* (continued) J. C. Naber. *De actionis denegatione*. *Observationes Miscellaneae ad Plutarchi Moralia*, S. A. Naber.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie, 1900.

3 Jan. L. Pollak, *Zwei Vasen aus der Werkstatt Hierons* (W. Amelung), very favourable. F. J. Engel, *Zum Rechte der Schutzfliehenden bei Homer* (P. Cauer), very favourable. H. Schrader, *De Plutarchi Chaeronensis Ὀμηρικαὶς μελέταις* (P. Cauer), very favourable. W. Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*. 2. A. von P. Groebe, I (O. E. Schmidt), favourable. O. Alberts, *Aristotelische Philosophie in der türkischen Litteratur des 11. Jahrhunderts* (A. Döring), favourable.

10 Jan. *Homer's Iliad*, books xix-xxiv, by E. B. Clapp (H. Cauer), favourable. A. Patin, *Parmenides im Kampfe gegen Heraklit* A. Döring. Interesting to the specialist but the results not clearly stated. *Anthologia graeca*, ed. H. Stadtmueller, II. 1 (H. Spiro), very favourable. P. Ribbeck, *Senatores Romani qui fuerint Idibus Martiis anni a.u.c. 710* (J. Tolkiehn), favourable.

17. Jan. W. Soltau, *Eine Lücke der Synoptischen Forschung* (A. Geroke). 'Shows earnest consideration and sound conclusions.' Senofonte, *L'Agésilas* (O. Güthling), unfavourable. *Lexique de Plaute*, sous la direction de P. Waltzing. A—accipio (O. Plasberg). *Germanici Caesaris Aratea*, it. ed. A. Breysig (R. Helm). 'Thanks deserved for great labour.' E. Klebs, *Die Erzählung des Apollonius aus Tyrus* (R. Helm). 'The fruit of long and self-denying toil.' H. Gelzer, *Die Genesis der byzantinischen Themenverfassung* (F. Hirsch), favourable.

24 Jan. Pauly's *Realencyklopädie*, herausg. von G. Wissowa VI. Halbband (Fr. Harder). H. Bertsch, *Meeresriesen Erdgeister und Lichtgötter in Griechenland* (H. Steuding). 'No certain results attained.' Fr. Grosshauser, *Aesculap und Hippokratēs* (—g.). 'Utterly worthless.' S. Anton, *Die Mysterien von Eleusis* (H. Steuding). 'Very thorough but without anything new.' A. Mau, *Führer durch Pompeji*. 3. A. (H. Belling), very favourable. J. Kubik, *Pompeji im Gymnasialunterricht* (L. Gurlitt). 'Very useful.' Br. Rappaport *Die Einfälle der Goten in das römische Reich bis auf Constantin* (F. Dahn). 'A most excellent work.' Joannes Philoponus, *De aeternitate mundi*, ed. H. Rabe (F. Hirsch). 'Written with care and skill.'

31 Jan. U. Wileken, *Griechische Ostraka aus Ägypten und Nubien* (M. Rostowzew). 'An indispensable book for specialists.' A. Malfetherneier, *Recherklärung und Anschauungsunterricht bei der Lektüre der griechischen Klassiker*, I. Xenophon, Homer, Herodot (L. Gurlitt). 'Concise and solid.' M. Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*. II. Die römische Litteratur in der Zeit der Monarchie bis auf Hadrian. I. Hälfte, *Die augustische Zeit*. 2. A. (Fr. Harder). *Statii Silvarum libri*, erkl. von Fr. Vollmer (P. Kerckhoff). 'Almost too thorough.' H. Glaesener, *Les caractères dans la Thébaïde de Stace* (P. Kerckhoff). 'Reaches no satisfactory result.' *Französisch-philologische föreningen i Lund* (H. Belling). In the field of classical philology are the following: J. Paulson, *In Lucretium adversaria*; A. Ahlberg, *Adnotationes in accentum Plautinum*; M. Nilsson, *De republica Atheniensium a Clithene constituta*; and C. Lindskog, *De usu pronominum personalium*.

7 Feb. *Klassischer Skulpturenschatz*, herausg. von F. v. Reber und A. Bayersdorfer, II Jahrgang Heft 4 bis IV. Jahrgang Heft 5 (W. Amelung). 'This very praiseworthy undertaking.' H. Meuss, *Tyche bei den attischen Tragikern* (H. Steuding), favourable. E. Ziegler, *Zwölf Reden Ciceros disponiert* (W. Hirschfelder). 'Very useful.' L. Borsari, *Topografia di Roma antica* (H. Belling), very favourable. E. Sehmendorf, *Die Germanen in den Balkanländern bis zum Aufreten der Goten* (F. Dahn). 'Too untrained in method.'

14 Feb. *Jahresberichte über das höhere Schulwesen* herausg. von C. Rethwisch. XIII. Jahrgang (O. Weissenfels). C. Justi, *Winckelmann und seine Zeitgenossen*. 2. A. (P. Herrmann), very favourable. H. Nohl, *Schülerkommentar zu Ciceros Rede für Sex. Roscius* (W. Hirschfelder), favourable. Fr. Schlee, *Zwei Berliner Sallusthandschriften* (Th. Opitz). G. Muccio, *Osservazioni su Sallustio filosofo* (K. Praechter), unfavourable. E. Rolland, *Une copie de la vie de S. Théodose par Théodore* (J. Draeseke), unfavourable.

21 Feb. A. Erman und Fr. Krebs, *Aus den Papyrus der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin* (C. Wessely), very favourable. O. Kern, *Inscriptiones Thessalicae* (O. Schulthess), favourable. A. Holm, W. Deecke, W. Soltan, *Kulturgeschichte des Klassischen Altertums* (H. Belling), unfavourable. F. Ramorino, *Tacito nella storia della cultura* (Th. Opitz), favourable. *Taciti De vita et moribus Agricola liber ed.* G. Nemethy, (Th. Opitz), favourable. K. Krumbacher, *Um arbeitungen bei Romanos* (J. Dräseke), favourable.

28 Feb. *Egypt Exploration Fund. Archaeological Report 1898-1899*, ed. by L. Griffith (A. Wiedemann), favourable. A. Sakellarios, *Παρατήρησεις κριτικαὶ καὶ παλαιογραφικαὶ εἰς τὴν Ἀριστοτέλους Ἀθηναίων πολιτείαν* (Schneider), favourable. *Lucianus* rec. J. Sommerbrodt III. (P. Schulze). 'Every reader of Lucian will be thankful for this.' *Codices Graeci et Latini photographice depicti* duce Sc. de Vries V. *Plautus. Codex Heidelberg. 1613*. Praefatus est C. Zangemeister (O. Plasberg), favourable. A. Schulten, *Die römische Flurteilung und ihre Reste* (K. Kübler). 'A worthy contribution.' G. M. Lane, *A Latin Grammar for Schools and Colleges* (C. Stegmann). 'Very useful for students, but not suitable for schools.'

7 March. N. Svoronos, *Der athenische Volkskalendar* (G. Thiële). 'On the whole, sheds darkness rather than light.' H. Diels, *Elementum* (O. Weissenfels). An introduction to the Greek and Latin thesaurus, unfavourable. Fr. Stolle, *Wo schlug Cäsar den Ariovist?* (J. W.), favourable.

14 March. Fr. Boll, *Beiträge zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der griechischen Astrologie und Astronomie*, (K. Manitius), favourable. P. Gnjeditsch *Kunstgeschichte*, I. (H. Dannenberg). 'Only the type and the illustrations can be praised.' A. Mau, *Pompeii, its life and art*, transl. by F. W. Kelsey, (H. Belling), favourable. L. Delisle, *Notice sur la rhétorique de Cicéron*, trad. par Jean d'Antioche (Th. Zielinski), favourable. G. Schimmelpfeng, *Erziehtliche Horazlektüre*, 2 A. (O. Weissenfels). 'Sure of a sympathetic reception.' *Vitruvii de architectura libri X*, it. ed. V. Rose, (H. Nohl), very favourable. *Passages for Greek translation*, by H. Peacock and W. Bell (H. D.), favourable.

Revue de Philologie. Vol. 24, 1. January 1900.

Figures tirées d'un manuscrit des Météorologiques d'Aristote, C. Graux et A. Martin. From a Greek MS. in the private library of the King of Spain, with three plates and thirteen figures. *Le littoral de l'Inde d'après Pomponius Mela*, L. Malavialle. In Mela (iii, 67) for *Oras tenet ab imo read a Tamo*, and for ab Colide ad *Crudum* read ad *Indum*. *Anciennes gammes enharmoniques*, L. Laloy. A second art. Aristides Quintilian (p. 21 Meib.) gives six scales which all contain the quarters of tones characteristic of the *genre enharmonique*. They were used in very ancient times and are referred to by Plato (*Rep.* 398). These scales are not like those we are used to meet with, but the text is explicit. *Plaute*, A. Macé. In *Miles* 1022 reads *propera nam astando excurior*, ib. 1088, *Atque adeo audin? dic cito docte et cordate*, Trin. 176 *Advorsum quac ejus me opsecravisset pater*, ib. 289-291 *Lacrimas haec mihi, quom video, eliciunt*. *Quid ego ad hoc genus hominum duravi? quin prius me ad pluris penetravi?* following Redslob, ib. 318 Lys. *Quid exprobras?* Phil. *bene quod fecisti tibi fecisti non mihi*, ib. 332, *Mercaturam? an venalis habuit, ubi rem perdidit?* Orphica, Frag. 2 Abel, P. Jannery. This piece of sixty-six verses *πεπλοισμένων* ought to be kept in the *Anthologies*. It is anonymous, has nothing to do with orphism, and is not antique, having been composed under the empire. *Sallustiae Historiae*, M. Bonnet. In ii, 87 *ruinae multorum fossae semipletae sunt*, for *semipletae* read *impletae*, there having been a dittography of the last syllable of *fossae*. In i, 88 read *multaque . . . per invidiam scriptorum parum celebrata sunt*. *Aurelius Victor*, Epit. xxv, J. Chauvia. Read with two MSS. *nec (= not even) catulum for ncatulum*. *Fragment d'une liste de vainqueurs aux jeux olympiques* (Papyrus d'Oxyrhynchus), T. W. Beasley. Revises by this the chronology of certain odes of Pindar and Bacchylides and makes other criticisms. *Note sur le Papyrus cxxviii. d'Oxyrhynchus*, B. Haussoullier. Critical remarks and reconstitution of part of the text.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

- Adler* (F.) Das Mausoleum zu Halikarnass. (Aus "Zeitschrift für Bauwesen"). Folio. 12 pp., 5 plates. Berlin, Ernst & S. 12 M.
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The Classical Review

MAY 1900.

Oxford, following after a seemly interval, and with some difference in the circumstances, the example of Cambridge, declared last term that its highest academical status should be open to students of 'Science' and 'Letters.' It is a subject of various speculation to what extent these will 'suppliate' for the new doctorates. Perhaps the number of applicants would have been increased by the success of an amendment to the statute, proposing that the new degrees might be conferred *iure dignitatis* upon Heads of Colleges and Professors who should apply for them; but by a large majority, and not without the approval of the classes concerned, the University refused to accept a proposal which might have involved uncertainty as to the value of the new degrees. The doctorates of Letters and Science are to be given upon published work; and this seems to be clearly the best method of awarding them. But it is to be hoped that, in adjudicating on the merits of applicants, account will be taken not merely of their 'books,' but of their uncollected contributions in the learned journals. The fees to be levied are high, though not higher than is the case with all such degrees. They would be paid more cheerfully if they should form part of some fund specially allocated to the encouragement of research and not be merged in the general income of the Uni-

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versity. The need of such provision is incontestable; and the friends of research at Cambridge must regret that advantage was not taken of the institution of the new degrees there to do something towards meeting it.

It is high time the University Presses adopted the principle of the "illustrated classic" in their elementary publications. They should have led the movement; but they must at least follow it quickly, if they do not want to be left behind. In addition to Messrs. G. Bell and Sons' series, edited by Mr. Marchant, to which reference has already been made in these columns, we have Messrs. Blackie's, edited by Professor Tyrrell, and Messrs. Blackwood's, edited by Mr. H. W. Auden, each with merits of its own. There is one point in which the Latin texts may, and should, be improved. The former English and present American practice of marking the long vowels ought to be adopted.

We are glad to be able to announce the completion of the Latin catalogue of *Greek* MS. in the Ambrosian Library, Milan. Its compilers, Messrs. Domenico Bassi and Emilio Martini have taken the greatest care to regard the practical convenience of its users.

UPON AESCHYLUS.

(Continued from page 119).

II.

CHOEPHORI.

159 ἰὼ τίς δορυσθενὴς ἀνὴρ
ἀναλτῆρ δόμων
Σκυθικά τ' ἐν χεροῖν παλίντον' [ἐν] ἔργῳ
[βέλλῃ] 'πιπάλλων Ἀρης
σχέδιά τ' αὐτόκωπα νωμῶν βέλλῃ.

Ἀρης here has always seemed to me extremely dubious. The meaning cannot be 'what man or what god of War,' for that must have been τίς ἀνὴρ, τίς Ἀρης; or ἢ τίς Ἀρης; Besides, the opposite to ἀνὴρ should be θεός. But waiving those objections,—how strange an expression we are offered! 'What man is there armed with a spear to free the house, Ares wielding both a Scythian bow and hilted weapons in close combat?' Is Ares here the same as the man, or different? I do not see how he can be the same; Ἀρης could hardly mean 'a warrior' or 'a man of war'; when it is metaphorical, it is 'War' personified. The only way, I think, you can translate it is 'wielding like Ares in his hands a Scythian bow' etc. That is an idiomatic form of comparison in Greek; but the sense is no more satisfactory than before, for though the god was honoured most in Scythia as in Thrace, the characteristic weapon of Greek War would surely be anything rather than a bow. And the arms of Ares are in fact a spear and sword, Hom. E 852, Hes. *Scut.* 453-7.

The MS. gives ἐν ἔργῳ, which is certainly not elegant, as following ἐν χεροῖν; and metre convicts ἐν of being an interpolation. The record of Hesych. 'πιπάλλων: κραδαίνων, πάλλων confirms the genuineness of that word, and I see no reason for suspecting ἔργῳ, seeing nothing for which it is likely to be an error, while it makes good metre. But this presents us with another difficulty. ἔργῳ alone would naturally mean 'actually,' 'in fact,' as opposed to λόγῳ. ἐν ἔργῳ could mean 'in readiness,' 'prepared for action' (Eur. *I.T.* 1164), and in prose ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ could mean 'in the engagement,' 'in the action,' that is, of battle: but it may well be doubted whether ἔργῳ by itself would have been used in either of these senses. It might very well, however, be used in the second if it were defined, ἔργῳ Ἀρης Simonid. 140 as ἔργον Ἀρης Hom. A 734, *h. Aphr.* 10; and this I think affords a clue

for removing both blemishes at once by reading ἔργῳ 'πιπάλλων Ἀρεος,¹ or ἀρῆς. Aeschylus used this word in the *Supplikes* v. 86 ἀρῆς φυγάσιν, where cod. Guelf. has ἀρῆς, cod. M ἄρης with a schol. which offers interpretations according to either reading, ἀρῆς or Ἀρης. Whether the Epic form of the word should be retained is a minor question.

It is a *man*, then, that they cry for to come armed as their deliverer with spear and Scythian bow and weapons for close combat in his hands,—and the mention of the *Scythian bow* shows that the man in their imagination is a *Heracles*, the Saviour and Purger of the world from noisome beasts and human bullies; for the chief weapon of that famous archer was the Scythian bow: schol. Theocr. xiii. 56 ἐκρήτο δὲ Ἡρακλῆς τοῖς Σκυθικοῖς τόξοις, διδασκθεῖς παρὰ τινος Σκύθου Τευτάρου, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ἡρόδωρος καὶ Καλλίμαχος. Lycophr. 56 Τζετzes p. 1175. Ath. 289 f Pytherrmus relates that Themison affected to be Heracles, ἡμφιεσμένος λεοντήν· ἐφόρει δὲ καὶ τόξα Σκυθικά καὶ ρόπαλον ἐκράτει. And this is how his armament² is described by Soph. *Trach.* 510:

ὁ δὲ Βακχίας ἄπο
ἦλθε παλίντονα Θήβας
τόξα καὶ λόγχας ρόπαλόν τε τινάσσων

spears, and παλίντονα τόξα,³ and a club. The natural meaning of the puzzling αὐτόκωπα is 'with handle in one piece,' like αὐτόγνος. Inapplicable to a sword, it may be explained as alluding to the *club*.

Καθαίρειν is the word habitually applied to Heracles' purgation of the earth (e.g. Soph. *Trach.* 1012, 1061, Arrian *Indica* viii. 8, Plut. *Theseus* 7, Dio. Chrys. I. p. 194, Arr. Epict. iii. 26 ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἀπάσης γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἄρχων καὶ ἡγέμων ἦν, καθαρῆς ἀνομίας καὶ ἀδικίας, εἰσαγωγὴν δὲ δικαιοσύνης καὶ οὐσιώτητος); the house of the Atridae is also to be purged of foul oppressors, ὅταν ἀφ' ἐστίας μύσος πᾶν ἐλαθῇ καθαρμούσιν αὐτῶν

¹ And I see that in his edition of the play (1899) Dr. Blaydes has suggested Ἀρεως.

² See Prof. Jebb's note on *Philoct.* 727.

³ 'Like a Scythian bow' is the comparison used by an unlearned man in Agathon *fr.* 4. 3 (Ath. 454 d) to describe the letter Σ, which illustrates the epithet παλίντονα: see Stein on Hdt. vii. 69, quoting Ammian. xxii. 8. 37.

ἐλατηρίου 964, σὺ τ' ὦ πατρώων δῶμα· σοὶ γὰρ ἔρχομαι δίκη καθαρτῆς says Orestes in Soph. *El.* 69. Is it not probable, then, on all accounts that the type of deliverer in the Chorus' mind is Heracles?

It may be urged that nevertheless the fighting power of Heracles might be described as ἄρης, just as the fierce attack of Orestes and Pylades is described as διπλοῦς λέων, διπλοῦς ἄρης in *v.* 964. But in reference to Heracles this is just the term that might have been avoided. In legend he and Ares meet; and when they meet, it is as enemies and rivals, and the Dorian hero is victorious.¹ The Ἀσπίς Ἡρακλέους of Hesiod is the story of his fight with Cycnus and his father Ares; armed with bow and spear, he wounds him there (*v.* 461) as he had wounded him before in Pylos (*v.* 359); when he strove with Achelous, Ares vainly lent his aid against him (Pausan. vi. 19. 12). In his combat against Geryon, it was the giant who στείχεν ἴσος Ἄρει βίαν (Aesch. *fr.* 74. 7).

324 Πυρὸς [ῆ] μαλερὰ γνάθος: anyone giving information about the following scholium will be rewarded by my grateful thanks: ἡ γνάθος συνήθης, ὡς ὁ κρημνὸς λέγει Πίνδαρος καὶ ἡ ἡχώ Σιμωνίδης. W. Dindorf in the *Thesaurus* quotes a few occurrences of οἱ γνάθοι, which he thinks are merely slips in writing: here the schol. appears to speak as though the feminine were a poetical use. But who said anything except ὁ κρημνός? and what is possible except ἡ ἡχώ? Bergk, quoting the scholium among the fragments of Pindar and Simonides, makes no remark.

482 schol. should be εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἄτιμος ἐν πυροῖσι κνισωτοῖς ἔση παρ' εὐδείπνοις χθονός· οὕτως τὸ ἐξῆς. ὁ ἐστὶ, παρὰ κατοικομένους δείπνῳ τιμωμένοις, τῶν ἄλλων νεκρῶν μεταλαμβάνόντων ἐναγισμῶν, σὺ ἄτιμος ἔση.

506 ἄκου', ὑπὲρ σοῦ τοιάδ' ἔστ' ὁδύρματα, αὐτὸς δὲ σῶξῃ, τόνδε τιμήσας λόγον.

The stress is obviously upon ὑπὲρ σοῦ as upon αὐτός; 'these lamentations are on your behalf; it is your own interest to listen to them.' Now what is τοιάδε? It appears to me it could only stand if it had been the predicate with the stress upon it, and that as it is, we must have τάδε: therefore I would read

ἄκου', ὑπὲρ σοῦ τοι τάδ' ἔστ' ὁδύρματα

¹ Thus when Heracles instituted the Olympian games and won the pancration and wrestling, Ares was beaten in boxing by Apollo, Pausan. v. 7. 10.

for τοι in such cases adds emphasis: e.g. 922 σὺ τοι σεαυτὴν, οὐκ ἐγώ..., *Ag.* 1030 σοὶ τοι λέγουσα πάντῃ σαφὴ λόγον. 'It is you she speaks to in quite plain terms, and now pauses for an answer,' *Supp.* 375 σὺ τοι πόλις 'Thou art the city,' Soph. *Phil.* 1095, *El.* 582, 624, Eur. *Heracle.* 732, and commonly σέ τοι λέγω, etc.

541 εἰ γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν χώρον ἐκλιπὼν ἐμοὶ οὐφείσετ' ἅσα σπαργάνῃ πλεῖζετο

The purport of *v.* 542 was clear enough; but I had been accustomed to regard the verb as beyond our means of determining. On the contrary, it can be restored with absolute confidence. We had overlooked the scholium upon it, which is ἐπιμελείας ἡξιοῦτο. I happened to have remarked this noticeable phrase used elsewhere to explain κομίζειν in its sense of 'tend' or 'nurse'; so I turned at once to lexicons and scholia and found what I expected. κομιδή is regularly explained by ἐπιμέλεια, and the stock interpretations of κομέειν and κομίζειν are ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ἐπιμελῶς τρέφειν or ἐπιμελείας ἀξιοῦν. It is unnecessary to transcribe examples; they may be found abundantly in the *Thesaurus*, Ebeling *Lex. Hom.*, Hesych. ii. p. 224. ἐπιμελείας ἀξιοῦν was the definition of Apollonius and Apion (Et. Gud. p. 607^a 48).

The line, then, was

οὐφίς ἔπειτα σπαργάνῃ 'κομίζετο.

Thus a new form σπαργάνῃ 'swaddling' may be added in the Dictionaries to σπάργανον. There are many like it (see Lobeck *Proll.* 175 sqq.); and both feminine and neuter terminations occur for instance in δοκάνῃ δόκανον, δρεπάνῃ δρέπανον, θηγάνῃ θήγανον, πλαθάνῃ πλάθανον, ὀχάνῃ, ὄχανον. But the verb σπαργανάω is already found in Plat. *Legg.* 789 E and Hesych. s.v. Σπάρξαι, as πλεκτανάω *Cho.* 1047 besides πλεκτανόω.

ἔπειτα had always appeared to me the only natural correction of ἐπάσα. It is a further detail, the second here as in *v.* 527 ἐν σπαργάνοις παιδὸς ὀρμίσαι δίκην 'haved it, like a child, in swaddling-clothes', indicating that the serpent typifies a human child. The correction had been made before by Martin, and by Peile who argues for it quite correctly p. 249.

I should not have narrated all my process here without a purpose: this was a good example of the method by which scholia may be used for recovering the text. The secret of their value in this application is that they are practically constant. Annotators do not, when interpreting, give merely the best

word that comes into their own heads, but they use traditional and accepted synonyms; the same word is explained by the same equivalent in any place and any author. This is equally true of their formulae in dealing with constructions.¹

612 ἀλλαδὴτιν' ἐν λόγοις στυγεῖν
φοιρίαν Σκύλλαν

612 appears thus in M, with such deficiency of accent. It has always been assumed, since Portus, that ἀλλα should be ἄλλαν, and it may be right. Of ἄλλαν δὲ τιν' Hermann says 'non est hic nexus is qui Aeschilo convenire videatur. Scribendum potius est ἄλλαν δ' ἔστιν' comparing *P.V.* 828 ἄλλην δ' ἄκουσον. . . That in my judgement too is an improvement, and good Greek certainly in itself; but I have a notion that will account I think for the MS. more easily:

[ἀλλ' οἶδ', εἴ τιν' ἐν λόγοις, στυγεῖν

'among any in story'. The effect of that in Greek will be more easily felt than a translation found for it in English. It does not merely mean 'I can find hatred in my heart for', like *Soph. fr.* 275 τὸν Ἀΐδαν οὐδε γῆρας οἶδε φιλεῖν, *A.P.* xii. 103 οἶδα φιλεῖν φιλέοντας ἐπίσταμαι, ἦν μ' ἀδικῇ τις, μισεῖν, but rather 'among all in story I know one who deserves my hate', like *fr.* 300. 1 γένος μὲν αἰνεῖν ἐκαθὼν ἐπίσταμαι, *Phrynich.* 20. 1 πιθήκους οἶδ' ἐτέρους τινὰς λέγειν, *Archestrat.* (*Ath.* 29 c) 17 οἶδα δὲ καὶ ἄλλων πολέων βοτρυοσταγῇ ἔρην εἰπεῖν αἰνῆσαι τε, and others I quoted in the *Journal of Philology*, xxvi. p. 106 in emending *Callim. A.P.* xii. 130. 6 ἐγὼ δὲ λέγων ἀτρεκέα οἶδα μόνος, which should be λέγειν ἀτρεκέ' or τῶτρεκέα as *Meleag. A.P.* vii. 428. 10.

In v. 613 Σκύλλαν is unmetrical; the proper name, as often, has been substituted for some descriptive word, which would here be κόραν (*Merkel*). Even if Σκύλλαν suited metre, κόραν would be better, for what follows presently turns wholly on the relationships of the murderesses quoted.

Preuss thought that the two following strophes ought to be transposed. Dr. Wecklein records the opinion in the margin of his text, and in his school edition actually adopts

¹ I assumed that the scholium had always been overlooked, because it appeared from Wecklein's Appendix of conjectures that no use had yet been made of it. But Dr. Postgate has since pointed out to me that it was remarked by Conington as the phrase 'by which Hesychius explains κομίζειν,' and this fact Paley says 'it is important to observe,' adding that the Schol. probably found κομίζετο. Yet to Conington it 'seems clear that σπάργαν' formed part of the original text,' and Paley reads σπαργάνους ἀπλίζετο.

that arrangement. I can hardly conceive how such a thing should come about; but that it should have been propounded and approved will show how unsatisfactory other methods of interpretation have appeared. I believe the true arrangement to be this:

621 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπεμνασίμην ἀμειλίχων
πόνων— B. ἀκαίρως δέ· δυσφιλὲς γαμή-
λενμ' ἀπύχετον δόμοις
γυναικοβούλους τε μήτιδας φρενῶν
ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ τευχισφόρῳ,
ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ, δάοις ἐπικότως σέβεις;
τίω δ' ἀθέρμαντον ἔστιαν δόμων,
γυναικεῖαν ἄτολμον αἰχμάν.
A. κακῶν δὲ πρεσβεύεται τὸ Λήμνιον
630 λόγῳ· γοᾶται δὲ δήποθ' ἐν κατάπτυστον,
ἥκασεν δέ τις
τὸ δεινὸν αὖ Λημνίοισι πῆμασιν
θεοστνυγήτῳ δ' ἄγει
βροτῶν ἀτιμωθὲν οὔχεται γένος·
σέβει γὰρ οὔτις τὸ δυσφιλὲς θεοῖς·
τί τῶνδ' οὐκ ἐν δίκῳ σ' ἀγείρω;

626 δηῖοις ἐπικότωςέβασ M 627 τίω δ' M

630 γοᾶται δὲ δή ποθεῖ M

The point I start from is that the last line is a *triumphant reply to an objection* that the examples quoted are not pertinent, are out of place: and it is plain that this objection is to be found in v. 622 ἀκαίρως δέ, which is synonymous with οὐκ ἐνδίκως. That must be an interruption by another speaker. The clue of a *retort* leads on to seeing that σέβει and ἀτιμωθέν are answers to τίω δ' (*Stanley*) and my reading σέβεις. In order to understand this interruption, we must look into the purport of the whole.

The subject of the Chorus is the audacious imagination of man's heart; the disastrous consequences of human passion generally, and the desperate acts to which women especially are induced by ungoverned and illicit loves: what is in their mind is plainly the criminal relation of Clytemnestra with Aegisthus, leading to the murder of the husband:

ἀλλ' ὑπέρτολμον ἀνδρὸς φρόνημα τίς λέγοι
καὶ γυναικῶν φρεσὶν τλαμόνων
παντόλμους ἔρωτας ἄταισι συννόμους βροτῶν;
ξύζυγους δ' ὀμανλίας
θηλυκρατὴς ἀπέρωτος ἔρως παρανικᾷ
κνωδάλων τε καὶ βροτῶν.

This theme they illustrate by the example of Althaea, the mother whose revengeful anger burnt the brand on which depended the life of her own son; and of the daughter Scylla, who was bribed by her father's enemies to take her father's life. They are

then proceeding 'And since I have made mention of heartless deeds of sorrow,' when they are suddenly interrupted by a voice complaining that the examples do not fit the case—'Nay, not to the purpose! an abhorred *adulterous alliance* and plots conceived by a *wedded woman's* mind against her *wedded man*,¹ a man and a soldier,² such' is the petulant question, 'do you hold in *admiration* beseeeming enemies? My admiration is for a passionless domestic hearth, a womanly and unaudacious temper' [not for *ὑπέρτολμον φρόνημα*, not for *παντόλμους ἔρωτας*]. The meaning of *σέβεις* is 'since you pass over such a case as that, I suppose that you approve it!'

To this no immediate answer is returned; the Chorus appears at first to ignore it loftily, continuing thus—and judge, observing the order and emphasis of the words in Greek, whether it is not a reply: 'But the *chief place* among crimes in history is held by the *Lemnian*: when a man bewails some abominable horror, the monstrous outrage is compared to the "Lemnian tragedy": by reason of sin abhorred by god, the race of them has perished with dishonour among men—for "*admiration*" is a regard in which no one holds that which is loathsome in the sight of heaven. What is there among these that I adduce *improperly*? None indeed; for all are crimes committed from various motives by misguided women; but the last, the murder of husbands by their wives, is the most execrable of them all; it has become a proverbial synonym for everything most monstrous and abominable, a thing abhorred by gods and men alike. That is the *climax* they were leading up to when they were interrupted by that impatient voice; and it will not be denied, I think, that the interruption makes it still more telling and impressive—the reason, of course, that Aeschylus employed the artifice.

This free dramatic treatment of the Chorus³ is characteristic of the Attic drama in its Aeschylean stage. The interruption most resembling this is to be found in *Supp.* 88, if my view of it is right—and I think it is unintelligible otherwise—

¹ 989 *ἦτις δ' ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ τοῦτ' ἐμήσατο στόγος ἐξ οὗ τέκνων ἦνεργ' ὑπὸ ζωνῇν βάρος*, what think you she would do *τόλμης ἑκατὶ κῆκδικον φρονήματος*;

² See *Eum.* 628-640, and compare *Ag.* 1625 *γύναι, σὺ...ἀνδρὶ στρατηγῷ τόνδ' ἐβούλευσας μύρον*; That is addressed to Aegisthus, and the phrase *γυναικοβούλους μήτιδας* is so famed that it might include Aegisthus here; but that is by the way.

³ K. O. Mueller *History of Greek Literature* I. p. 414 sqq.

A. *εἴθ' εἴη Δίος εὖ παναληθῶς—*

B. *Δίος ἡμερος οὐκ εὐθήρατος ἐτύχθη*

It does not seem necessary, therefore, to seek outside the Chorus itself for the complaining critic, though the possibility is of course conceivable. The Chorus itself, Dr. Verrall thinks, was composed of men, and not of women; that 'the strong denunciation of women is rather more appropriate to men' is certainly a reasonable argument.

The sentiment of *v.* 627 would be very well expressed as an aspiration by *τίοιμ' ἀθέρμαντον ἐστίαν* 'I hope I may always...' cf. Pind. *P.* xi. 50, Eur. *Ion* 150, 502, *fr.* 893 (Ath. 158e), Callim. *N. Del.* 98, Theocr. xxvi. 30, xvi. 66, xvii. 8, Moschus *v.* 12, *A.P.* v. 120.⁴

Instead of Enger's reading in 630 I had thought of *γοῦται δ' ὁδήποθ' εἰς κατάπτυστον...*

643 *Δίκας δ' ἐρείδεται πυθμῆν,*
προχαλκεύει δ' Αἴσα φασγανουργός

Pausanias *v.* 18. 2 describes from the chest of Cypselus a scene where *Δίκη* has 'Αδικία by the throat and is beating her with a stick, *ράβδῳ παίονσα*. Mr. Frazer iii. p. 612 gives from a red-figured vase an exact representation of the scene, except that Justice there is literally *hammering* Injustice. Here Destiny is the armourer who forges the weapon for Justice to employ.⁵ In *Ag.* 1537, with language very similar, one would expect to find also the same image. Yet the MSS. give *δίκη* (or *δίκαι*) δ' ἐπ' ἄλλο *πράγμα θήγει βλάβης πρὸς ἄλλαις θηγάταις μοῖραι*. It seems probable that Triclinius was correct in writing *δίκαι*, which will mean 'for the hand of Justice.' In face of *Αἴσα* it would be rash to alter *μοῖραι*: otherwise, modifying a suggestion by Prof. Robinson Ellis, we might perhaps read *θήγεται... θηγάταισιν αἶρα*:—supposing that could mean a chopping instrument requiring to be sharpened. It is usually explained by *σφῆρα*, and in a fragment of Callimachus, the only place where it occurs in literature, *αἰράων ἔργα* stands for 'blacksmith's work.' Hesychius, however, and Bekk. An. 359. 19 give *αἶρα*: *σφῆρα. ἀξίνη*: and might not *μαχ—αἶρα* mean originally a *battle-axe*? But one of the sign-posts to the sentence is the genitive *βλάβης*, which according to my ear should be dependent neither on *πράγμα* nor on *θηγάταις* but on the final substantive,

⁴ These optatives will leave no doubt that *ἄν* in Eur. *Bacch.* 422 is an interpolation.

⁵ Compare Hermann's reading in 882 *ἔοικεν οὖν αὐτῆς ἐπιζήνου πέλας αὐχὴν πεσεῖσθαι πρὸς δίκης πεπληγμένους*.

θήγεται βλάβης μοῖρα, as you have θανάτου μοῖρα (*Pers.* 919, *Ag.* 1463). The only other possibility I see is that βλάβης is an error for an accusative, θηγάνα βλάβας or βλάβην.

688 ὦ δυσπύλαιστε τῶνδε δωμάτων Ἄρά
ὥς πόλλ' ἐπωπᾶς κάκποδὼν εὖ κειμένα
τόξοις πρόσσωθεν εὐσκόποις χειρουμένη
φίλων ἀποφιλῶς με τὴν παραθλίαν·
καὶ νῦν Ὀρέστης—ἦν γὰρ εὐβούλως ἔχων
ἔξω κομίζων ὀλεθρίου πηλοῦ πόδα—
νῦν δ'...

The first four lines have been punctuated at various places, the hinge of the question being whether καὶ in κάκποδὼν means 'and' or 'although.' One thing, I think, may be allowed—it must mean either one or else the other; but we cannot have it both ways. Weil with Bothe punctuates at ἐπωπᾶς, and takes καὶ to be 'and,' coupling the two clauses ἐπωπᾶς and ἀποφιλῶς. The sentence in this arrangement reads to me as though εὖ κείμενα were a new object, not an epithet of πολλά, 'how many things thou markest, and subduing things well-bestowed out of the way, strippest me...' I cannot prove that this is wrong, only I think it cannot mean 'how many things thou markest, and subduing them, although well-bestowed out of the way' (καὶ χειρουμένη αὐτὰ, καίπερ ἐκποδὼν εὖ κείμενα).

The general feeling, however, which I share, has been that 'although' should be expressed, and that καὶ expresses it. If that is so, the following verb requires a connecting particle, and τ' accordingly was inserted by Hartung and δ' by Paley after φίλων. There are three reasons why I think that we should rather read τόξοις πρόσσωθεν δ': first, because τόξοις χειρουμένη goes more fitly with ἀποφιλῶς than with ἐπωπᾶς: secondly, it gives a better balance to the rhythm; and thirdly, this is a more likely place for a particle to have been omitted. When δέ or γάρ are placed in verse later than their normal place in prose, they experience at the hands of copyists one of two things commonly—either they are transposed to the usual position or else they are neglected: for example 700 πρὸς δυσσεβείας <δ> Pauw, *Supp.* 540 τὸ πρὸς γυναικῶν <δ> Tucker. My sentence reads then 'how many things hast thou thine eye upon, though well situated (or "disposed") out of the way, and with unerring marksmanship strippest me of one after another of my own! As now Orestes—for he was prudently advised in getting his feet out of the deadly mire—yet, for all that, even him thou hast now brought low.' Orestes was ἐκ-

ποδὼν εὖ κείμενος: yet even thus he has not escaped the Curse's aim.

790 Of the restoration here I now feel sure:

ἴσθι δ' ἀνδρὸς φίλον πῶλον εὖ-
ριν ζυγέιντ' ἐν ἄρματι
πημάτων· ἐν δρόμῳ προστιθεῖς
μέτρον τις ἂν σφάζομενον ῥυθμόν
791 δάπεδον ἂν τοῦτ' ἴδοι
ἀνομένον βημάτων ὄρεγμα.

'Bethink thee that Orestes in his painful mission is as a colt harnessed in a chariot: it is by imposing moderation while the race is being run that one may see the eagerness of straining steps preserving over this course their ordered pace.' σφάζομενον was rightly understood by Blomfield as the middle; it agrees with ὄρεγμα and it governs ῥυθμόν. Orestes has a race before him (ἔλασε δ' ἐς τὸ πᾶν is the phrase applied to him when his enterprise is successfully accomplished, *v.* 938, ἦκει γὰρ οὐκ ἀχρεῖον ἔκπλεθρον δραμῶν ἀγῶνα *Eur. El.* 881); now, if he is to be successful, he must not be allowed to get out of hand and run away, but be kept always under control. In other words, it is of vital moment that he should remain cool, and the Chorus pray that Zeus will therefore put the check upon him.

Except that I have changed the punctuation and removed the accent from τις (in the MS., as in scores of other places, τίς¹) the only alteration made is in *v.* 794, where ἴδοι, of course, had been conjectured long ago by Portus. The MS. τοῦτ' ἰδεῖν δάπεδον is meaningless and unmetrical. My reading agrees exactly with the corresponding line

διὰ δίκας πᾶν ἔπος
ἔλακον

(which is certain, for πᾶν ἔπος 'every syllable' is a frequent and invariable phrase), and the words δάπεδον ἂν τόδε occur in *Pind. N. vii.* 87. 'This course' is the adventure he is now engaged in.

The conception of Orestes' task as a contest appears throughout the *Electra* of Euripides in many phrases: 613 *OP.* ἦκω 'πὶ τόνδε στεφανόν. 693 εὖ πυρσεύετε κραυγὴν ἀγῶνος τοῖδε, 749 *HA.* πῶς ἀγῶνος ἤκομεν; 759 Orestes' attendant with the news of his success, ὦ καλλίνικοι παρθένοι Μυκηνίδες, νικῶντ' Ὀρέστην πᾶσιν ἀγγέλλω φίλοις, tells *Electra* that the servants of the house στέφουσιν εὐθὺς σοῦ κασιγνήτου κᾶρα χαίροντες ἀλαλάζοντες. The Chorus thereupon exclaim

¹ But the schol. is written on τις ἂν... 'λείπει τὸ ὕψος. καὶ τὸ ἰδεῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἴδοι. ὁ δὲ νοῦς, ὕψος ἂν τις τοῦτο ἴδοι,...

860 νίκας στεφαναφορίαν¹ κρείσσω παρ'
'Αλφειοῦ ρέεθροις τελέσας κασίγητος σθένει
ἀλλ' ἐπείειδε καλλίνικον ὠδὴν ἐμῷ χόρῳ.
Electra says ὦ γαῖα καὶ νῦξ ἤν' ἐδε-
κόμεν πάρος, νῦν ὅμματα τοῦ μόν' ἀμπνυ-
χαί τ' ἐλεῦθεραι. . . φέρε κόμης ἀγάλματ'
ἐξενέγκωμαι, φίλαι, στέφω τ' ἀδελφοῦ κράτα
τοῦ νικηφόρου: and when Orestes appears
she welcomes him as a conqueror 878-887
with ὦ καλλίνικε πατὴρ ἐκ νικηφόρου. . . δέξαι
κόμης σῆς βοστρύχων ἀνδήματα, ἡκεις γὰρ οὐκ
ἀχρεῖον ἐκπλεθρον δραμῶν ἀγῶν' ἐς οἴκου. . . and
says to Pylades στέφανον. . . δέχου φέρη γὰρ
καὶ σὺ τοῦδ' ἴσον μέρος ἀγῶνος.

The hint for all this is contained in the
two brief passages of Aeschylus already
quoted, and in *vv.* 582, 725, 865-7. I think
there must have been another in what
follows immediately in this same chorus.
After their appeal to Zeus, they pray to the
deities worshipped at shrines within the
house; and then they turn—in his own
paeonic metre—to Apollo, whose charge has
laid this enterprise upon Orestes:

802 τὸ δὲ καλὸς κτίμενον ὦ μέγα ναῖον
στόμιον, εὖ δὲς ἀναδεῖν δόμον ἀνδρός,
καὶ νιν ἐλευθερίως
λαμπρὸν ἰδεῖν φιλίοις
ὅμμασιν ἐκ δυοφερᾶς καλύπτρας.

κταμενον *mut.* in κτάμενον M: *corr.* Bamberger.
ἀνιδεῖν M. λαμπρῶς M: *corr.* H. L. Ahrens.
ὅμμασι δυοφερᾶς M: *corr.* Hermann.

'And thou that inhabitest that great fair-
built cavern, grant that we may well en-
garland a man's house, and that her eyes
may look forth bright by privilege of free-
dom, with a friendly gaze, out of her gloomy
shroud.' The texture of the verse, as com-
monly with Aeschylus, is very close. At
present δνόφοι καλύπτουσι δόμους δεσποτῶν
θανάτοισι (50): its look is hostile, because
that is the attitude of its occupants towards
Orestes; gloomy and δουλοπρεπές because the
sympathisers with his cause are kept in
subjection under fear (see 959 sqq.), both
Orestes and Electra are as it were πεπραμένοι
(132), and she herself is ἀντίδουλος (135):
but if God will, the rightful owners and
their party will be able soon to wear the
fearless mien of freedom, when the house of
Orestes may abandon her black veil and put
on garlands for a victory in what may be
termed a *Pythian* contest.

Whether my conjecture is right or not, I
have no doubt about the rest: ἐλευθερίως has
its proper sense, and the adjective is used by
Theognis 538, 916; which, since they are

the earliest examples, ought to be added to
the dictionaries. The first of the passages
begins 535 οὐποτε δουλείη κεφαλὴ ἰθεία
πέφυκεν.—λαμπρῶς was simply the gloss on
λαμπρὸν as 284 ὄρῶντα λαμπρόν, *Pind. N. vii.*
65 ἐν τε δαμόταις ὅμματι δέρκομαι λαμπρόν: *cf.*
x. 39 ἀξιώθειν κεν. . . Ἀργεῖ μὴ κρύπτειν φάος
ὀμμάτων, *Eur. H. F. 221* Θήβαις ἔθηκεν ὅμμ'
ἐλεύθερον βλέπειν, and in general illustration
Ion 1469, Pind. I. iii. 39 = iv. 21.

The following will show that 'to crown
the house' is quite a natural phrase: *Pind. P. xi. 14* ἐστὶν τρίτον ἐπὶ στέφανον
πατρῶν βαλὼν, *ii. 6* κρατέων τηλαυγέσιν
ἀνέδησεν Ὀρτυγίαν στεφάνοις: *cf. P. ix. 4.*
A. P. ix. 588 by reason of a victory at the
games ἐπτάπυλοι δὲ Θῆβαι καὶ γενέτωρ ἐστέφεθ'
Ἑρμοκράτης. *Simonid. A. P. xvi. 2* Theognetus
by his victory πατέρων ἀγαθῶν ἐστέφανωσε
πόλιν. *Eur. H. F. 773* in that fine Hebraic
outburst of triumphant song: 'Ἰσμήν' ὦ
στεφαναφόρει, ἔσται θ' ἐπτάπυλοι πόλεως ἀνα-
χορεύσαι' ἀγνυαί after the καλλίνικος ἀγὼν of
Heracles: *cf. fr. 282. 18, Th. 566. Simonid.*
Ep. 98 οὗτος Ἀδείμαντου κείνου τάφος οὗ
διὰ βουλὰς Ἑλλὰς ἐλευθερίας ἀμφέθετο
στέφανον.

I do not profess to feel sure that my
reading is the right one, but it seemed to
deserve the statement of a case for it. What
causes a little discomfort is the εὖ: and the
effect of it should be weighed with any verb
that is proposed. ἀνάγειν (Weil) would make
good sense 'to lift up the house again',
'recover it'. Dr. Blaydes has offered εὖ δὲς
αὖ ἰδεῖν δόμον ἀνδρός, on which I remarked
the shortening of αὖ as doubtful, not finding
any certain instance. It was however clearly
enough so used by *Plat. Com. fr. 153. 3*
ἐστᾶσ' αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἐκείθεν τῆς γραμμῆς, οἱ δ' αὖ
ἐκείθεν, and by Archestratus (*Ath. 300 d*)
οὗτος γὰρ αὖ ἐστὶν ἐκείθεν: and it is possible
that it may have been so used in *Ag. 1009,*
Cho. 959. One point I have always,
rightly or wrongly, felt was cardinal: the
addition of νιν means that the subject of
the sentence changes; if δόμον had been the
subject of both verbs, νιν would have been
superfluous; if νιν, as I have taken it, is the
subject of the second verb, then δόμον is the
object of the first, and *vice versa.*

848 οὐδὲν ἀγγέλων σθένος
ὥς αὐτόσ' αὐτὸν ἄνδρα πεύθεσθαι περί

instead of αὐτὸς is the only alteration
necessary: 'messengers avail nothing com-
pared with a man going and enquiring him-
self upon the spot;' (αὐτοῦ) as 581 δεῦρ'
ἐποπτεύσαι.

πεύθεσθαι περί 'about (the matter)', is

¹ The exact restoration is not clear, but unimportant for the purpose.

exactly like *Ag.* 1358 τοῦ δρῶντός ἐστι καὶ τὸ βουλευῆσαι πέρι.

862 ἡ πῆρ καὶ φῶς ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ
δαίων ἀρχάς τε πολισσονόμους
<σφετέρους τε δόμους>
ἕξει, πατέρων μέγαν ὄλβον.

This insertion of the usual 'anapaestic base' before the paroemiac makes πατέρων μέγαν ὄλβον what from its place in the sentence it should naturally be, an apposition: the δόμους of Orestes could hardly have been left unmentioned, while it is apparent how easily the line might be omitted.

956 κρατεῖται πῶς τὸ θεῖον παρὰ τὸ μὴ
ἵπουργεῖν κακοῖς

παρὰ τὸ μὴ is an error for πρὸς τὸ μὴ, the regular scholiastic formula to explain an 'epexegetical' infinitive; and I now believe that the whole of this sentence is a paraphrase, κρατεῖ τ' αἰέ πως τὸ θεῖον,...so that the original was

κρατεῖ πως αἰέ τὸ θεῖον τὸ μὴ
(ἵπουργεῖν) κακοῖς

'Divinity proves ever strong enough not to...' A paraphrase would naturally have αἰέ πως, for that is the usual phrase (Blaydes on *Ar. Ran.* 414). No place for it could be more suitable than this.—I doubt whether ἵπουργεῖν is the original word; it is often used to explain others: exact correspondence would require κακοῖς ~ ~ ~

κρατεῖν, 'to prevail,' is elsewhere constructed with an infinitive expressing what your superiority or predominance enables you to do: *Thuc.* iv. 104 κρατοῦντες τῷ πλήθει ὥστε μὴ αὐτίκα τὰς πύλας ἀνοίγεσθαι. vi 74 ἐν ὅπλοις ὄντες ἐπεκράτουν μὴ δέχεσθαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. *Eur. Hel.* 1639 ΘΕ. ἀρχόμεσθ' ἄρ', οὐ κρατοῦμεν. XO. ὅσια δρᾶν, τὰ δ' ἔκδικ' οὔ. This construction should be restored in

Ag. 10 ἀλώσιμόν τε βάξιν—ὧδε γὰρ κρατεῖ
γυναικὸς ἀνδρόβουλον ἐλπίζειν
κέαρ.

'and tidings of her capture,—for so a woman's manlike spirit is sanguine to expect,' *ita enim sperare valet*. The MS. gives ἐλπίζων with ο written above ω, meaning ἐλπίζον, an obvious conjecture which naturally has not contented scholars. The correction I find from Wecklein had been proposed before by an anonymous critic in 1834, but I have never seen it even mentioned.

EUMENIDES.

219 εἰ τοῖσιν οὖν κτείνουσιν ἀλλήλους χαλᾶς,
τὸ μὴτ' ὄνοσθαι μὴτ' ἐποπτεύειν κότῳ

for μὴ γενέσθαι seems to me as probable as anything proposed: the verb was used by Aeschylus in *Supp.* 339.

259 The Erinyes come questing on the scent of blood:

καὶ νῦν ὄδ' ἐνθάδ' ἐστί που καταπακῶν
ὄσμῃ βροτείων αἱμάτων με προσγελᾷ.
ὄρα ὄρα μάλ' αὖ, πάντα λεύσσει μὴ
λάθῃ φύγδα βᾶς ματροφόνος αἵτας.
258 ὄδ' αὖ τ' ἐγεον ἀλκὰν ἔχων
περὶ βρέτει πλεχθεῖς θεᾶς ἀμβρότου
ὑπόδικος θέλει γενέσθαι χερῶν.

258 is the point where he is discovered (cf. *O.C.* 117–138); therefore we require ὄδε 'here he is!' and αὖ is used in such cases rather than αὐτε (e.g. *Pers.* 906, 944 *P.V.* 67, 124, 588, 904, *Ag.* 1214, *Soph. Trach.* 987, 1031, 1082, *Aj.* 871, *Phil.* 1222). ὄδ' αὐτέ γ' οὖν of the MS. is neither Greek nor metre; both, and sense as well, are given by my reading τέγεον ἀλκάν, that is, ὑπόστεγον, covert or protection under roof: for the word see Leaf on *Hom. Z* 248 τέγειο θάλαμοι. 'τέγεος pro τέγειος, ut τέλεος pro τέλειος, hoc ex τέλος, illud ex τέγος' says Stephanus; as βρότεος, βρότειος: and there appears no reason why τέγεος should not be used for feminine as well as τέλεος, τέλειος, ἔλειος, ὄρειος, βρότειος and the like.

Comparison of the MS. readings in 255 and *O.C.* 121 suggests that in both we have corruptions of the verbal.

358 ἐπὶ τὸν ᾧ διόμεναι
κρατερόν ὄνθ' ὁμοῖως
μαυροῦμεν ὑφ' αἵματος νέου

The last two lines are unmetrical, and the reason is that the words have been transposed to indicate the construction. When this happens—and it happens commonly—one or more words are often replaced at the same time by an explanatory synonym. That is here the case with ὁμοῖως, which cannot have been used by Aeschylus in the sense of ὅμως 'nevertheless,' but was regularly used by grammarians in explanation, chiefly of ἔμπης (see Ebeling *Lex. Hom.*). That is the natural word here, as e.g. *Theognis* 293 οὐδὲ λεῶν αἰεὶ κρέα δαίνυται, ἀλλὰ μιν ἔμπης καὶ κρατερόν περ ἐόντ' ἀγρεὶ ἀμχανίῃ. The exact restoration depends upon the *antistrophe*, in which unfortunately there is a word missing:

καταφέρω ποδὸς ἀκμάν,
377 σφαλερὰ τανυδρόμοις
κῶλα, δύσφορον ἄταν.

If 377 consisted of two paeons (hyporchematic, ὀρχησμοῖς 373) like the three verses preceding it, σφαλερὰ καὶ (Schoemann) τανυδρόμοις, or σφαλερ' ἄταν τ., we should read:

ἐπὶ τὸν ὧδ' ἰέμεναι (E. A. Ahrens).
κρατερὸν ὄνθ' ὑπὸ νέον
μανροῦν αἵματος ἔμπας.

If 377 was what Weil suggests, σφαλερὰ τανυδρόμοις ὅμως, then we need not change μανροῦμεν:

κρατερὸν ὄνθ' ὑφ' αἵματος
μανροῦμεν νέον ἔμπας.

That I believe to be the truth.

752 τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν σέβοντες ἐν διαιρέσει
γνώμης δ' ἀπούσης πῆμα γίγεται μέγα.
[βαλοῦσά τ' οἶκον ψῆφος ὤλεσεν μία.]

Mr. Macnaghten's view (which I had overlooked) that this last line should be ejected, seems to me constantly more probable. Some examples of such a clause as 753 added for the sake of antithesis and introduced by δὲ 'whereas' are 105, *Ag.* 628, *Soph. O.T.* 615 *Jebb*, *Ant.* 672, *O.C.* 1534, *Pind. N.* i. 54, *Plat. Legg.* 775 C, *Aesch. Eum.* 697 as corrected, and, as I understand it, *Ag.* 357.

1033 (dactylic metre).

1033 βᾶτ' ἐν δόμῳ μεγάλαι φιλότμοι
Νυκτὸς παῖδες ἄπαιδες ὅπ' εὐφρονι πομπᾷ
1036 (εὐφραμεῖτε δὲ, χωρίται)
γᾶς ὑπὸ κεύθεσιν ὠγυγίοισιν

1038 τιμαῖς καὶ θυσῖαις περισέπται τύχαι τε
(εὐφραμεῖτε δὲ πανδαμί).

1036 χωρεῖτε M: corr. Hermann.

The copyist, approaching the completion of his task, has written, as at the end of the *Agamemnon*, with great haste and carelessly. βᾶτ' ἐν δόμῳ is unmetrical and ungrammatical; βᾶτε δόμῳ (Wellauer) appears to me no more than metrical: βᾶτε δόμον [ᾧ] μεγάλαι would be correct, but I feel constantly that ᾧ, so far from having been inserted here, has been absorbed. βᾶτέ μοι ᾧ would serve; but the MS. is better perhaps accounted for by ΒΑΤΕΟΔΟΝΩ, that is βᾶτ' ὁδόν, ᾧ..., a suitable phrase for starting a procession; perhaps, indeed, a formula: cf. *Soph. fr.* 760. 1 βᾶτ' εἰς ὁδόν δὴ πᾶς ὁ χειρῶναξ λέως.

In v. 1039 περισέπται τύχοιτε has been conjectured; but the optative is out of place; it is a statement or a promise, not an aspiration. I return to an opinion arrived at many years ago that ΠΕΡΙΣΕΠΤΑΙΤΥΧΑΙΤΕ is an error for ΠΕΡΙΣΕΠΤΑΠΥΚΑΣΤΑΙ, τιμαῖς καὶ θυσῖαις περισέπται πυκασταί, a synonym of στεπταί, 'crowned, laden with honours.' It is a most natural expression: cf. *Plat. Rep.* 465 D our citizens, compared with Olympian-winners, τροφή καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν ὅσων βίος δέεται ἀναδοῦνται: *Ar. Eq.* 502 στεφάνοις κατάπαστος, schol. κατάμεστος, πλήρης, πεποικιλμένος. *Pherecr.* (*Hesych.* ii. p. 160) βριβομένης ἀγαθῶν ἐπίμεστα τραπέζης.

W. HEADLAM.

ON THE USE OF THE WORDS τραγῳδός AND κωμῳδός.

1. LIDDELL AND SCOTT in their *Lexicon* tell us that τραγῳδός is first 'a tragic poet or singer, these characters being originally one,' but 'later, when the poets ceased to act, the term τραγῳδός, tragedian, was for the most part confined to the tragic actor..., the tragic poet being called τραγῳδοποιός or τραγῳδοδιδάσκαλος (but τραγῳδός continued also to be used in its old sense...).' They mention separately τραγῳδοί 'members of the tragic chorus' and the plural τραγῳδοί 'often used = τραγῳδία.' They therefore hold that in Attic Greek the word has at least three distinct meanings, poet, singer, actor. For κωμῳδός they give only two, poet and actor,

thus leaving out, perhaps by inadvertence, the very first sense to which the form of the word points.

These ideas are probably universal among scholars who have not looked into the facts. In a way they have come down to us from Ammonius or earlier writers whom he followed, for he says κωμῳδός καὶ τραγῳδός λέγεται ὁ χορευτὴς καὶ ὑποκριτής κωμῳδοποιός δὲ καὶ τραγῳδοποιός οἱ ποιηταί ἐνίοτε δὲ συγχέουσι τὴν διαφοράν. But in the *schol. ad Dem.* 5. 6, ὑποκριτὰς ἐκάλουν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι τοὺς νῦν τραγῳδοὺς λεγομένους τοὺς ποιητάς, οἷον τὸν Εὐριπίδην καὶ Ἀριστοφάνην, τοὺς δὲ νῦν ὑποκριτάς οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν δύο· τὸν μὲν δευτερα-

γωνιστήν, τὸν δὲ τριταγωνιστήν· αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς ποιητὰς τῶν δραμάτων τραγωδοὺς καὶ τραγωδοδιδασκάλους, in spite of the obvious corruption (which Sauppe has tried to put right) it seems affirmed or implied that 'the ancients' did not use *τραγωδός* of an actor, but did use it of a poet. The object of this paper is to question the tradition and to ask what grounds there are for saying that in good Attic the words were ever used of either poet or actor as such.

2. It is clear from the very form of the words that *τραγωδοί* and *κωμωδοί* originally and properly meant *singers* of a certain kind, that is members of the tragic or comic chorus, who before the introduction of actors were the sole performers.¹ This sense of *singers* appears throughout Greek literature, and there can be no doubt about it.² But in certain phrases and contexts the words came to signify the performance rather than the performers; not the men in themselves, but the men as doing something.

The common form of this is a phrase which occurs over and over again in inscriptions and is found also in speeches or the documents, genuine or spurious, which they contain and in a few other places. The phrase directs a proclamation to be made, or speaks of something as done, *τραγωδοῖς* or *τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς*. See *C.I.A.* II. Index s.v. *τραγωδοί*: Aesch. in *Ctes.* 36, 45, 176: Dem. *De Cor.* 84, 115, 116. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 603 c: Luc. 5, 51: Ael. *V.H.* 2. 13.

The dative is half local, half temporal, like *Διονυσίοις*, *Παναθηναίοις*. It means 'at the performance of the *τραγωδοί*,' 'at the

¹ From these words are formed directly *κωμωδοδιδάσκαλος* and *-αλία*, *τραγωδοδιδάσκαλος* and *-αλία* (the last abstract substantive not found, but no doubt existing). Χορὸν διδάσκειν, *τραγωδίαν διδάσκειν* are both idiomatic, just as in English we can 'teach' both a class and a lesson. The spelling of these words and of *κωμωδοποιητής* is established by the metre in Ar. *Eg.* 507, 516: *Pac* 734, 737, and so with *τρυγωδοποιουμένη* in a fragment of the other *Thesmophoriazousae*. But metre is not decisive as to *τραγωδοποιός* in *Thesm.* 30 or *κωμωδοποιχῶν* in *Vesp.* 1318, and in good Plato MSS. the spelling of both *τραγωδ(ι)ποιός* and *κωμωδ(ι)ποιός* varies. The forms in *io* are favoured by analogy, for the first part of words in *-ποιός* usually gives the thing made, e.g. *ἐποποιός*, *αἰλουποιός*: but the grammarian Moeris says *Κωμωδοποιοὶ Ἀττικῶς κωμωδοποιοὶ Ἑλληνικῶς*, and *κωμωδογράφος*, as against the usual *κωμωδιογράφος* and *τραγωδιογράφος*, is guaranteed by metre in *Anth.* P. 7. 708, ascribed to Dioscorides.

² Compare *κιθαρωδός*, *αὐλωδός*, *μελωδός*, *ραψωδός* and any other such words. A *ραψωδός* might compose his own verses, a *κιθαρωδός* his own verses and music accompanying, but this is in no way conveyed by the name, which only connotes the performance.

tragic performance,' 'at the new tragedies.' *Τραγωδοῖς* cannot signify simply the men. It must mean the time and place at which they appear, their appearance, their performance, just as in Latin a thing is said to happen *gladiatoribus*, that is at the appearance of the gladiators, at the gladiatorial shows (Cic. *Phil.* 1, 15, 36, *ad Att.* 1. 16. 11 parallel with *ludis*, and elsewhere).³ When *καινοῖς* is added, this is still clearer. To whom or what in a tragic performance was the word *new* properly applicable? Not to any of the performers, nor to the poets, for poets, actors, and many of the choreutae would probably be old hands. What was new was the performance itself, the plays they performed, and the phrase means really *when new tragedies are played*. So *κωμωδοῖς*, which is much rarer, in the decree of a deme (*C.I.A.* I. 585) ordering a crown to be proclaimed *κωμωδοῖς*. Compare the terms of the law given in the *Midias* 10 *ὅταν ἡ πομπὴ ᾗ...καὶ οἱ κωμωδοῖ*

³ In Greek we may compare the datives *ζεφυρίοις*, *νοτίοις*, *βορείοις* (Ar. *Hist.* Ar. 9. 28, 2: 6. 19. 4: 8. 12. 10), meaning *at the time of* such and such a wind, *when it is blowing*, and the genitives *ἀπηνιᾶτου*, *βορέου* in Thuc. 3. 23, 5: in Latin Virg. *Aen.* 9. 668 *pluvialibus Haedis*, Juv. 9. 68 *aquilone Decembri*, Tac. *Ann.* 3. 28. 3 *pacis et principe*. Perhaps we may add Ar. *Eg.* 410 *ἢ μή ποτ' ἀγοραίου Διὸς σπλάγχνοισι παραγενοίμην*, for a man cannot in strictness of speech be present at the *σπλάγχνα*, but only at the doing of something to them. *Λαμπάς*, *συνωρίς*, etc. are used as names of contests, e.g. *λαμπάδα τρέχειν*, *τῇ λαμπάδι τῶν παίδων ἐτέθη συνωρίς*. Less similar but not wholly alien is the use of plural names, e.g. *ἰχθύες*, *λάχανα* for the fish or vegetable market, the place where these things are sold. There is also clear affinity to the point we are illustrating in that common Latin and occasional Greek construction, by which a substantive or pronoun with a participle stands for something done to or by the subject in question. Thus *παρήσαν παροῦνόντι αὐτῷ* (Antiphon 4. 1. 7) is perhaps in essence the same as *σπλάγχνοις παραγενέσθαι*. Aesch. *Pers.* 728 *ναυτικὸς στρατὸς κακῶθις περὶν ἔλκεσσι στρατόν*: Herod. 8. 131 *τοὺς δὲ Ἑλληνας τὸ τε ἔαρ γιγνόμενον ἤγειρε καὶ Μαρδόνιος ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ἑὼν* are good examples of a large class. The best English parallel that occurs to me is the university slang by which we put e.g. 'the Eights' for the races in which boats so named take part; 'the Eights are over,' 'I saw him at last year's Eights.' Like *τραγωδοί*, the boats stand for the performance, and the expression is at once local and temporal. College boards sometimes bear the notice 'there will be no river to-day': those who read it understand not that there will be no water in the river, but that the college boat will not go out. 'River' stands for 'practice on the river.' So 'the Old Masters' are (an exhibition of pictures by) the Old Masters: 'is there to be an Old Masters this year?' 'The Christy Minstrels' is at least half a place or performance. 'Punch and Judy,' 'a Punch and Judy,' is a performance; sometimes perhaps the men and things necessary for it. There are very many such instances to be collected, were it worth while.

καὶ οἱ τραγωδοὶ κ.τ.λ. in which οἱ τραγωδοὶ and οἱ κωμικοὶ signify like ἡ πομπή not men but something that men do. So in Aeschines in *Tim.* 157 ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἀγροῦς Διονυσίοις κωμικῶν ὄντων ἐν Κολλυτῷ: in *Ctes.* 41 γιγνομένων τῶν ἐν ἄστει τραγωδῶν and 154 μελλόντων ὥσπερ νυνὶ τῶν τραγωδῶν γίγνεσθαι: it is not the men that γίνονται but their performance. Add in *Ctes.* 34 τραγωδῶν ἀγωνιζομένων καινῶν (so *Plut. Mor.* 710 F), where as before καινῶν is not applicable to the men themselves. But *ib.* 204 μελλόντων τραγωδῶν εἰσεῖναι: *Dem.* 5. 7 εἰ γὰρ ἐν Διονύσου τραγωδοὺς ἐθεάσθαι: *Xen. Oecon.* 3. 7 ἐπὶ μὲν κωμικῶν θέαν and 9 θεᾶ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἥπερ τοὺς τραγωδοὺς τε καὶ κωμικοὺς: *Plut. Vit. Phoc.* 19 θεωμένων καινοὺς τραγωδοὺς Ἀθηναίων something of the personal force may possibly remain.

Harpocration and Suidas preserve a proverbial expression and its explanation. Τοὺς ἑτέρους τραγωδοὺς ἀγωνιεῖται. Λυκούργος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Δημάδην. Διδυμὸς φησιν ὅτι παροιμία ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρμολογούντων πρὸς τὰ ἐσιόντα καὶ σεμνοτοιοούντων ἑαυτοῦς. Here τραγωδοὺς means a performance so distinctly that it is actually made to depend on ἀγωνίζεσθαι, as ἀγῶνα might: οἱ ἕτεροι τραγωδοὶ is the next performance just as οἱ καινοὶ τραγωδοὶ is the new performance.

3. We turn now to a group of phrases of which χορηγεῖν τραγωδοῖς may be taken as the type, illustrated by the following passages:

Lys. 19. 29 τραγωδοῖς δις χορηγήσαι: 21. 1 καταστάς χορηγὸς τραγωδοῖς: 2 ἀνδράσι χορηγῶν εἰς Διονύσια...καὶ ἐπὶ Διοκλέους Παναθηναίοις τοῖς μικροῖς κυκλικῷ χορῷ (i.e. χορηγῶν), 4 κατέστην χορηγὸς παιδικῷ χορῷ: 24. 9 κατασταθεὶς χορηγὸς τραγωδοῖς. *Isaeus* 5, 36 τῇ μὲν φυλῇ εἰς Διονύσια χορηγήσας ἑτάρτος ἐγένετο τραγωδοῖς καὶ πυρριχισταῖς ὕστατος: 6, 60 κεχορηγήκε δὲ τριγυδοῖς, γεγυμνασιύρχηκε δὲ λαμπάδι; and again χορηγεῖ μὲν τραγωδοῖς: 7, 40 παιδικῷ χορῷ χορηγῶν ἐνίκησεν. *Dem.* 21, 59 τοῦτον ἐμισθώσατό τις φιλόνοκος χορηγὸς τραγωδῶν, 153 τραγωδοῖς κεχορήγηκε. *Ar. Eth.* 4. 2. 20 κωμικοῖς χορηγῶν. *Fragsm.* (?) 630, (587) χορηγεῖν τὰ Διονύσια τοῖς τραγωδοῖς καὶ κωμικοῖς. *'Ath. Pol.* 56, 3 χορηγοὺς τραγωδοῖς καθίστησι τρεῖς...πρὸ ἑτερον δὲ καὶ κωμικοῖς καθίστη πέντε...ἐπειτα παραλαβὼν τοὺς χορηγοὺς τοὺς ἐνηνεγμένους ὑπὸ τῶν φυλῶν εἰς Διονύσια ἀνδράσιν καὶ παισὶν καὶ κωμικοῖς κ.τ.λ. cf. *Plut.* (?) *Moralia* 835 B ἐχορήγησε κυκλικῷ χορῷ τῇ αὐτοῦ φυλῇ ἀγωνιζομένη διθυράμβῳ.

As to the expression χορηγεῖν τραγωδοῖς there are two questions to ask.

A. Are we to take τραγωδοῖς as a *dativus commodi* or as the dative of time and place above explained? The former view of it seems

strongly supported by *Lys.* 21, 2 and 4 and the language throughout of the passage in *'Ath. Pol.*, by the genitive in *Dem.* 21, 59, and in a less degree by *Lys.* 21. 1 and 24, 9, since in the latter places τραγωδοῖς cannot logically give a sort of date for καταστάς and κατασταθεὶς, as the appointment was not made at the performance but before it. In the phrase τῇ φυλῇ χορηγεῖν (e.g. *Isaeus*, 5, 36 above) φυλῇ must be a *dativus commodi*. There would seem, however, to be no reason why τραγωδοῖς in χορηγεῖν τραγωδοῖς etc. should not also have had a local or temporal meaning sometimes, e.g. in *Isaeus* 6, 60. The analysis of the dative need not always be the same. Sometimes again e.g. *ib.* 7, 40 the dative may be instrumental with the verb νικᾶν. In *Plat. Apol.* 36 D εἴ τις ὕμῳ ἱππῷ ἢ ξυνοῖδι ἢ ζεύγει νενίκηκεν this is the most obvious way of taking the datives, though they may also like τραγωδοῖς be a short expression for a contest or performance and therefore in reality local or temporal. So λαμπάδι is either 'with a torch' or—and this seems the truer account—'in the torch race,' a meaning that λαμπάς certainly bears. Such expressions therefore as [*Andoc.*] 4. 42 νενικηκὼς εὐανδρία καὶ λαμπάδι καὶ τραγωδοῖς: *Theophr. Char.* 22 νικήσας τραγωδοῖς: are not clear.

B. If and when τραγωδοῖς is a *dativus commodi* and therefore a name for persons, are these persons performers or poets? *Lys.* 21, 2 and 4, *Isaeus* 5, 36 and 7, 40, and the *'Ath. Pol.* show that they are performers, just as in those passages ἀνδράσι, χορῷ, πυρριχισταῖς, χορῷ, ἀνδράσιν καὶ παισὶν signify performers. And that the performers in question are the chorus, not the actors, appears from the fact that the choregus was concerned with the chorus and in an ordinary way had nothing to do with the actors. They received nothing from him. He was not choregus of or for them.

4. I take the following inscription as exemplifying a third group of phrases in which τραγωδοὶ and κωμικοὶ appear: ἐπὶ Φιλοκλέους Οἰνήϊς παίδων, Δημόδοκος ἐχορήγει. Ἰπποθωντὶς ἀνδρῶν, Εὐκτῆμων Ἐλευσίνιος ἐχορήγει. κωμικῶν Εὐρυκλείδης ἐχορήγει, Εὐφρόνιος ἐδίδασκε. τραγωδῶν Ξενοκλῆς Ἀφιδναῖος ἐχορήγει, Αἰσχύλος ἐδίδασκεν (*C.I.A.* 4. p. 218). Cf. the inscriptions cited in *Haigh's Attic Theatre* App. B. 1 and the Greek argument of the *Persae*: ἐπὶ Μένωνος τραγωδῶν Αἰσχύλος ἐνέκα Φινεῖ, Πέρσαις, Γλαύκῳ Ποσειδῇ, Προμηθεῖ. It is by no means clear what is the construction of the genitives ἀνδρῶν, παίδων, κωμικῶν, τραγωδῶν, nor do I understand the view of Meisterhaus 82 c 18, but I should

suggest that Οἰνῆς παίδων stands for Οἰνῆς παίδων χορῶ ἐνίκα. This seems supported by various victory and votive records, taking three main forms, which may be briefly illustrated from *C.I.A.* 2, 3, 1229-1299. The whole section will repay examination.

A. 1242 Ἀνσικράτης Ἀνσιθεΐδου Κικυννέως ἐχορήγει. Ἀκαμαντὶς παίδων ἐνίκα. cf. 1235, 1238, 1244 &c. B. 1236 Αἴσιος Μησιβούλου Σφήττιος χορηγῶν ἐνίκα Ἀκαμαντίδι Παρδιονίδι παίδων. cf. 1234, 1237, 1251 &c. C. 1247 Θρασύλλος Θρασύλλου Δεκελεὺς ἀνέθηκεν χορηγῶν νικήσας ἀνδράσιν Ἰπποθωντίδι φυλῇ. 1248 Διόδωρος Ἐφεκσιτίδου νικήσας χορῶ παίδων. 1283 Δημοστράτου νικήσας ἀνέθηκε [κυκλίω] χορῶ καὶ κωμωδοῖς.

It is possible and even probable that such a genitive as that in Οἰνῆς παίδων came to be used without much thought of construction and of what was to be supplied. But there must originally have been something on which the genitive was understood to depend, and it seems perhaps most likely to have been χορῶ, though it may also have been ἀγῶνι (see Haigh, *Tragic Drama* p. 445 note). By analogy, when we come to κωμωδῶν and τραγῳδῶν further on in the inscription we must again supply some case of χορός. With ἐχορήγει it would naturally be the dative, but this time a *dativus commodi*: with ἐδίδασκε the accusative.

This point is, however, beside my main argument as to the persons of whom τραγῳδοὶ and κωμῳδοὶ are names. Whatever the precise analysis of these phrases, the fact remains that τραγῳδοὶ and κωμῳδοὶ are parallel to ἄνδρες and παῖδες and therefore the words connote performers, not poets. There is, however, nothing in this particular group of formulae, as there was in the last, to prevent anyone holding if he likes that the performers in question are the actors, not the singers. That must be settled by other considerations.

We have seen then (1) that τραγῳδοὶ and κωμῳδοὶ came to be used as the name of a performance: (2) that in such phrases as χορηγεῖν τραγῳδοῖς the dative probably means for a tragic chorus, though it may be at the tragedies: (3) that τραγῳδοὶ and κωμῳδοὶ in the passages last examined certainly mean performers and presumably the chorus as before.

5. We go on to an extension of the use of the words as a name for performances, an extension in which the circumstances of time and place fall into the background or practically disappear, and the words come in degrees varying according to the nature of the passage to mean the tragic and comic

stage, tragedy and comedy. Tragedy and comedy are still, perhaps, thought of as heard and seen rather than read. So much still survives of the force first belonging to the words as names of performers. Tragic stage therefore will often give the idea better than tragedy. It is in some of the passages yielding this sense that by a natural misunderstanding it has been easiest to take the words as meaning poets.

Before dwelling on this I will put together the chief literary passages, not already quoted, belonging to the 5th or 4th century and containing τραγῳδός or κωμῳδός, with some of later date and two or three in which we find τραγῳδοί, a word exactly parallel to the other two. The passages do not all exhibit the sense of which I am just now especially speaking, but it is convenient to have them all under the eye at once.

Aristoph.—

- Vesp. 650 χαλεπὸν μὲν καὶ δεινὴς γνώμης καὶ μέζονος ἢ πρὶ τραγῳδοῖς κ.τ.λ.
1480 καὶ τοὺς τραγῳδοὺς φησιν ἀποδείξειν κρόνους τοὺς νῦν διορχησάμενος ὀλίγον ὕστερον.
1498 εἴ τις τραγῳδός φησιν ὀρχεῖσθαι καλῶς.
1505 ἕτερος τραγῳδὸς Κερκινίτης ἔρχεται.
1537 τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδεὶς πω πάρος δέδρακεν ὀρχούμενον ὅστις ἀπὸ ἡλαξεν χορὸν τραγῳδῶν.

- Pax. 530 Διονυσίων, αἰλῶν, τραγῳδῶν, Σοφοκλέους μελῶν, κιχλῶν.
806 ἡνίκα τῶν τραγῳδῶν τὸν χορὸν εἶχον ἀδελφός τε καὶ αὐτός.
Av. 512 ὁπότ' ἐξέλθοι Πρίαμός, τις ἔχων ὄρνιν ἐν τοῖσι τραγῳδοῖς.
787 εἰτα πεινῶν τοῖς χορροῖσι τῶν τραγῳδῶν ἦχθετο.

- Thesm. 390 ὅπου περ ἔμβραχυ εἰσὶν θεαταὶ καὶ τραγῳδοὶ (?) καὶ χοροί.

Γηρυτ. fragm. 1. 8:

- A. καὶ τίνες ἂν εἴεν; B. πρῶτα μὲν Σαννυρίων ἀπὸ τῶν τραγῳδῶν, ἀπ' οὗ δὲ τῶν τραγικῶν χορῶν Μέλητος, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν κυκλίων Κινησίας.

Crates (Mein. 2. 242: Koek. 1. 1³⁸) τοῖς δὲ τραγῳδοῖς ἕτερος σεμνὸς πᾶσιν λόγος ἄλλος ὁδ' ἔστιν.

Phrynichus wrote a comedy called *Τραγωδοί*. We know nothing as to its nature. [Plays called *κωμωδοτραγωδία* are attributed to three comic poets (Mein. 1. 247), but it is not clear how far this is a proper, how far a generic, name.]

Timocles (M. 3. 593 : K. 2. 453)—

τοὺς γὰρ τραγωδοὺς πρῶτον, εἰ βούλει, σκόπει
ὥς ὠφελούσι πάντας.

Philemon (M. 4. 44 : K. 2. 512)—

τὰ δ' ἀργυρώματ' ἐστὶν ἢ τε πορφύρα
εἰς τοὺς τραγωδοὺς εὖθετ', οὐκ εἰς τὸν βίον.
χρήσιμ',

Diphilus (M. 4. 388 : K. 2. 549)—

ὥς οἱ τραγωδοὶ φασιν οἷς ἐξουσία
ἔστιν λέγειν ἅπαντα καὶ ποιεῖν μόνοις.

Plato *Rep.* 395 A. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοι ὑποκριταὶ
κωμωδοὺς τε καὶ τραγωδοὺς οἱ αὐτοί.

Phaedr. 236 C. ἵνα δὲ μὴ τὸ τῶν
κωμωδῶν φορτικὸν πρᾶγμα ἀναγκά-
ζωμεθα ποιεῖν ἀνταποδιδόντες
ἀλλήλοις.

Leges 935 D. τὴν τῶν κωμωδῶν προ-
θυμίαν τοῦ γελοῖα εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
λέγειν.

Aristot. *Poet.* 5. 1449 b 1. καὶ γὰρ χορὸν
κωμωδῶν ὁψέ ποτε ὁ ἄρχων ἔδωκεν. 22. 1458
b 34. Ἀριφράδης τοὺς τραγωδοὺς ἐκωμῶδει, ὅτι
ἂ οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι ἐν τῇ διαλέκτῳ τοῦτοις χρῶνται.

[Aristot]. *Oec.* 1. 4. 1344 a 20. ἡ δὲ διὰ τῆς
κοσμῆσεως οὐδὲν διαφέρουσά ἐστι τῆς τῶν
τραγωδῶν ἐν τῇ σκευῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμιλίας.

Diodor. 4. 56. 1. καθόλου δὲ διὰ τὴν τῶν
τραγωδῶν τερατείαν ποικιλὴ τις καὶ διάφορος
ἱστορία περὶ Μηδείας ἐξενήκεται.

Dionys. Hal. *de. vet. script.* 2. 11 τῶν δὲ
κωμωδῶν μιμῆται (i.e. Euripides), τὰς λεκτικὰς
ἁρμονίας.

Dion Chrys. 13. 224 τραγωδοὺς ἐκάστοτε
ὀρᾶτε τοῖς Διονυσίοις. 21. 272 τὸ μὴ πάν-
φιλεῖν τοὺς τραγωδοὺς μηδὲ ζηλοῦν.

Lucian *Herm.* 86 τὸ τῶν τραγωδῶν τοῦτο,
θεὸς ἐκ μηχανῆς ἐπιφανείς.

Tox. 9 ὅποταν ὑμῖν οἱ τραγωδοὶ τὰς
τοιαύτας φιλίας ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν
ἀναβιβάσαντες δεικνύουσιν. cf.
Iuurr. Trag. 41.

Anach. 22 τοῖς δέ γε κωμωδοῖς καὶ
ἀποσκόπτειν καὶ λοιδορεῖσθαι ἐφέ-
μεν ἐς τοὺς πολίτας.

Zeus τραγῳδός is the name of a
well-known dialogue.

Pollux 5. 97 ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ παρὰ τοῖς κωμωδοῖς
καὶ ἐγκλαστρίδια κ.τ.λ. But cf. *ib.* 101 and
6. 18.

When Ar. *An.* 512 speaks of Priam
appearing ἐν τοῖς τραγωδοῖς, the editors
rightly explain this as ἐν ταῖς τραγωδαίαις.
We must not however suppose that it means
literally 'in the tragic poets,' as we might
say that Richard III appears 'in Shakspeare.'
Ἐν is never used thus in good Greek: even
the use of παρά with a dative of the author's
name seems to be later. Τραγωδοί are still
the performers standing for what they
perform; 'on the tragic stage.' Equally
clear, perhaps clearer, is the use in Philemon.
If τοὺς τραγωδοὺς meant the persons to whom
the things were serviceable, we should have
had τοῖς τραγωδοῖς, not εἰς τοὺς τραγωδοὺς.
This passage deserves special notice, as it
lends itself very easily to misconception and
yet certainly cannot mean even 'for the
purposes of tragic poets,' but only 'in
application to tragic performers,' 'for
tragedy.' No one will contend that εἰς σὲ
χρήσιμα could mean 'useful to you' or 'for
your purposes': it could only be 'useful to
somebody else as regards you.' The antithesis
of εἰς τὸν βίον further points the meaning.

In the light of these two passages and
after what has been said above we can have
no difficulty in dealing with the comic
fragments and the passages from *Phaedrus*,
Laws, *Poetics* 22, Diodorus, Dionysius, Dion
Chrysostom, and Lucian. In not one of
them is there any reason for thinking that
τραγωδοὶ and κωμωδοὶ mean specifically poets;
it is still the performers standing for their
plays, their tragic or comic stage.¹ But a
few places may be mentioned separately.

Commenting on Plat. *Rep.* 395 A, Ast in
his *Lexicon Platonium* takes κωμωδοὶ and
τραγωδοὶ by an odd oversight, perhaps only
a clerical error, for actors. In such a con-
text this is manifestly impossible, and the
words are usually (I imagine) understood
to mean that tragic and comic poets employ
different actors. But we can now see that
the words may quite well mean (1) that
tragedy and comedy have different actors,

¹ The use of σάτυροι for a satyric play is partly
parallel. See Ar. *Thesm.* 157 ὅταν σατύρους τοῖνον
ποιῆς, καλεῖται ἐμέ: *C.I.G.* 1. 1584 ποιητὴς σατύρων
along with ποιητὴς τραγωδιῶν and ποιητὴς κωμωδιῶν
(for other cases in inscriptions cf. A. Müller, *Griech.*
Bühnencult. p. 391, n. 4); Strabo 60 ἴων ἐν Ὀμφάλῃ
σατύροις: Athen. 407 F ἐν Ἰκαρίοις σατύροις: *ib.* 420
Ἀ γράψας σατύρους Μενέδημον with Diog. L. 2. 140:
arg. *Medea* Θερισταῖς σατύροις: Suidas s.v. Πρατίνας·
πρῶτος ἔγραψε σατύρους: Horace *A.P.* 235 *satyrorum*
scriptor. Hence σατυρογράφος. Like τραγωδοί,
σάτυροι is the name of the chorus (from whom a
Greek play so often took its name), but τραγωδοί
connotes the performers, σάτυροι the characters per-
formed. Once or twice it is the singular σάτυρος
which is used: c.g. *C.I.G.* 2758 IV. and Demetr.
Π. ἐρμ. 169 σάτυρον γράφει ἀντὶ τραγωδίας.

or (2) that there are different actors *at tragic and comic performances*. Our choice of interpretations is like that we have with regard to χορηγεῖν τραγωδοῖς.

In Ar. *Vesp.* 650 τραγωδοῖς is simply *comedy*: in the fragment of the *Gerytades* τῶν τραγωδῶν are either again *comedy*, the comic stage, or strictly parallel with the χορῶν that follows and used of the *singers*, the chorus.

The lines *Vesp.* 1537, *Pax* 806, *Av.* 787, though of a different kind, have been misunderstood in the same way. In all three, certainly in the first and third, the words have been understood of *poets*, but there is not the slightest occasion for this in any of them. In all three the words are closely connected with χορός and describe the persons of whom the χορός consisted, as in χορὸς παίδων, χορὸς παιδικός above cited and probably in the παίδων, etc., of the inscriptions (Οὐνίης παίδων). To these three passages join that from *Poetics* 5, which presents no difficulty. The χορηγὸς τραγωδῶν of Dem. 21, 59 may be recalled in this connexion. It cannot mean *choregus of tragic poets*, because each choregus was associated with one poet only, nor is the relation of choregus to poet ever expressed (as far as I know) by such a genitive. The τραγωδοί are almost certainly *the chorus*, whose choregus the man was, though it is just possible that the word may mean here *of tragedy*. In the Parian Marble, 54, κωμω[δῶν]χο[ρὸς] ἡ[γ]έρ[ε]θη is only conjectural.

There remain a few passages still to be considered. In Ar. *Thesm.* 391, if the text is right, τραγωδοί and χοροί seem to be distinguished from each other. But the scholium to Plato, *Theages*, 127 c, quotes it as θεαταὶ καὶ τραγωδικοὶ χοροί, and this reading has been adopted by several editors, including Velsen. Cf. *Ach.* 886 ποθεινὴ μὲν τραγωδικοῖς χοροῖς: Lysias, 21, 4 παιδικῷ χορῷ. In three passages of the *Vespae* (1480, 1498, 1505) τραγωδός is used with special reference to dancing. Although Carcinus and one at least of his sons here introduced were writers of tragedy, it is clear that τραγωδός does not refer to that, but is still the name of a choreutes, no small part of whose professional business was dancing. There is no reason why Philocleon should challenge tragic poets to dance. He challenges the trained dancers. Photius 598, 4 records for us that Aristophanes used the verb τραγωδεῖν = χορεύειν. Cf. the glosses in Hesychius: τραγωδία· χορεία, κωμωδία and τραγωδός· χορευτής, κωμωδός; in which we ought perhaps to

read τραγωδία and τραγωδός. Χορεύειν is seldom, if ever, used with regard to choral song. In *Pax* 530 the sense of τραγωδῶν is indeterminate, but αἰλῶν and μελῶν help to indicate it.

Let us take last the passage of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Oeconomics*. Here, if in any place discussed so far, τραγωδοί seems so used as to apply to *actors*, not indeed expressly, but taken along with the *singers* under a general expression. The other words hardly admit of our making it here the performance. τραγωδοί must be the performers, and when we consider the sense we cannot very well exclude the actors, who have most of the ὁμιλία πρὸς ἀλλήλους. It seems to me that in this place the word is used confusedly and applies to actors and chorus together. I say 'confusedly,' because I think the writer had first in his mind the idea of οἱ τραγωδοί = the tragic stage, with which sense the words πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμιλία are not in strict logic consistent. Be it remembered that we do not know when this sentence was written, or whether the writer was an Athenian and fully master of the delicacies of Attic speech.

It ought to be pointed out here that the verbs τραγωδῶ, κωμωδῶ are used without the limitations of the nouns. Thus in Ar. *Thesm.* 85 Euripides the poet is made to say ὅτι τὴν τραγωδῶ καὶ κακῶς αὐτὰς λέγω; and in *Nub.* 1091 τί δαί; τραγωδοῦσ' ἐκ τίνων; the parallel of συνηγοροῦσιν and δημηγοροῦσι suggests that it is poets who τραγωδοῦσιν. It is Euripides, not his choreutae or actors, that Aristophanes is pretending to attack. The scholiast, however, followed by Meineke, l, 149, refers it to choreutae. So too Aristophanes uses κωμωδῶ of himself, the poet: *Ach.* 631 ὥς κωμωδεῖ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν καὶ τὸν δῆμον καθυβρίζει: *ib.* 655 κωμωδήσει τὰ δίκαια: *Pax* 751 οὐκ ἰδιώτας ἀνθρωπίσκους κωμωδῶν οὐδὲ γυναικας. For other uses of the two verbs, sometimes in a derivative and not dramatic sense, see *Plutus* 557: [Xen.] *R.A.* 2, 18: Plat. *Rep.* 395 e and 452 d: Ar. *Poet.* 22, 1458 b, 34; Dem. 18, 13 and 19, 189.

6. Our result so far is this: The evidence that in Attic of this date the words were ever used of *poets* is absolutely *nil*, and the evidence for their having been used distinctly of *actors* is practically *nil* too. *Thesm.* 391 and *Oecon.* 1, 4 are the only passages that lend any colour to the latter theory.

If from other Attic evidence we knew with certainty that the words sometimes

bore the meanings in question, we might consider the propriety of taking them so in a very few of the passages above given. The utmost which can really be said is that a few passages admit of such a meaning, supposing the possibility of it to be established otherwise. For instance, in Crates, Diphilus, Timocles, Plato, Aristotle *Poetics* 22, οἱ τραγωδοί might be *poets*, if there were independent and conclusive evidence that the word ever bore that meaning. But it has been shown that other well-established usages fully and naturally explain the passages in question, and that no such meaning is in any degree needed for them. To establish the sense of *poet* or *actor*, what we want is some passage where no other explanation is plausible or possible, whereas we have seen that in all those above cited another sense is quite satisfactory. Are there any passages, such as will be quoted shortly from different sources, where a specific author, *e.g.* Euripides, or a specific actor, *e.g.* Theodorus, is spoken of as τραγῳδός or κωμῳδός? If any such can be found, it will need the most careful consideration, but no number of passages proves anything in which the words can quite well be ranged under another use. I should be very sorry to say confidently that I have not overlooked some occurrence of the words. Our lexica and indices are as yet so imperfect that this is very likely to have happened. I will only say that I know of no passage in which either of the alleged senses is to be found, and will ask other scholars to supply any omission of which I have been guilty.

7. It is very significant in this matter that in literature the words hardly ever occur in the singular. They are almost always in the plural. If, as I have argued, they mean (1) *singers*, in most cases forming a chorus, acting and spoken of together, (2) a performance, (3) tragedy or the tragic stage, comedy or the comic stage, the two latter meanings being derived directly from the first, it is natural that they should generally appear in the plural. If however a single actor or poet could be so called, why do we not find the singular occurring in the sense? An actor, a poet, is mentioned often enough, but never by this designation. In good Attic Greek I can cite for the singular τραγῳδός only the two passages *Vesp.* 1498 and 1505; and a fragment of Menander (*M.* 4. 300: *K.* 3. 231) τραγῳδὸς ἦν ἀγὼν Διονύσια, where τραγῳδός would be an adjective and τραγῳδῶν is conjectured.

8. We have now to consider some evidence

which may very probably be thought to show that *outside Attica* the words could be used in the sense of tragic and comic *actors*. It consists mainly in inscriptions relating to festivals at which, though they were not Dionysiac, performances of a dramatic nature took place along with others. We will begin with two that appear in Böckh's *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* No. 1584 (*Vol.* 1), relating to the Charitesia at Orchomenus and dated by Böckh about 200 B.C., gives a list of victors by their own names and professional designations. The names may be omitted here as immaterial. The professional designations are as follows: οἶδε ἐνίκων τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Χαριτησίῳ σάλπιστής, κῆρυξ, ῥαψῳδός, ποιητῆς ἐπῶν, αὐλητής, αὐλωδός, κιθαριστής, κιθαρωδός, τραγῳδός, κωμῳδός, ποιητῆς σατύρων, ὑποκριτής, ποιητῆς τραγῳδιῶν, ὑποκριτής, ποιητῆς κωμῳδιῶν, ὑποκριτής.

No. 1585, relating to another Boeotian festival and belonging to imperial times, enumerates in like manner (after some others that it is unnecessary to give here) ῥαψῳδός, πυθαύλας, κιθαριστάς, τραγῳδὸς παλαιᾶς τραγῳδίας, ποιητῆς καινῆς κωμῳδίας, ὑποκριτής καινῆς κωμῳδίας, ποιητῆς καινῆς τραγῳδίας, ὑποκριτής καινῆς τραγῳδίας, χοραύλης, νεαρωδός, σατυρογράφος, διὰ πάντων. In this Böckh plausibly supposed that between the third and fourth victors a κωμῳδὸς παλαιᾶς κωμῳδίας has been accidentally omitted. In the first of these records the τραγῳδός and κωμῳδός (each in the singular) are clearly distinct from the various ὑποκριταί mentioned subsequently, as they are from the poets. In the second the τραγῳδὸς παλαιᾶς τραγῳδίας is distinguished from the ὑποκριτῆς καινῆς τραγῳδίας, and, if we adopt Böckh's suggestion, there would also be a distinction between κωμῳδὸς παλαιᾶς κωμῳδίας and ὑποκριτῆς καινῆς κωμῳδίας.

We may place here a third inscription (965 in Rangabé's *Antiq. Hell.*), relating to the Amphiaraea at Oropus and referred by Rangabé to almost Roman times. In this after some other competitors we find ποιητῆς σατύρων, τραγῳδός, κωμῳδός, ποιητῆς τραγῳδίας, ποιητῆς κωμῳδίας, ἐπινίκιον, &c., but, written small at the side so as to be associated with ποιητῆς τραγῳδίας and ποιητῆς κωμῳδίας respectively, ὑποκριτής with a name is twice added. Τραγῳδός and κωμῳδός are therefore again distinguished from ὑποκριτής.

It is well known that Böckh founded on inscriptions such as these his theory of 'lyrical tragedy,' supposing τραγῳδός in the first inscription to be the same as τραγῳδὸς παλαιᾶς τραγῳδίας in the second, and taking παλαιὰ τραγῳδία to be an older type

of tragedy, lyrical in character, in which new plays continued to be composed. The records since found at Athens (*C.I.A.* 1. 973: see Haigh *Attic Theatre* pp. 99 and 395), in which παλαιὰ τραγωδία indisputably means only a tragedy that might be called old at the date in question, e.g. the *Orestes* of Euripides in 340 B.C., have thrown very great doubts on this, and it had been much questioned even before. Cf. also the statement preserved in Bekker's *Anecdota* 1. 309 τῶν τραγῳδῶν οἱ μὲν ἦσαν παλαιοί, οἱ παλαιὰ δράματα εἰσαγαγόντες, οἱ δὲ καινοὶ οἱ καινὰ καὶ μηδέποτε εἰσενεχθέντα. It is indeed obvious that the very phrase καινοὶ τραγωδοί above examined implies an antithesis to something that might be called παλαιόν. Lüders (*Dionysische Künstler* p. 129), A. Müller (*Griech. Bühnenalt.* p. 387), and Haigh (*Tragic Drama* p. 447 n. 7) agree that in these inscriptions τραγῳδός is a protagonist who made himself responsible for the production of an old play. They do not however explain why in these cases the actor is called not ὑποκριτής but τραγῳδός or κωμῳδός. Even if the latter words were in use for actors, there must be some reason why in the same inscriptions certain performers are formally styled ὑποκριτής and certain others τραγῳδός or κωμῳδός. It is no explanation to say that the actor who brought out an old play (or part of it) was called τραγῳδός. Why was he called so? As we have seen that in good Attic the words appear not to have been used of actors, it becomes still more probable that the difference of name followed some difference of kind in the performance.

May not the words, as used in these and some other places, signify a performance by one or two people in which singing was paramount? We know how much there was of this even for actors from early times. The *kommoi* properly so called and other commatic scenes are a marked feature in all three tragic poets. Monodies, though they did not begin with Euripides, are prominent in his plays and form the subject of an amusing parody in the *Frogs*. Cf. *Pax* 1012: *Thesm.* 1077. It is plain that these monodies became very important in the later tragedy. Why should not solos, duets, trios have been the performances to which the names τραγῳδός and κωμῳδός sometimes refer? What had once been the part of the chorus, when a play e.g. of Euripides was first brought out, might often in single scenes be quite well taken by one voice. Monodies apart, we can find plenty of lyrical or semi-lyrical passages in extant plays that

might be picked out for performance in this way, just as in our theatres on benefit nights and others bits of many plays are often given. Such would be the great Cassandra scene in the *Agamemnon*, the *kommos* in the *Antigone*, Phaedra and her nurse in the *Hippolytus*. As actors sometimes recited famous speeches, so songs and whole lyrical scenes from old plays may sometimes have been given, and of course new solos and duets could also be composed. Some stories that have come down to us, e.g. that in Plutarch's *Lysander* of the song from the *Electra*, and what he tells us in *Nicias* about the lyrics of Euripides which the Athenians in Sicily were able to turn to account, may support this conjecture—I mean only as showing how popular such songs were. Songs from comedy might not be so easy to find, but some would certainly be forthcoming, and perhaps even anapaestic or trochaic passages might be included. The tragic lyrics or lyrical tragedies, which were so popular at Rome and elsewhere under the Empire and which will have to be mentioned again presently, would afford a good parallel for such a practice of reviving old or producing new monodies. A passage of Philostratus (*Vit. Apollon.* 4. 21) seems clearly to imply that such performances were at a later date familiar in Greek cities. Apollonius thought the Athenians went to the theatre μονωδίας ἀκροασομένους καὶ μελοποιίας παραβάσειν τε καὶ ῥυθμῶν, ὅποσοι κωμῳδίας τε καὶ τραγῳδίας εἰσὶν and was disappointed to find they only went to see dancing. In much earlier times what are we to make of the lyrical dialogue between Aegeus and another (?) person which forms the 18th (or 17th) poem of Bacchylides? It is exactly such a composition as I imagine two τραγωδοί may have sung, and for some such purpose it must have been composed.

If this practice existed, a τραγῳδός would not necessarily be a different person altogether from an actor. The same man might be called τραγῳδός and ὑποκριτής according to circumstances. The actor in an ordinary tragedy would sometimes have to sing monodies or bear a part in lyrical scenes. Perhaps even by this he became a τραγῳδός: still more, when he had little or nothing else than singing to do. We should not therefore be surprised, if the same man were spoken of by both names, and this would not prove that the names meant just the same thing. With us the same actor and actress may appear, or at any rate may have appeared, in both comedy and comic opera. Yet the two things are by no means the

same. Singing does not cease to be the characteristic feature of the one, though the same performer may make his appearance in the other.

We have to consider very carefully four interesting records of performances which took place at the Delphic festival known as Soteria. They were first published in Wescher and Foucart's *Inscriptions de Delphes* (Nos. 3-6): but may also be found elsewhere, e.g. in Lüders' *Dionysische Künstler*, p. 187, with a discussion of them beginning at p. 112, and the first of them is given in Dittenberger's *Sylloge* (404 in ed. 1: 691 in ed. 2, 1900), who now dates it not much after 270 B.C. They vary slightly in details but are very uniform and it will be enough to describe the first of them. I leave out, as before, the personal names, which are given all through, and only put down the style under which the various performers are enumerated. οἶδε ἡγωνίσαντο τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Σωτηρίων—ραψῳδοί 2, κιθαρισταί 2, κιθαρωδοί 2, παῖδες χορευταί 5, ἄνδρες χορευταί 5, αἰληταί 2, διδάσκαλοι 2, τραγῳδοί 3, αἰλητής, διδάσκαλος, 3 more names (apparently τραγῳδοί as no designation is given: so regularly) with αἰλητής and διδάσκαλος, 3 more names with αἰλητής and διδάσκαλος, κωμῳδοί 3 with αἰλητής (a διδάσκαλος has probably dropped out by accident), 3 more names with αἰλητής and διδάσκαλος, three more with the same, three more with the same, χορευταί κωμικοί 7, ἱματιομίσθαι 3. In two of the inscriptions the number of the παῖδες and ἄνδρες is much larger, 12 and 15. In the fourth an αἰλητής and διδάσκαλος are only recorded with 3 out of 9 κωμῳδοί. All four have 7 χορευταί κωμικοί: none any χορευταί τραγικοί.

At first sight we are disposed to say, as Lüders, Dittenberger, A. Müller, &c., do say, that the three τραγῳδοί and the three κωμῳδοί are obviously the three actors of ordinary tragedy and comedy. Perhaps they are. But, when we examine the lists, we are struck by the fact that, with one or two exceptions, each set of three performers, tragic or comic, has its pipe-player and its teacher. The former is less noticeable, because an actor would probably need him now and then: it was however only for singing that he was wanted. The remarkable thing is that there was a teacher with each set of performers. As far as our information goes, I believe teachers are never mentioned in connexion with actors properly so called. We hear of them usually as teaching the chorus, that is they taught singing and dancing. The teachers of tragedy are such people as Sannio in the *Midias*, ὁ

τοὺς τραγικοὺς χοροὺς διδάσκων (58: cf. 59 πάντα τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνον διδάσκει τοὺς χορούς). Χοροδιδάσκαλος is a more explicit word for the same thing. There is no doubt that the dramatic sense of διδάσκειν came from the original sense of teaching the chorus. It is never used, so far as I know, (though Foucart de *Colleg. Scæn. Artif. apud Graecos*, p. 75, quietly assumes this to be the meaning of the word), of teaching actors who had simply to speak their parts. When then we find teacher and musician going along with every set of performers, does not the idea present itself that the performers were rather vocalists than actors proper? Perhaps it may be thought that, although only the actors are specified, there must have been dramatic choruses too, and that the teachers were for them. It is indeed difficult to understand how a complete play of the type known to us can have been performed without a chorus. The chorus could not be simply dropped out of any tragedy we have. But with regard to these Soteria records (1) the lists of performers appear complete, the names for instance of all those in the dithyrambic choruses being enumerated; (2) in each of them there actually is one set of seven χορευταί κωμικοί mentioned with their names, though no χορευταί τραγικοί are mentioned at all; (3) the critics above named agree in thinking no ordinary dramatic choruses to have appeared and the χορευταί κωμικοί to have been dancers.

With these Delphic records it is natural to associate the Amphietyonic decree found at Athens (*C.I.A.* 2. 551) guaranteeing safe-conduct, &c. to the 'artists,' i.e. οἱ περὶ Διόνυσον τεχνῖται, of Athens. There are mentioned in it πρόσβεις: Ἀστυδάμας ποιητής τραγῳδίας,—μος τραγῳδός. Astydamas, if it is the famous tragic poet of that name, carries us back well into the fourth century, and the τραγῳδός has been plausibly thought to be Aristodemus, the Athenian actor contemporary with Demosthenes. This is the earliest example I have found of τραγῳδός used in the singular of one performer, except the two lines of the *Wasps* above quoted in which it evidently refers to a χορευτής.

Other inscriptions in Lüders, pp. 183-186 afford a few examples of τραγῳδός and κωμῳδός in the singular without (I think) throwing any light on our difficulty. *C.I.G.* 1845, referred by Böckh to the 2nd or 3rd century B.C. arranges for 3 αἰληταί, 3 τραγῳδοί, and 3 κωμῳδοί to be supplied to Corcyra, and another in Le Bas (*Asie Min.* 281; also

Lüders, p. 181) for two of each kind to be sent to Iasos. Lüders and A. Müller suppose that in these cases the τραγωδοί and κωμωδοί were three protagonists, accompanied by other actors and necessary persons like the 3 ἀλῆγται expressly mentioned, to appear in competition with each other. Each τραγῳδός and κωμῳδός therefore would virtually stand for a company of performers. This is somewhat improbable in itself and necessitates a quite different interpretation from that of the Delphic decrees, where three τραγωδοί are certainly not understood to be three protagonists. How are we to explain the record in an Egyptian inscription (about 250 B.C. : *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* ix. 131) of one τραγῳδός, six κωμῳδοί, and four συναγωνισταὶ τραγικοί? Some Delian inscriptions (*Bull. de Corr. Hell.* vii. 105 : Dittenberger *Syll.*² 692) seem to give usually two κωμῳδοί and three τραγῳδοί: once one κωμῳδός. For a few more references see A. Müller's *Griech. Bühnenalt.*, pp. 384-388.

If the view here suggested be correct, that τραγῳδός did not for a long time lose its proper sense of *singer*, but that an actor might be called τραγῳδός on particular occasions or with particular reference to any singing that came into his part, it may explain why the well-known actor Neoptolemus is called Νεοπτόλεμος ὁ τραγῳδός in Diodorus 16, 92. So late a writer very possibly meant by the word *only actor*. But it is at least a curious coincidence that, when the word is used, Diodorus is about to quote those lyrical verses of sinister significance which the great actor sang before Philip of Macedon. Perhaps the passage that tells most strongly is one on the other side in which Athenaeus 538 F, following Chares of Mitylene who was a sort of chamberlain to Alexander and wrote memoirs, describes a great festivity given by the king. Many eminent performers of various kinds appeared at it; ὑπεκρίθησαν δὲ τραγωδοὶ μὲν Θεσσαλὸς καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρος καὶ Ἀριστόκριτος, κωμῳδοὶ δὲ Λύκων καὶ Φορμίων καὶ Ἀρίστων. It may no doubt be that these performances were rather a matter of singing than speaking, but some of the performers are known as actors, ὑπεκρίθησαν is used, and the presumption is the other way, especially when we compare Plut. *Alex.* 29, where the same well-known actors (ὑποκριταί) are mentioned in connexion with Alexander. A good deal turns on the question whether we have here the very words of Chares himself, or only the substance of them in the language of Athenaeus, whose use of τραγῳδός for actor would not be noticeable. It must

be allowed that he seems to be quoting, but the point is not entirely clear, and elsewhere, when he seems to be quoting, his words are not always identical with the words of our texts. In the parallel place 584 D there is no reason for thinking that Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ τραγῳδοῦ is quoted from Lynceus: Athenaeus seems to be summarising throughout. In any case the passage proves nothing as to Attic usage, Chares not being Athenian.

The last is the point on which I wish to lay most stress. Many readers may think that this passage from Athenaeus along with the Amphictyonic decree, and perhaps with some of the other inscriptions, either amounts to proof or at least raises a stronger presumption than anything I have said can rebut. Nor am I prepared very strongly to deny this, though I call attention again to the remarkable combination of διδάσκαλοι with τραγωδοί at Delphi and to the necessity of explaining the words τραγῳδός and κωμῳδός where, as in Boeotian inscriptions, they are clearly distinguished from ὑποκριτής. But all the passages which it may seem natural to understand of actors are at any rate non-Attic. This may point to the actor's functions being different, song more than speech. It may however point only to a difference in the use of words. Though we talk a good deal about Attic purity, it is probable that in practice we often fail to realise the many minute differences between the Greek of Attica and the various forms of Greek current in other states of Greece. In studying the promiscuous vocabulary of Xenophon, often curiously unattic, I have had occasion to illustrate this point very frequently. There would therefore be nothing surprising in the fact, if it were established, that outside Attica τραγῳδός and κωμῳδός sometimes bore a meaning never given to them by a careful speaker or writer of Attic. There would indeed be nothing surprising if under such circumstances a Xenophon or an Aristotle or some other writer who (unlike Aristotle) was an Athenian, and (unlike Xenophon) lived mainly at Athens was now and then betrayed into the less Attic use of the terms in question.

With regard therefore to the use of τραγῳδός and κωμῳδός for *actor*, although I do not believe it to be Attic of the fifth and fourth centuries, I hesitate to affirm more. Others perhaps will be able to throw further light on the question. The new inscriptions of Delphi and the other finds which we are now constantly making

may help us. If it be proved, as it may, that I am quite wrong, this argument will still not have been wasted, should it lead to a thorough mustering and examining of the evidence. Many scholars have had something to say about the use of the words in the above-cited inscriptions, but it has always been taken for granted that the meaning *actor* was a *vera causa*, a fact known otherwise for certain. No one, I think, has tried to show that, at any rate in the best Attic, the words never bore that meaning.

9. When Attic and later writers have occasion to speak definitely of tragic and comic poets, by what names do they call them? Aristophanes refers to himself eight or ten times as (ὁ) ποιητής, three times as ὁ διδάσκαλος. He also uses the words κωμωδοποιητής (*Paax* 734), κωμωδοδιδάσκαλος (*Eq.* 507), τραγωδοποιός (*Thesm.* 30), τραγωδοδιδάσκαλος. κωμῳδός does not so much as occur in him or in any of the comic fragments collected by Meineke. Yet he would have been very likely to use it, if admissible, of himself or some other poet. In other writers besides ποιητής, τραγωδίας or κωμωδίας ποιητής, which seems the regular and perhaps technical expression in the formal language of inscriptions, and ὁ ποιήσας τραγωδίαν or κωμωδίαν, I have found without much seeking:—

τραγικός Sannyrion, Alexis, Plato, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Lucian, Athenaeus, (τραγικός ποιητής Aeschines: ἀνὴρ τραγικός Plat. *Phaedo* 115 A?).

κωμικός Polybius, Plutarch often, Lucian, M. Aurelius, Athenaeus, Pollux, (κωμικός ποιητής Aeschines, Lucian).

τραγωδ(ι)οποιός Plato, Heraclides Ponticus (who wrote a book περὶ τῶν τριῶν τραγωδοποιῶν), Aristoxenus (who wrote περὶ τραγωδοποιῶν).

κωμωδοποιός Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, Athenaeus.

κωμωδοποιητής Pollux.

τραγωδοδιδάσκαλος Aristotle, Isocrates, Dionysius H., Lucian, Athenaeus.

κωμωδοδιδάσκαλος Lysias, Aristotle, Dionysius H., Pollux.

τραγωδ(ι)ογράφος Polybius, Diodorus.

κωμωδογράφος Dioscorides: κωμωδ(ι)ογράφος Polybius, Diodorus.

In the *Poetics* the word ποιητής occurs from thirty-five to forty times. In many of these places the sense is general, but in many of them, though certainly a minority, a tragic poet is meant. Yet Aristotle never designates a poet as τραγικός, unless it be in 22, 1458 b, 34 τοὺς τραγικοὺς ἐκω-

μῶδει, which I have explained above quite differently. On Athenaeus' incessant use of κωμωδοποιός and κωμικός see below.

If an actor is spoken of, he is ὑποκριτής, τραγικός or κωμικός ὑποκριτής (*Dem.* 5. 6: 19. 193: 57. 18: [59. 26]: *Aesch.* 1. 119 and 158), ὑποκριτής τῆς τραγωδίας (*Ar. Pol.* 4. 17. 1336 b. 28: *Alciphron* 3. 48. 1). Οἱ κωμικοὶ in a line of Alexis (*Meineke* 3. 423 13: *Kock* 2. 329. 13) must cover actors, even if it cover the chorus too, but I have not found κωμικός or τραγικός used distinctly elsewhere of an actor, though perhaps they are. (If *Alciphron* 3. 71. 1 wrote τῷ χορῷ τῶν κωμικῶν συλλαμβάνει (με), τῶν κωμικῶν seems to mean the choreutae; but perhaps we should read τῷ κωμικῷ). Actors are also τεχνῖται, περὶ Διονύσιον τεχνῖται, etc. but like *artifices* this is a more general word and covers all persons, sometimes even poets, concerned with dramatic performances.

10. Whatever may be the true state of the case with regard to inscriptions, in literature proper for a long time after the Attic era it is difficult to find clear or even apparent instances of τραγικός or κωμικός in the sense of actor. Passages, far apart in time, of Chares and Diodorus have been cited above. I cannot adduce any others for the centuries covered by these names, but that may be due rather to scanty knowledge on my part and to the great imperfection of our lexicographical aids than to the fact that they do not exist. Our Greek literature of these times is also itself so scanty that no dearth of examples can warrant us in alleging the words not to have been freely used in this particular sense. The Latin use, which I will come to presently, would be likely to react on the Greek, even if it was not itself derived from a Greek, though not a good Attic, usage. This doubt may be cleared up by those more familiar than myself with literature and inscriptions of these centuries, or the discovery of fresh texts may remove it at any moment.

We do not know very well how to date the treatise περὶ ὕψους, though the trend of opinion now is towards ascribing it to the first century. A use of τραγικοί in it is not clear. In 15. 2 the author says, referring to the *Orestes*, ἐνταῦθ' ὁ ποιητής αὐτὸς εἶδεν Ἑρινίαν, and then in § 8 οἱ ῥήτορες καθάπερ οἱ τραγικοὶ βλέπουν τὴν Ἑρινίαν. At first sight we take τραγικοί as like the ποιητής of § 2, but he goes on καὶ οὐδὲ ἐκείνο μαθεῖν οἱ γενναῖοι δύνανται ὅτι ὁ λέγων Ὀρέστης 'μέθες κ.τ.λ.' φαντάζεται ταῦθ' ὅτι μαίνεται which

looks rather as though τραγωδοί were illustrated by Orestes and therefore meant men in plays, actors. The latter sense seems for other reasons much more likely than the former, but on the whole I believe this to be a rather confused instance (like that, perhaps, above in *Oecon.* 1. 4) of οἱ τραγωδοί for *tragedy*.

In Plutarch it is pretty clear that such passages as the following exhibit the sense we are seeking: *Cicero* 5 Ῥωσκίῳ τῷ κωμωδῷ... Δισώπῳ τῷ τραγῳδῷ: *Phocion* 19 καὶ ποτε θεωμένων καινοὺς τραγῳδοὺς Ἀθηναίων ὁ μὲν τραγῳδὸς εἰσίνει μέλλον βασιλίδος πρόσωπον κ.τ.λ.: *Moralia* 334 D-F γέγονασι δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν (Alexander) τραγῳδοὶ μὲν οἱ περὶ Θετταλὸν καὶ ὁ Ἀθηνόδωρος... κωμῳδοὶ δ' ἦσαν οἱ περὶ Λύκωνα τὸν Σκαρφέα· τούτῳ δ' εἰς τινα κωμῳδίαν ἐμβολόντι στιχὸν κ.τ.λ. cf. Chares above quoted: the same names): *ib.* 785 B Πῶλον δὲ τὸν τραγῳδὸν κ.τ.λ. But at times, e.g. *Moralia* 63 A οἱ τραγῳδοὶ χοροῦ δέονται φίλων συναδόντων, the use is not clear and τραγῳδοί might be *tragedy*.

A few later passages may be added both for their own sake and as illustrating the sort of evidence which is so lacking for the alleged Attic use in early centuries. (1) *Arrian Epict. Diss.* 1. 24. 18 τραγῳδῷ προσέρχῃ, οὐ τῷ ὑποκριτῇ, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ τῷ Οἰδίποδι: *ib.* 1. 29 τραγῳδὸς occurs several times, but possibly it refers rather to a singer, and so in 4. 7. 37; 3. 4. 1 κωμῳδῷ is pretty certainly an actor. (2) *M. Anton.* 3. 8 ὡς ἂν τις εἴποι τὸν τραγῳδὸν πρὸ τοῦ τελέσσαι καὶ διαδραματίσαι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι and 12. 36 οἷον εἰ κωμῳδὸν ἀπολνεί τῆς σκηνῆς ὁ παραλαβὼν στρατηγός. (3) *Lucian Navig.* 46 οἱ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ὑποκρινόμενοι τραγῳδοὶ ἐξεληθόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ θεάτρου κ.τ.λ.: *Anacharsis* 23 describes the dress, including the foot-coverings, of τραγῳδοὶ and κωμῳδοὶ in a way that clearly refers, at least mainly, to actors, and so in *de Hist. Conscr.* 22 the high shoe of a τραγῳδός is mentioned. In the Ζεὺς τραγῳδός there is nothing to connect the word specially with song. Cf. the Τραγῳδοποδάγρα. Some passages again are ambiguous e.g. *Pseudol.* 10 the proverbial Ἰλιεύς ὢν τραγῳδοὺς ἐμισθώσω. (4) *Phrynichus* p. 163 (Lobeck) σὺ μέντοι ἔνθα μὲν κωμῳδοὶ καὶ τραγῳδοὶ ἀγωνίζονται λογιέον ἐρεῖς, ἔνθα δὲ οἱ αὐληταὶ καὶ οἱ χοροὶ ὀρχίστανται.

But even in these times the words are sometimes used with a distinct reference to singing, e.g. *Arrian Epict. Diss.* 3. 14. 1 ὡς οἱ κακοὶ τραγῳδοὶ μόνον ᾄσαι οὐ δυνάμενοι ἀλλὰ μετὰ πολλῶν: *Lucian, Pisc.* 38 τραγῳδὸν τινα... κεκινήκαμεν ᾄσόμενον τὰς Φρυγῶν συμφοράς. Sometimes the noun and the verb appear to

refer to the 'lyrical tragedy,' if so it may be called, which was in imperial times so much in favour at Rome and elsewhere, and on which we may refer to Friedländer's *Sittengesch.* 2. 404, and sometimes it is difficult to say how far plain acting is meant as distinguished from the acting of a singer. See for instance *Dio Chrys.* 33. 396 C τραγῳδὸν τινα ἐπιδημήσαντα ἡνώχλουν ἐπιδείξασθαι κελεύοντες: *Lucian De Hist. Conscr.* 1 Ἀρχέλαος ὁ τραγῳδός... τραγῳδῆσας τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν, and two or three passages in *Dio Cassius* in which Nero ἐκθαυρόηδρε καὶ ἐτραγῳδῆσεν, &c. Cf. the *cantare Orestem, cantare tragoedias* of *Suetonius*.

How τραγῳδῷ lasted on in the sense of *singing* appears from the scholia on Theocritus (cited in the *Thesaurus*) 1. 19 ᾄδειν δὲ τὸ κοινῶς τραγῳδεῖν: 3. 38 ᾄσεύμαι Δωρικῶς ἦγον ᾄσονται, τὸ κοινῶς τραγῳδῆσω. Cf. *Sophocles' Lexicon* under this and the kindred words.

11. I do not know any examples of either word applied to a poet in a way which is to my mind quite convincing, until we get to Greek of a very questionable date, e.g.

Vita Aeschyli Αἰσχύλος Ἀθηναῖος ἦν καὶ τραγῳδὸς ἄριστος, τῇ τραγῳδίᾳ ἐπερβάλλων πάντας ποιητάς. Just above χορὸς τῶν τραγῳδῶν may be taken like ὁ δὲ τῶν κωμῳδοποιῶν, but need not. *Schol. Ar. Ran.* 86 εἰσι δὲ ὡς φασὶ δύο Ξενοκλείς τραγῳδοὶ γεγονότες: *ib.* 367 τὸν μισθὸν τῶν κωμῳδῶν ἐμείωσαν with *schol. Eccl.* 102: *Schol. Dionys. Thr.* (Bekker *Anecd.* p. 748. 26) πολλοὶ γέγονασι κωμῳδοὶ ἐλέγχοντες τοὺς κακῶς βιούντας.

I have found indeed two passages which point to the second century, but it is very doubtful whether we can rely on them. The extracts or jottings from the Σοφιστικὴ Παρασκευὴ of the Atticist Phrynichus refer to Aristophanes as ὁ κωμῳδός (Bekker's *Anecd.* 45. 33 δῆλον ποιούντος τοῦ κωμῳδοῦ ὅτι κ.τ.λ.). It would however be unsafe to conclude that we have Phrynichus' own words before us. Again in *Athenaeus* 35 D we find Χαίρημων ὁ τραγῳδός. This is not such strong evidence as may at first sight appear. Turning over the pages of *Athenaeus* I have seen κωμῳδιοποιός at a rough estimate fifty or sixty times, κωμικός very often too, occasionally τραγικός and τραγῳδιοποιός: τραγῳδός of a poet I have not noticed in any other place, nor κωμῳδός of a poet at all in spite of the frequency of the other words. *Chaeremon* is described as ὁ τραγῳδιοποιός in 679 F and as ὁ τραγικός in 43 C, 562 E, 608 A. How easy it is for the three words to get confused with one another will appear, if we notice (for instance) that in *Athen.* 3 C and 43 C

there is the variant *κωμικός* for *κωμωδιοποιός* and that in Lucian *Iupp. Trag.* 32 some of the less good MSS. have *κωμικός* for *κωμικός*, the comic poet (ὡς ὁ κωμικός ἔφη), while *ib.* 41 one has *τραγικός* for *τραγωδιοποιός*. We have also to remember that in the first two books of Athenaeus we are in constant doubt whether the words before us are those of Athenaeus himself or those of the *epitomator* to whom the books owe their present form. It may therefore very well be the case that in 35 D *τραγικός* is a mistake for *τραγωδιοποιός*¹ or *τραγικός*, or that it is due to the *epitomator*, unless similar uses of the word can be adduced from Athenaeus himself or contemporary Greek: and I would rather ask whether they can than pretend to affirm that they cannot.

12. It is worth while to add a few words on the use of *comœdus* and *tragoedus* in Latin and on a Greek use which was perhaps due to Latin. No one, as far as I know, maintains that the Latin words were ever used of *poets*, and this is an important confirmation of the view that the Greek words too were not used in that sense. On the other hand they were regularly applied to *actors*, though this is far from proving that the use was admissible in good Attic. See for instance Cic. *pro Rosc. Comœdo* 10. 30, *ex pessimo histrione bonum comœdum fieri posse*: Quint. 11. 3. 91 *cum mihi comœdi quoque pessime facere videantur, qui etiamsi iuvenem agant*, &c.: cf. *ib.* 181: 1. 11. 1 and 3: Juv. 3. 100 *natio comœda est*. No one will doubt that *tragoedi* are actors in Plaut. *Poen.* 3. 2. 4 *conductor sum quam tragoedi aut comici*, or in Cic. *de Or.* 1. 28, 128 *vox tragoedorum* with Quint. 12. 5. 5 *vox quidem non ut Cicero desiderat tragoedorum sed super omnes quos ego quidem audierim tragoedos*. So, too, we may take Hor. *Ep.* 2. 2. 129 *qui se credebat miros audire tragoedos*, though perhaps Horace was thinking of the idiomatic use of *τραγῳδοί* for the *performance*. In Plaut. *Pers.* 4. 2. 4 *tragicum et comicum* are actors, like *comici* in *Poen.* 3. 2. 4 above, but as a rule they are *poets*. *Scaenicus* is another word for a performer, not an actor only: but see Vitruv. 5. 7. 2.

I do not remember to have seen it pointed out that in the above passages and others *comœdus* seems to have the generic sense of

actor rather than the specific one of *comic actor*. Quint. 11. 3. 91 certainly illustrates from Menander, but anyone can see that there is no stress on the comic side in any of the places cited. In Juv. 6. 73 *comœdi* is an actor in general, with some reference to singing, and *ib.* 3. 100 *natio comœda est* means that they are all born actors, not comic actors. The point is that they can play a part, not that they can raise a laugh. But of course *comœdus* and *tragoedus* can also be distinguished. Thus Cic. *Orator.* xxxi. 109 *et comœdum in tragoediis et tragoedum in comœdiis admodum placere vidimus*.

Though I have not noticed *comœdia* in the generic sense of *play*, *κωμῳδία* seems to be so used in Plutarch *Moralia* 665 E καθάπερ ἐν κωμῳδίᾳ μηχανὰς αἰροντες καὶ βροντὰς ἐμβάλλοντες, where the reference must be to tragedy. In the *Περὶ ὕψους* 9. 15, where part of the *Odyssey* is called a *κωμῳδία ἡθολογούμενη*, we might perhaps take *κωμῳδία* in the same way, but it is less necessary. The words of M. Aurelius (12. 36) above quoted, οἷον εἰ κωμῳδὸν ἀπολῦει τῆς σκηνῆς ὁ παραλαβὼν στρατηγός seem to mean an actor of any kind, and so probably Arrian *Epict. Diss.* 3. 4. 1 σπονδᾶσαντος κωμῳδῶ τινι. The text is uncertain in Lucian's *Iupp. Trag.* 1, but, whether we read *κωμῳδεῖν* or *κωμῳδῖαν*, it refers to the use of poetical diction and metre and therefore clearly means acting, not comic acting. When we read in Athenaeus 620 D ὑποκρίνασθαι Ἡγησίαν τὸν κωμῳδὸν τὰ Ἡσιόδου, Ἑρμόφαντον δὲ τὰ Ὀμήρου, we can hardly think that Hesiod's lines were delivered by a comic actor.

It appears likely that this use established itself in Latin first. Bentley suggested 'as a guess' that *κωμῳδία* was originally used of both comedy and tragedy. There is no evidence of this, but in late times it may have been the case with both *κωμικός* and *κωμῳδία*. Every one knows that it is often so in modern languages. Littré in his French Dictionary defines *comédie* as representing 'incidents ridicules, plaisants, ou intéressants' and draws no sort of distinction like ours between *comedy*, *comedian* on the one hand and *play*, *actor* on the other.² Though we never now use the

¹ It is curious that in quoting the Greek *Life* of Aeschines A. Müller (*Griech. Bühnenall.* p. 197, n. 4) has inadvertently substituted *τραγῳδοῦ* for *τραγῳδιοποιοῦ*, and that Haigh (*Attic Theatre*,² p. 242, n. 2) has written *τραγῳδοί* for *τραγῳδοποιοί* in quoting Plat. *Crat.* 425 D.

² A passage in Heine's seventh letter to Lewald illustrates at once the usage of two modern languages and the words of Juvenal above quoted: alle Franzosen geborene Komödianten sind. . . Die Franzosen sind die Hofchauspieler des lieben Gottes, les comédiens ordinaires du bon Dieu, eine auserlesene Truppe, und die ganze französische Geschichte kommt mir manchmal vor wie eine grosse Komödie, die aber zum Besten der Menschheit aufgeführt wird.

English words in that way, there are perhaps traces of such a use in Shakspeare: *Twelfth Night* 1. 5. 194 'Are you a comedian?' *Hamlet* 3. 2. 304 'if the king like not the comedy,' unless Hamlet is quoting.

On the other hand foreign languages are less ready than English to apply the words *tragedian*, *comedian* to an *author*. Even in English limitations may be noticed.

13. It may be well in conclusion to summarise the main contents of this paper. I have suggested (1) that there is no evidence for the sense of either *actor* or *poet* in good Attic of

the 5th and 4th centuries: (2) that outside Attica towards the end of that time and onwards there is evidence for *actor*, but not of a quite clear and conclusive kind, and that conclusive evidence does not appear till the first century after Christ, though we need not doubt that the sense existed earlier: (3) that the sense of *poet* is not found till at any rate the second century of our era, and perhaps not so soon. But these points have been made (let me repeat) in a tentative and interrogative rather than a positive and confident spirit. Additions or corrections will be very welcome.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

ON CICERO, *CATO MAIOR*, §§ 28, 34, 15, 38.

I NOTE with great interest the query propounded by Mr. P. O. Barendt in the current¹ number of the *Classical Review* (p. 402) concerning Cicero, *Cato Maior*, § 28. It chanced that in 1898 I read before the American Philological Association² a paper on this whole section, discussing in detail the relation of its various parts; it chanced also that I have just read the passage with a class, and so have been obliged to subject it to a fresh examination. I see no reason either to modify essentially the views of the paper referred to or to admit the need of any emendation at *splendescit*. I am glad to find Mr. Barendt in accord with one of the points maintained in my paper, namely, that *sed tamen...oratio* balances *orator...senectute*, not, as so many have thought, the *omnino*-clause. But Mr. Barendt and the scholars whom he cites as favouring an emendation at *splendescit* have, it seems to me, failed to grasp two things: (1) the significance of *linguescat*, and (2) the bearing of the *omnino*-clause, or, to put this point plainly, the exact relation of the parts of the section to one another. Let us consider these points in reverse order.

1. In the *omnino*-clause Cato is doing what he does all through his discussion of the second ground of complaint against old age, *i.e.*, he is seeking to mitigate the effect of his virtual admission of the substantial truth of the charge. At *orator...senectute* he does, indeed, for the moment confess judgment, but true to the spirit that per-

vades the discussion from § 27 on, he seeks at once in the *omnino*-clause to qualify this admission. This clause is to be taken as closely as possible with *orator...senectute*, being in effect a corrective *quamquam*-clause. I may be allowed to quote from my former paper: 'Editors have erred because Cicero has not expressed himself with the care requisite to bring out the logical relation of the various elements of his thought. Had he said simply, *Orator...senectute, quamquam canorum...annos*, beginning a new sentence at *Sed tamen*, all would have been well. The introduction of *est enim...virium*, however, led to a complete change in the structure of the sentence, since a *quamquam*-clause after that, referring back to *orator...senectute*, would have been most awkward. Cicero might, indeed, have had recourse to another expedient, namely, that of expressing the thought of *est enim...virium* by a causal *cum*-clause preceding *orator...senectute*. He might have said, for example, "*Oratoris cum munus non ingeni solum sit sed laterum etiam et virium, metuo ne linguescat senectute, quamquam canorum illud, etc.*"'

2. *Linguescat* is to be interpreted as literally as possible; cf. § 26 *sed videtis ut senectus non modo languida atque iners non sit*. To this view both *senis sermo quietus et remissus* and *compta et mitis oratio*, § 28, point, when rightly interpreted. Professor Bennett takes *quietus* of the lack of gesticulation, *i.e.*, of the absence of physical energy. The figure in *remissus* is too common for comment; that Cicero felt it may be inferred from § 37: *intantum enim animum*

¹ November 1899. By an accident this paper did not reach the Editor till April 1, 1900.—ED. C.R.

² See Proceedings of the Association, xxix. p. 5.

tamquam arcum habebat. *Mitis* has not received all the attention it deserves; it seems to me to connote, precisely as do *quietus* and *remissus*, the absence of active physical strength. We have a partial parallel in § 71: quasi poma ex arboribus, cruda si sunt, vi evelluntur, si matura et cocta, decidunt, sic vitam adulescentibus vis aufert, senibus maturitas. Cf. too Virgil's *cruda et viridis senectus*. Sourness belongs to the fruit in its period of growth and vigorous strength; *mitis*, with its suggestion of softness (cf. *cocta*, § 71, *vietum et caducum*, § 5) naturally connotes the absence of vigour.

I pass now to make my main point, which is that Cicero is thinking of the severe tax made by the canons of Roman oratory on the orator's physical strength. We get other hints of this in the Cato Maior, e.g., in § 14: cum ego...*legem Voconiam magna voce et bonis lateribus suasissem*. This point I need not, I am sure, argue at length; I shall jot down one or two things that occur to me in illustration. Cf., for example, what Cicero says in the Brutus, §§ 313-316, concerning his own early oratorical style, and its effect upon his health. There is no hint at all that he sought to change his style because it ran counter to convention. The importance of gesticulation in Roman oratory appears clearly from Quintilian's discussion of the subject (xi. 3. 65-136). The fatigue of pleading is touched upon in § 136. We may compare the story told by Gellius (i. 5) of the criticisms to which Hortensius was subjected on account of the pains he bestowed upon his dress and his gestures. It was the variety and vigour of the gestures (as well, perhaps, as the length to which speeches were often carried: see Pliny, *Epp.*, i. 20) which made such demands on the orator's strength.

In this connection some remarks made by Professor Greenough¹ in an article concerning the production of the *Phormio* at Harvard University in April, 1894, are suggestive. Speaking of the photographs of scenes in the play which illustrate his article, Mr. Greenough says: 'The reader will notice in the pictures some attitudes and a number of gestures which differ from our ordinary ones. These were drawn chiefly from Quintilian and the miniatures of the Vatican manuscript,'² and apparently belonged to the conventions of the ancient stage. Again, the movements on the stage

were much more varied and violent than we should expect now in a play of the same general class. This also was conventional. There is no doubt that the action of even a more quiet play. . . like the *Phormio* was much more pronounced in gesticulation, pantomime and movement than we usually see, except in a horseplay farce. The Mediterranean nations are remarkable for a freedom of gesture almost amounting to pantomime, which is unknown to northern peoples, and this tendency seems to have come down to them from very early times.' What is here said of Roman acting may, I take it, be fairly enough applied to Roman oratory.

Enough has been said, I hope, to make the passage both 'coherent' and 'satisfactory,' to use Mr. Barendt's words. Cicero is talking of two qualities of the ideal orator, physical strength and perfection of voice. Obviously, the two need not subsist side by side. This is precisely what Cicero is trying to say. He starts by saying that he fears the former of these two qualities will be lost through old age, pauses a moment to note that the other is present in enlarged measure even in old age, and concludes by asserting that the absence of the former works no serious harm, since the second, unsupported by the first (*ipsa*), is sufficiently effective.

A word in conclusion on *splendescit*. Professor Bennett has commented on the mixture of metaphors in *canorum* and *splendescit*. I fail to see the mixture. The metaphor in *splendescit* and similar verbs was probably moribund. In § 35 Cato says of the son of Africanus Maior: Quod ni ita fuisset, alterum illud exstisset lumen civitatis. He does not apologize for *lumen* by *quasi* or the like, nor does he take the trouble to accommodate his verb to *lumen*, as he would have done had the metaphor been still vigorous. On *canorum* used of the orator we may compare Mr. Haigh's³ remark that ancient writers, in speaking of the training of the actor's voice, use language which to us would seem more appropriate to a notice of an operatic singer.

§ 34. *Ne sint in senectute vires. Ne postulantur quidem vires a senectute*, etc. I have noted an excellent commentary on this passage in Pliny, *Epp.*, iv. 23, especially § 3: Nam et prima vitae tempora et media patriae, extrema nobis impertire debemus, ut ipsae leges monent, quae maiorem annis otio reddunt.

¹ *New England Magazine*, 1894, pp. 501, 502.

² The italics are mine.

³ *Attic Theatre*, p. 246.

§ 15. Editorial comments on *etenim* generally leave something to be desired. They imply rather than say that logically *etenim* introduces *earum...videamus*, and that the latter clause is to be interpreted as meaning, in the last analysis, 'no one of these four reasons is sound.' This is good so far as it goes. What I miss is a presentation of the exact relation of the whole passage to what precedes.

With the words *ut paene eis delectari videretur*, Cato has struck an entirely new note in his comments on men's attitude toward old age. Hitherto the most he has ventured to say is that under certain conditions men find old age *tolerabilis*. Cf. the end of § 7 and the beginning of § 8. By implication, too, the same thought is brought out in § 4: *qui autem omnia bona a se ipsi petunt, eis nihil potest malum videri quod naturae necessitas afferat*. All this pictures a purely passive and negative attitude, whereas in *ut...videretur*, § 14, there is a decided advance to a positive attitude. One who could find old age a source of positive delight might well have seemed a strange creature; I take it that the average Roman viewed old age much as did Caecilius (§ 25) or Juvenal. Hence, Cato qualifies his assertion concerning Ennius by *paene*, and by passing on at once to show that the grounds of complaint against old age are of no weight. In this

way the passage from the preliminary conversation to the discussion proper is effected most naturally and smoothly.

For the rôle played by *etenim*, § 15, we may find a complete parallel in the Cato Maior itself, § 39, *Accipite enim*, &c. Logically, of course, *enim* introduces *Nullam capitaliorem*, &c. The whole means, plainly, 'For, as Archytas said to, no more baneful, &c.'

§ 38. *Nunc cum maxime conficio orationes*. Prof. Reid explains *cum maxime* as elliptical, and takes the whole phrase as put for *cum maxime conficio orationes, nunc conficio*. So others. I have always doubted; the supposed fuller form seems too cumbrous for belief. Why not suppose that the original form was simply *nunc est cum maxime conficio orationes*? For this form cf. Plautus, *Captivi*, 516: *Nunc illud est quom me fuisse quam esse nimio mavelim*, and the editors ad loc., especially Brix; *nimio* is a good parallel to the *maxime* of the idiom. My explanation seems to afford not only a perfectly simple phrase as the starting-point of the idiom, but a starting-point from which the idiom could easily have been developed. For examples of *nunc cum maxime*, see Spengel on *Andria*, 823.

CHARLES KNAPP.

BARNARD COLLEGE,
Nov. 29, 1899.

ON CICERO, *CATO MAJOR*, § 28.

AN orator may be failing (*languescere*) in spite of the fact that his tones are still ringing. The power of *sustained* effort may be passing away, his memory may be more treacherous than before, and general effectiveness may be lessening in many ways. Appius Claudius Caecus rose to one supreme occasion supremely, but of course we cannot suppose that he could have done so often. As to the sentence 'Sed tamen,' &c., the

statement there seems to be simply that a less ambitious style of declamation is becoming to the orator who has grown old—*i.e.*, is more in keeping with the dignity of years and a less impetuous character, notwithstanding the possible possession of ringing tones.

JOSEPH F. PAXTON.

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA, U.S.A.
January 19th, 1900.

ON JUVENAL, SAT. I 102 ff.

102 'prior,' inquit, 'ego adsum.
 cur timeam dubitemve locum defendere,
 quamvis
 natus ad Euphraten, molles quod in
 aure fenestras
 105 arguerint, licet ipse negem? sed quin-
 que tabernae
 quadringenta parant. quid confert
 purpura maior
 optandum, si Laurenti custodit in agro
 conductas Corvinus oves, ego possideo
 plus
 Pallante et Licinis?'

The speaker is a freedman, who has come to receive his sportula and insists that he be attended to before the praetor and the tribune, as he has come first.

In l. 106 P reads *purpuraemator*, changed by a later hand into *purpura maior*, the reading of some of the inferior MSS.; others have: *purpurae amator*, the majority *purpura maius*.

To my knowledge the reading *purpura maior* has been accepted by all editors. It was supposed to denote the laticlave, which formed the distinction between senators and knights, and, being worn by the praetor and tribune, mentioned in l. 101, against whom the freedman is vindicating his rights, it was accordingly thought to be contrasted with 'quadringenta [sestertia]'; for this, constituting as it did, the census of the knights was thus explained as standing for 'purpura minor,' the dignity of the tunica angusticlavia, worn by the freedman.

But (1) the freedman manifestly is referring to his income, or perhaps to part of it, as amounting to four hundred thousand sesterces, and since a capital or estate valued at 400,000 sesterces entitled the possessor to the rank of eques, an income of that amount could never be used as characteristic of knighthood. Evidently Juvenal used 'quadringenta' here merely to denote a large sum of money, exactly as in Sat. II. 117 and V. 132.

(2) '*purpura maior*' is an exceedingly strange phrase to designate the broad purple stripe; one would at least have expected '*purpura latior*' and, in fact, we nowhere else find the expression in the sense generally assigned to it.

(3) But even when so understood we are involved in inextricable difficulties, for the Corvinus, cited to exemplify the little benefit

to be derived from the *purpura maior*, manifestly has left the ranks of the senators long ago, and, therefore, *purpura maior* would have to be interpreted to mean: 'the circumstance that you once have worn the tunica laticlavia.'

(4) Finally the two scholia on this passage comment on *purpura* alone, one explaining it as '*laticlavium*.'

But apart from these objections, what is the purport and tenor of the entire passage? Juvenal depicts the insolent and arrogant behaviour of one of these low-born Orientals against the *ipsi Troiugenae* (l. 100), the praetor and tribune (l. 101) figuring as their representatives; the freedman sneers at these noble Romans, because he, although born at the Euphrates, leads a luxurious life and possesses great wealth, while a Corvinus, although a descendant of a most illustrious house, lives in extreme poverty. The freedman does not contrast his supposed knighthood with the senatorial rank of the tribune and the praetor, for he lays no claim to any rank, nay, he even boasts, on the strength of his wealth, of his low and foreign birth. And, therefore, we expect him not to ask 'what good does it do to wear the laticlave?' but 'what is the good of being a native Roman,' or 'of being a descendant of a noble Roman house?' Now this very sense is supplied by one of the inferior MSS., reading: *purpura maiorum*.

The corruption in the other MSS. (including P) is easily explained. The archetype read something which was mistaken for *MATOR* and this was emended variously into *emator*, *amator*, *maior* and *maius*, the corruption simply arising from the fact that the stroke representing the ending *-um* had been placed by a scribe of the archetype too near the *i* (*τ*); *maiorum* therefore is at least as probable a correction of P's reading as *maior*.

Purpura alone in the meaning of purple garment, such as were worn by high officials at festivals and other solemn occasions, and hence, metaphorically, as denoting a position of high rank, as consulship and in later times even the emperor, is of frequent occurrence. Cp. Ov. *Fast.* i. 81, iamque novi praeceunt fasces, nova purpura fulget; Seneca *Ep.* 69, 4 ambitio purpuram [promittit] et plausum et ex hoc potentiam; *fragm.* 124 hic est ille homo honestus non apice, purpurave, e.q.s.; Sil. Ital. 14, 112 tertia pur-

pura (consulship); Mart. viii. 8, 4 purpura te felix, te colat omnis honos; viii. 66, 8 gaudenti superest adhuc, quod optet, felix purpura tertiusque consul; x. 10, 12 purpura vestra.

Purpura maiorum then would mean: 'the high dignity of one's forefathers,' 'the lofty station held by one's ancestors,' and could the freedman cite a better instance, exemplifying the little value of noble descent, than this Corvinus, a member of the illustrious gens Valeria, now compelled to work for wages?

One point more remains. In accepting the advocated reading we would have in l. 106 a hypermeter, Juvenal having nowhere else made use of this freedom. But, as is well-known, it is also found but once in Lucretius (cp. L. Müller *De R. M.* p. 354);

moreover it is here particularly justified, because *optandum* belongs in sense and construction to the preceding line; finally it is highly probable that the very existence of the hypermeter has been largely responsible for the corruption in our MSS.

The meaning of the entire passage is, therefore, this: 'I was here first; why should I hesitate to defend my rights, although only a freedman, and reared on the Euphrates? I am rich: and of what benefit is it to a man, to be able to boast of a long line of illustrious ancestors? Since a Corvinus hardly manages to keep alive, while I possess greater wealth than a Pallas and a Licinus.'

N. P. VLACHOS.

Philadelphia, Feb. 1900.

ON JUVENAL SAT. III., 203.

Urceoli sex.

These words are always taken as describing the extreme poverty of Codrus; namely, that his marble slab had as decorations only six mugs with a *cantharus* beneath, thus suggesting by way of contrast the *abaci* in the house of the rich man, covered with different kinds of *pocula* and other drinking utensils made of silver, gold, crystal and murrhine. However there is nothing in the verses following which indicates that Juvenal had this in his mind, although the contrast is carried out in reference to *recubans-Chiron* and *Graecos-libellos*. Cf. v. 216 *Hic*-v. 219 *Minervam*.

A characteristic of the style of Juvenal is his indirect mode of expression, frequently with underlying humor. This Satire abounds in examples of this peculiarity; vv. 26-28, 66, 91&c., consequently we should expect that the words *urceoli sex* have an implied meaning.

Juvenal in his description of the rich man says among other things that he is *orborem lautissimus* v. 221. This relates not only to his loss by fire, but also to the fact that he was childless and therefore received valuable presents. Cf. v. 129. If we adopt the best MSS. reading *Haec* in verse 218, we can conclude that the rich

man was unmarried. This is but another instance of Juvenal's indirect style. In this way is brought out the contrasted condition of the poor man, who has not only a wife but also *urceoli sex*. This can mean nothing else than that his family consisted of six persons, not a small number at a time when it could be said *in civitate nostra plus gratiae orbitas confert quam eripit*. This explanation shows the miserable plight of Codrus and makes the picture more graphic. Here is a poor man living in an attic with scarcely any furniture and few utensils and having a wife and large family depending upon him. He loses all and no one will give him even *frusta*.

The *urceoli* were commonly intended for individual use and contained hot or cold water, to be mixed with the wine. In this family, however, the *urceoli* had to serve also as *pocula*. These with the *cantharus* placed beneath the slab, which was not large enough to hold it, included all the drinking utensils of Codrus.

Jul. Paullus 111. 6, 90 gives a hint that *urceoli* were used at times as *pocula*. He says: *Omnia quae ad poculorum speciem--veluti paterae, culices, scythi, urceoli, &c.*

W. O. SPOULL.

University of Cincinnati.

SHOULD THE MAY-POTENTIAL USE OF THE SUBJUNCTIVE BE
RECOGNIZED IN LATIN?

IN his Critique of Some Recent Subjunctive Theories (Cornell Studies in Classical Philology, No. IX.), Bennett cites passages and uses arguments, intended to disprove the claim, advanced in my Studies in Latin Moods and Tenses, that the Latin subjunctive has not the power of expressing the 'may-possibly' idea. For the purposes of the discussion in my Studies, I accepted Roby's list of instances from Silver Latin as sufficiently complete for that period. Bennett cites the following as additional instances, not considered by me:

Plaut. Asin. 465 *sit, non sit, non edepol scio*.

Fronto, p. 25, 10; 136, 1; 224, 19 (Naber) *quaeras fortasse*; p. 63, 1 *fortasse requiras*; p. 159 *dicas fortasse*; p. 114, 9 *fortasse contemnas*.

Ps.-Quint. Decl. CCLI (p. 27, 28, Ritter) *habeant fortasse*.

Pliny, Epp. 1, 23, 2 *erraverim fortasse*.

I cannot see that these passages form any obstacle in the way of my contention. Let us consider them for a moment in some detail. Bennett thinks it impossible to interpret the Plautus passage, *sit, non sit, non edepol scio*, otherwise than as meaning, *it may be he, it may not be he; I don't pretend to know*. The subjunctive in such passages is commonly¹ explained as being a subjunctive of indirect question with *utrum...* omitted as in Cic. Quint. Frat. 3, 8, 4 *uelit nolit scire difficile est*; and elsewhere. See, for instance, Kühner, § 234, Anm. 2 (p. 1017), and compare § 177 (p. 754), III, and Gray's note on Ter. Heaut. 643. As Bennett does not state his objections to the usual interpretation of such passages, and as that interpretation seems to me entirely satisfactory in every respect, I cannot see that the passage has any weight against me. This passage, by the way, would, *without the presence of non scio*, be just the sort of passage that Bennett needs to prove his case. I must still insist upon the principle which I laid down in my Studies as being so self-evident as to be axiomatic viz. 'that, no separate class of uses should be made, or recognized, for a mood, unless there is at least one passage, somewhere in the literature, that cannot be satisfactorily explained in any other way. As applied to the case in

hand, the principle may be stated as follows: If there is not at least one instance of the subjunctive mood that can be explained in no other way than by supposing it to have the force of "may possibly," or at least an instance that can be better explained by supposing it to have such a force than by explaining it according to some one of the recognized and indisputable uses of that mood, then there is no justification, or excuse, for supposing it to have that force.' Now, if it were not for the presence of *non scio*, in the Plautus passage that has prompted these remarks, I do not see how *sit, non sit* could possibly be interpreted as meaning anything else than *it may be he, it may not be he*. And if Bennett can find anywhere in Latin literature a single instance such as this would be without the presence of *non scio*, I will admit at once that my whole case has collapsed. Why is it that in such cases we always find some other form of expression e.g. *potest* with the infinitive, or *fortasse* with the indicative?

The passages from Fronto and the one from Ps. Quint., with one possible exception,² seem to me to yield perfectly good sense if interpreted as instances of the contingent use of the subjunctive; thus, *dicas fortasse*, may well mean *perhaps you would say, quaeras fortasse, perhaps you would ask* (where we should commonly say *perhaps you would like to know*). The modal force of the subjunctive would then be exactly the same as in the common English expression 'you would suppose.'³ This brings up the whole question of the naturalness of the conception involved in this interpretation. Bennett denies even the possibility of the conception or of the interpretation. In translating the *dicat fortasse aliquis* in Pliny N.H. 36, 2, I used the expression 'some one would perhaps rejoin.' Of this translation Bennett says (p. 37) 'I must submit that this use of "would" is unknown to our English speech.'

² In the passage on p. 63, line 1, the subjunctive in *fortasse requiras* may perhaps be best explained in the same way as in the *erraverim fortasse*, to be discussed later on in this paper, i.e. as due to the influence of *forsitan* reflected through *fortasse*. This same explanation would apply equally well to the other instances.

³ In 'perhaps you would ask,' the 'would' might sometimes be felt as involving a wish (= *would like*), but such expressions are commonly used to express mere contingency, as in 'you would suppose,' 'one would take you for a fool,' &c.

¹ Bennett, so far as I know, stands alone in his interpretation of such passages.

Whether this criticism is well founded or not must be settled by each individual for himself. I have myself been guilty all my life of using 'would' in just such cases and I have frequently heard it used in the same sense by others. Moreover, I am assured by several specialists in English, of the highest reputation, to whom I have submitted the entire passage in which I used the expression in question, that my expression 'some one would perhaps rejoin' represents a perfectly legitimate and natural use of 'would.' Others might agree with Bennett. To all who are not familiar with this use of 'would' I can readily understand that my interpretation of the passages in question may seem forced or unnatural. But I cannot understand how even they can regard it as impossible, when to so many other people it seems natural and is a matter of common usage. However, the question as to whether my use of 'would' was a legitimate one or not is not of the slightest importance in settling the main point at issue, *viz.* whether the Latin subjunctive is used in such contingent expressions, and, if so, whether that interpretation is possible in the passages under discussion. Whether the Latin subjunctive is so used admits of no doubt. If *nemo dicat* can mean *no one would say*, there can be no possible objection on the ground of modal usage to interpreting *aliquis dicat* as meaning *some one would say*. Whether such an interpretation does justice to the passages in question must be left to the judgment of our readers. It seems to me (and, I find, to many others) that it does, and that this interpretation yields satisfactory sense in nearly all the instances of the present subjunctive that are commonly regarded as instances of the may-potential use; and that, where it does not, the alternative interpretation suggested in my Studies is possible and not unnatural. This applies even to *fors fuat an* (and *fors sit an*) which Bennett regards as capable of meaning only *it may be a chance whether*. I fail to see how this satisfies the requirements of the original sense of the phrase any better than *it would be a matter of chance whether*, or some similar expression. A phrase which had this latter meaning would easily come to be used in the sense of 'possibly,' 'perhaps.'

There remains to be considered the *erraverim fortasse* in Pliny. If I am not mistaken, this *erraverim* has been responsible for much mischief. I believe it to be the only instance of the kind in Latin literature—the only one that apparently

gives (and only apparently, I think) justification for the claim that the perfect subjunctive *fecerim* may mean 'I may (perhaps) have done.' Certainly none other occurs before the period of decline. Generalizing from this particular instance, grammarians have treated this as a normal use of the subjunctive. And to-day Latin grammars (even those which no longer translate *amem*, etc., in paradigms of the conjugations, by *I may love*, as all grammars used to do),¹ continue to translate *amaverim*, etc. (in the paradigms) by *I may have loved*, etc, and thus to ask beginners to learn this as illustrating the *regular force* of the perfect subjunctive! I believe that Pliny's *erraverim*, aided perhaps by certain uses of the subjunctive with *forsitan* (see below), has done the whole mischief: and I cannot but think that the force of the subjunctive even in this *erraverim fortasse* has been misunderstood. There can, I think, be no doubt that, at least prior to the period of decline, the subjunctive with *forsitan* (*i. e.* *fors sit an*) continued to be felt merely as the subjunctive of indirect question. This is shown by the facts presented in the note on pages 177–179 of my Studies. To the evidence there presented should be added the further fact that *forsitan* could, until comparatively late times, be used only *before* its verb, as would be expected if the *an* were still felt as governing the verb, while *fortasse* followed the word it modified as often as it preceded it. When *forsitan* began to cease to be felt as introducing an indirect question, it then began to take the indicative, like *fortasse*, and, like it, to follow sometimes the word it modified, and, like it, to be used also with adjectives, adverbs, infinitives, etc. *Forsitan* and *fortasse* seem to have mutually influenced each other—a common phenomenon in language illustrated again, for instance, in *quamquam* and *quamvis*. In classical Latin *quamquam* is used regularly with the indicative and *quamvis* with the subjunctive; but in the period of decline *quamquam*, through the influence of *quamvis*, sometimes takes the subjunctive with an indicative sense, and *quamvis*, through the influence of *quamquam*, sometimes takes the indicative. In a similar manner, as soon as *forsitan*, under the influence of *fortasse*, ceased to be felt

¹ In giving this translation, the authors of grammars probably had chiefly in mind certain subordinate clauses, *e.g.* purpose clauses; but students invariably gained the impression that the translation represented the regular force of the mood in independent clauses. Some grammars even gave *can love*, &c., side by side with *may love*.

as introducing an indirect question, it began to take the indicative; and at the same time *fortasse*, through the influence of *forsitan*, came occasionally to be construed with the subjunctive. The subjunctive in *errauerim fortasse* may be due indirectly to the influence of *forsitan* reflected through *fortasse*. I do not see how else we can account for this use of the perfect subjunctive in Pliny in a manner hitherto unknown to the Latin language. If this be the true explanation of *errauerim fortasse*, we shall have to regard the mood of *errauerim* as due merely to a mechanical association with the use of the subjunctive in indirect questions introduced by *forsitan*. The potential idea involved in the expression would then be due wholly to the *fortasse*, just as, in similar expressions formed by *forsitan* and the subjunctive in classical Latin, the potential idea involved is due wholly to *forsitan* and not at all to the mood of the verb. A potential idea is similarly involved in *fortasse erravi* which means *I may have erred* (lit. *I have perhaps erred*), but no one would on that account say that the indicative *erravi* expresses possibility. Of course it would have been easily possible for the association of ideas, and of usages, involved in this explanation of *errauerim fortasse*, to result ultimately in giving to the subjunctive mood itself a force that had hitherto been foreign to it. But that the subjunctive mood itself ever did actually gain this force, I can not believe until an example is cited similar to *erraverim*, but without the presence of *forsitan* or *fortasse*. I do not believe that such an instance can be cited. If any can be, then we shall have to set it down as representing a use of the subjunctive that was first acquired during the period of decline. In the meantime let us make haste to discard, from the paradigms of conjugations in our school books, such translations of *amaverim*, *monuerim*, etc. as 'I may have loved,' 'I may have advised,' etc.

Before taking leave of this subject, I may say a word regarding Bennett's criticism of some one will have said (i.e. during this discourse) as a translation of *dixerit quispiam* in Cic. de senectute 3, 8. This interpretation was suggested by Roby and adopted by me. Regarding it, Bennett uses the following language: 'I cannot help feeling that this is highly absurd. The words quoted are those of Cato. He is speaking to Laelius and Scipio. Obviously, if any one had said anything while Cato was discoursing, it must have been one of these

two young men. But *quispiam* cannot refer to either of them. Again, what point is there in the conception "will have said during this discourse"? How could any one have said anything during the discourse without interrupting the speaker? It cannot be urged that *dixerit* means "will have said to himself"; that would have been *secum dixerit*, etc.' Bennett is here straining my words somewhat. My translation was intended merely as illustrative. I should be perfectly ready to give up the phrase 'during this discourse,' as the one to be supplied, and to use in its place 'in the course of his own discussion on some other occasion,' or anything else to suit the situation. It would be still better not to attempt to fix any particular point prior to which the saying is to take place, as the expression is in any case a mere formula. If we are going to insist upon indicating the exact status of the act of saying, even in *dices*, *aliquis dicet*, etc., we shall have to admit that the speaker never really expects the act to take place at all. *Dices*, *you will say so and so*, is very common in dialogue, but no instance can be cited, I believe, where the person thus addressed ever does actually say the thing the speaker asserts he will. Neither *dixerit*, nor *dices*, nor *dicet* in such cases is ever uttered as a prophecy. These expressions are used merely as convenient means of introducing the discussion of some possible objection that occurs to the speaker himself. If the same method of argument were used in discussing *dices*, *aliquis dicet*, etc., that Bennett uses in discussing *aliquis dixerit*, one might claim with equal force that the verb in these expressions can not mean *will say*. One might, for instance, argue as follows: '*Dices* can not mean *you will say*; for when is the person addressed by *dices* going to say the thing referred to? If he says it during the discourse, it will interrupt somebody (of which he of course will not be guilty); and he will not say it after the discussion is over, as he goes out of the door, for it would be rude not to wait for an answer, and, in any case, it would then be too late to renew the discussion; and he will not say it next day, or later, because if he has any objection to offer, it will not be natural to wait so long before making it. Furthermore no instance can be cited where the person thus addressed by *dices* ever does actually say the thing indicated. Therefore *you will say*, as a translation of *dices*, is inappropriate, untrue, and so impossible.' I maintain that this

sort of argument is not to the point. I may have been unhappy in fixing upon the point of time prior to which the saying is to take place, but I do not see how that has any essential bearing upon the question at stake, viz. whether *dixerit* is future perfect indicative. If it be said that the future perfect does not seem natural, the reply will be that perhaps it does not to the English idiom, but it is, so far as I can see, just as natural to the Latin idiom as scores of indisputable future perfects where this tense would be impossible in English, e.g. *videro* (Cic. Verr. 2, 61, 150 and often; see Roby, Lat. Gram. p. CVI); *fecero* (Ter. Phorm. 882 and often); and countless other

instances of the same sort. Similarly in *riserit aliquis fortasse* and *fuert fortasse dicendi* the future perfect seems strange in English, but equally strange uses of the future perfect are met with frequently in some authors and are absent from very few.

I can not feel that Bennett has satisfactorily answered the various objections I raised to the usual interpretation of *aliquis dixerit*. My argument in favour of taking *dixerit* as a future perfect indicative still seems to me to be conclusive and unanswerable.

H. C. ELMER.

Cornell University.

TWO NOTES ON THE LATIN SUBJUNCTIVE.

1. *The 'May have' perfect.*

Erraverim fortasse, Pl. *Ep.* 1, 23, 2, has apparently been regarded by grammarians as the only instance of the use of the perfect in the sense of 'may have.' Professor Bennett, the latest defender of the 'may potential' (*Cornell Studies* IX), while citing various presents gives only this example of the perfect. A search through a number of representative writers of the Empire failed to reveal a second example, until an examination of the Declamations of the Pseudo-Quintilian for another purpose resulted in the discovery of the existence of ten instances of the usage. They are all of the *fortasse* type, but I am confident that a longer search in Silver Latinity, which I hope to make, will disclose the existence of others, unaccompanied by *fortasse*.

The examples are: p. 183, 3, 4 (Ritter) *fortasse erraverim* in dispiciendis causis, minus prudentiae habuerim iuvenis; 69, 13, *vos fortasse plus consumpseritis*, patres; 159, 2, *quod fortasse etiam corruperit mores meos*; 171, 14, *et fortasse accidere somnus hic potuerit* inter plures; 182, 27, *despiciendum tibi fortasse fuerit*, ad quem venires; 184, 8, *aliud fortasse fuerit*, quod te postea concitarit; 328, 27, *fortasse etiam contulerint* ista detrimenta deliciis tuis; 344, 1, *et alius fortasse tantum usurpaverit libertatem*; 379, 15, *fortasse morituum non putaveris*.

Fortasse with the present occurs in seven passages (the second of which is cited by Bennett: 12, 2, *fortasse possit*; 27, 28, *habeant fortasse*; 62, 11, *fiant fortasse*; 143, 18, *conveniat fortasse*; 178, 21, *fortasse*

commendet; 189, 12, *possis fortasse*; 327, 25, *adferat fortasse*.

I am making a collection of 'may potentials' in Silver Latin (here more types appear to exist), believing with Bennett that 'other instances quite as decisive could be gathered by systematic searching, particularly in the Latinity of the early Empire.'

2. *The Negative with Expressions of the Restitisses Type.*

Bennett, speaking of expressions of the *restitisses*, *repugnasses* type, says (*Cornell Studies*, IX, 27): 'the negative is regularly *ne* not *non*.' He cites three passages from Plautus, two from Cicero, one from Seneca, and one from Fronto. The second person occurs in all save the last. The negative in every case but one is *ne*, and here Bennett gives an ingenious, if not entirely convincing explanation of the use of *non*.

The usage is certainly infrequent, for the only instance I have noted in a rather careful examination of a large portion of Silver Latin are three from the Pseudo-Quintilian, where the negative is *non*. They are: 12, 15, *virginem hanc aut viduam non diceres* (dicere A); 37, 4, *invitum non de <di> dissetis*; 53, 18, in his etiam minimis observationibus inhumane non cederes (inhumanum ne ced. B) honorem lateris.

It is to be hoped that the collection may be enlarged, for with only nine passages on which to base the argument (and these in the ratio of five to four) it is impossible to state the regular negative with certainty.

WILLARD K. CLEMENT.

University of Chicago.

DIES COMMUNES = DIES ATRI.

MACROB. *Sat.* I. 16. 21. Dies autem posttriduanos [*i.e.* the days immediately following the Kalends, Nones, and Ides, as the context shows] ad omnia maiores nostri cavendos putarunt; quos etiam *altros* velut infausta appellatione damnarunt. Eosdem tamen non nulli *communes* velut ad emendationem nominis vocitaverunt.

This passage explains the frag. of the *Lucubratio* of Atta, *ap. Non.* 468, 23. (O. Ribbeck, *comic. frag.*³ p. 190.)

Cum primo luci hodie ut exornata sit
Atque auspicietis: cras est communis dies.

i.e. 'See that she is got ready the first thing this morning [the *lucubratio*, which gives the name to the play, is presumably *lucubratio antelucana* rather than *vespertina*; and the occasion is possibly, as Patin (*La Poésie Latine* II. 325) suggests, the prepara-

tions for a marriage], and take the auspices: to-morrow is a common (unlucky) day.' cf. Afranius, *Fratriae* IV. in Rib.² p. 218. Septembris heri Kalendae, hodie ater est dies.

I give this note because neither Lewis and Short nor Facciolati-Forcellini notice the use of *communis*, and Ribbeck's reference, on the frag. of Atta, to Macrobian *Sat.* I. 16. 3. is misleading. There we read: *Festi* [dies] dis dicati sunt, *profesti* hominibus ob administrandam rem privatam publicamque concessi, *intercisi* deorum hominumque communes sunt. . . . illorum enim dierum quibusdam horis fas est, quibusdam fas non est ius dicere; *i.e.* *dies intercisi* = half holidays, but the word *communes* is not used in an appellative sense at all, and the lines of Atta are not in any sense illustrated.

NOWELL SMITH.

NOTES.

TWO EMENDATIONS OF SAPPHO.—In Sappho's reply to Alcaeus (Arist. *Rhet.* I, 9), the *ῥμματ'* at the end of the third corrupt line is probably corrupt. There can be no question here of Alcaeus' shamed expression. I should suggest *αἰδώς κε σ' οὐ κατεῖχεν ὀρμῶν*.

In the famous ode *φαίνεται μοι κῆνος* I suggest in line 16 *φαίνου'* *Ἀγαλλί* for *φαίνομαι ἄλλᾳ*, Agallis being the name of the lady to whom Sappho addresses it. Agallis is recorded as a courtesan's name in later times, and we know that the names of Sappho's friends were favourite noms de guerre of courtesans. The elision *φαίνου'*, is, as Wilamowitz has shown, the rule in Aeolic verse.

W. R. PATON.

CALYMNOS,
Feb. 14th, 1900.

* * *

ON THUCYDIDES IV. 18, 4.—*σφρόνων δὲ ἀνδρῶν, οἵτινες... τὸν τε πόλεμον νομίσωσι μὴ καθ' ὅσον ἂν τις αὐτοῦ μέρος βούληται μεταχειρίζειν, τούτῳ ξυνεῖναι, ἀλλ' ὥς ἂν αἱ τύχαι αὐτῶν ἡγήσωνται.* The general sense of this sentence is clear enough, viz. That when a man once engages in war, he cannot afterwards limit its operations according to his own wishes, but fortune also plays a part; and the thought of human effort as being interfered with by fortune is familiar to Thucydides, e.g. vi. 78, 2 *οὐ γὰρ οἶδον τε ἅμα τῆς τε ἐπιθυμίας καὶ τῆς τύχης τὸν αὐτὸν δμοίως ταμίαν γενέσθαι*, and again iv. 64, 1. The exact manner however in which the sense is to be extracted from the words is much in dispute. The controversy centres round the word *τούτῳ*. Admitting that *τὸν πόλεμον* is the subject to *ξυνεῖναι* (as nearly all editors take it) we may question whether *τούτῳ* refers to *τις* or to *μέρος*,

The objection to referring *τούτῳ* to *τις* (as Poppo, Jowett and Graves do) is that a wrong emphasis is thus given to the sentence. The sense is not that 'war does not abide with some particular person as far as he wishes to deal with it' but that 'war does not abide with a man only just as far as he wishes to deal with it,' in other words the stress lies on *καθ' ὅσον* not on *τις*. A sentence similar in form may be quoted from the speech of Euphemus to the Camarinaeans (vi. 87, 3) *καθ' ὅσον δέ τι ὑμῖν τῆς ἡμετέρας πολυπραγμοσύνης καὶ τρόπου τὸ αὐτὸ ξυμφέρι, τούτῳ ἀπολαβόντες χρῆσασθε*, but there *τούτῳ* refers clearly to *τι τῆς ἡμετέρας πολυπραγμοσύνης καὶ τρόπου* which is the leading phrase of the previous clause. Again, the objection to referring *τούτῳ* to *μέρος*, as Arnold does, is the form of expression, for Poppo truly observes '*perversa videtur dicendi ratio ὃ πόλεμος ξύνεστι τούτῳ μέρει τοῦ πολέμου.*'

I do not think *τούτῳ* is sound. What is wanted is a correlative to *καθ' ὅσον* and Dobree is in the right direction with his suggestion of *οὔτω*. I would however prefer *ἐς τοῦτο* (= *ἐς τοσούτο μόνον*).

This is an improvement as far as it goes but even so the sentence is not quite satisfactory, for it is hardly sense to say that 'war does not abide (with any one) only so far as he wishes to deal with a part of it.' We expect either 'only so far as he wishes to deal with it' or 'only in that part in which he wishes to deal with it,' according to the second explanation of Schol. *μὴ καθ' ὃ μέρος ἂν τις αὐτοῦ μεταχειρίζεται, οἷον ναυμαχῶν ἢ περὶ σωμαχῶν*. The expression in the text appears to be a contamination, and Poppo is sensible of this when he says that *μέρος* goes with *ὅσον* and is not the object of *μεταχειρίζειν*. But if so how does he deal with

αὐτοῦ? If αὐτοῦ depends on μέρος then μεταχειρίζειν is left without an object; if it is taken as object of μεταχειρίζειν the reply is that we always find an acc. with that verb in Thucydides.

I suggest that the clause originally ran τὸν τε πόλεμον νομίσωσι μὴ καθ' ὅσον ἂν τις αὐτὸν θάληται μεταχειρίζειν, ἐς τοῦτο ξυνεῖναι, and that αὐτοῦ μέρος was a marginal gloss on αὐτόν and afterwards superseded it in the text. Then ἐς τοῦτο was altered to τούτω to make a reference to μέρος. There is of course no difficulty in the omission of ἂν with νομίσωσι, and it can only be by an oversight that Mr. J. Donovan (*Cl. Rev.* ix. 148) has included νομίσωσι here among the 'Greek jussives.' In the last clause I take αὐτῶν to refer to τὰ τοῦ πολέμου from the previous πόλεμον rather than to ἄνδρες implied in τις, 'according as the fortunes of war determine.'

R. C. SEATON.

* *

EMENDATION OF HOR. SAT. II. ii. 123, 124.

The difficult reading

post hoc ludus erat culpa potare magistra;
ac venerata Ceres, ita culmo surgeret alto, etc.,

seems to be a corruption of

post hoc ludus erat vappam potare; magistra
hac venerata Ceres, ita culmo surgeret alto, etc.

The scribe catching sight of 'culmo' in the following line would write 'culpam' for 'vappam.' This being untranslatable was altered to 'culpa' and the stop placed after 'magistra,' which was read as ablative, when 'hac' would appear an obvious mistake for 'ac,' which was accordingly read.

The translation will thus be:

'Our sport was then to quaff sour wine; and when we had thus done reverence to Ceres our queen, with a prayer that she would spring,' etc.

'hac' = 'vappa.'

For 'magistra Ceres' cf. Ov. Am. III. x. ii.

Prima Ceres docuit etc

and Tib. II. i. 37.

Rura cano, rurisque deos; his vita magistris, etc.

For the honouring of Ceres with wine cf. Verg. Georg. i. 343, 344.

cuncta tibi Cererem pubes agrestis adoret;
cui tu lacte favos et miti dilue Bacccho.

'Vappam' well completes the picture of frugal simplicity which Horace is here painting, cf. II. iii. 144.

J. R. COATES.

* * *

AN UNNOTICED LATINISM IN LONGINUS.

In Longinus 'On the Sublime,' II. 2, we read as follows:—ἐγὼ δὲ ἐλεγχθήσεσθαι τοῦθ' ἐτέρως ἔχον φημί, εἰ ἐπισκέψαιτό τις, ὅτι ἡ φύσις, ὥσπερ τὰ πολλὰ ἐν τοῖς παθητικοῖς καὶ διηρημένοις αὐτόνομον, οὕτως οὐκ εἰκαδὸν τι καὶ παντὸς ἀμέθοδον εἶναι φιλεῖ, etc.

Here the meaning of ὥσπερ...οὕτως is obviously *although yet*, and I do not know that it has ever been taken in any other way. Roberts in his recent edition translates, 'But I maintain that this will be found to be otherwise if it be observed that *while* nature as a rule is free and independent in matters of passion and elevation, *yet* she is wont not to act at random and utterly without system' (p. 45).

There is no trouble about the sense, then, and the analogous Latin phrase *ita...ut* must occur to everyone. But after searching the grammars and lexicons, including Sophocles' *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, I have been unable to find any mention of ὥς...οὕτως with this concessive force. It seems, therefore, that we have in this place a Latinism, which should be included in the list of 'examples of Latin influence upon Greek construction and phrasing,' given by Prof. Roberts on p. 188 of his edition.

H. J. EDMISTON.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

March 1, 1900.

REVIEWS.

TUCKER'S *POETICS OF ARISTOTLE*.

Aristotelis Poetica: textum recognovit etc.

T. G. TUCKER. Nutt. 1899. Pp. 52.
2s. 0d.

IN this text of the *Poetics* with short critical notes Prof. Tucker appears as a bold innovator on two different lines. I do not include in these his transpositions of chapters or smaller passages, for Sussehl has adopted that course before him.

One is the typographical device by which very considerable parts of the text are printed in smaller type than the rest. He does not make the theory of the distinction perfectly clear, but his meaning seems to be

that some parts are more important than the rest and deserve to be made conspicuous, whereas there is a large amount of secondary argument and detail which ought to be thrown into the shade. There is also a third portion, chiefly Chh. 12 and 20, which he not only prints small in a third type, but brackets. If I understand him, he takes these passages to be unaristotelian, while the rest of the small print is Aristotelian but obscures the larger lines of the treatise on which we ought to fix our gaze. Probably most scholars would rather be left to judge for themselves as to the relative interest and importance of various parts; Mr.

Tucker however explains that he has chiefly in view those who are new to the study of Aristotle, and his typography is meant to help the beginner in seizing the main points. It is not altogether satisfactory to see Aristotle appearing like one of those school-books or manuals in which the young student is warned against attempting on a first reading to master the small print. The manual-writer, too, really means his small print to be passed over; we have no such assurance as to the wishes of Aristotle. Are we to have another new series of classical texts edited on this principle? The *Ethics* and the *Georgics*, Thucydides and Livy, would wear a very strange aspect.

The other direction in which innovation appears is that of conjectural emendation. I think myself that we are to some extent indebted to any scholar who has the courage on reasonable grounds to question tradition, even if his own suggestions are not thoroughly satisfactory. But on the other hand an emending scholar ought, when the text may be considered unsound, to show some clear probability about the exact change which he proposes to make; and though the text of the *Poetics* is often perplexing enough, I cannot think that here Prof. Tucker has really judged well. He is a very good scholar. Those who have read his *Supplices* do not need to be told that he is also very ingenious in his conjectures. But the conjectures that strike us as more than clever and possible, those that we feel to be in any degree convincing, are but a small fraction of the whole. What we think to ourselves is, 'Yes, Aristotle or Aeschylus might have written that, and this is something to say. But he might also have written many other things just as well, and you really give us no sufficient ground for thinking that what you propose is just the one thing he did write.' A scholar is indeed entitled to credit for not sitting down quietly, as most do, under some impossible or almost impossible phrase. But conviction of error is one thing, correction another, and perhaps it is wiser to stop at the first of these, unless we can offer a correction which has more than mere possibility in its favour.

I fear the general verdict on most of the suggestions made by Prof. Tucker will be that we cannot say this of them.

I give a list, not of all, but of the most important changes which he actually prints in his text of the first ten chapters. It may be remembered that some of them were put forward by him in vol. x. of this *Review* along with others that do not now appear.

1447 a 27 οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν ὀρχηστῶν. b 15 οὐχ ὡς χρῆν κατὰ μίμησιν. b 22 κατὰ ποῖον ποιητὴν προσαγορευτέον; 1448 a 16 ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τηδί διαφορᾷ. a 23 ἢ παράγοντα πάντας. b 22 φανερόν, ἐρᾶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πεφυκότες. 1449 a 8 κρίναι τί ἦν εἶναι καί. b 6 ἢ Ἐπίχαρμος. b 9 τοῦ ἐν μέτρῳ μετὰ λόγου μεγάλου. b 12 εἰ ἢ μὲν. 1450 a 12 οὐκ ὀλίγοι αὐτόνως ὡς εἰπεῖν. a 30 ποιήσει οὐδὲν ὃ ἦν. b 8 ἐν οἷς οὐκ ἔστιν ἔν τι δῆλον. b 18 σὺν γάρ. b 39 χρόνῳ. 1451 b 31 γειέσθαι καὶ δι' αὐτὰ [γενέσθαι]. 1452 a 2 καὶ κάλλιον. a 16 πεπλεγμένη δὲ ἐκπληξίς. In the notes he further suggests: 1448 a 15 διαφέροντας (or ὑπερφύας) Κύκλωπας. b 36 μιμήσεις δραματικὰς τᾶπη ἐποίησεν. 1451 a 3 καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ποιητῶν σωματῶν. b 23 πάντως ἦν ἀεί.

Of all these I must own that only two or three attract me at all, the very small ones in 1449 b 6 and 12 (I had myself thought of the latter) and perhaps that in 1452 a 2. The first and third conjectures in the list I hardly understand. The use of τί ἦν εἶναι in 1449 a 8 strikes me as different from the way Aristotle handles his phrase. Does he ever employ anything like the τηδί inserted in 1448 a 16 and 1449 b 19? His occasional τοδί is essentially different. I imagine such a τηδί to be as little Aristotelian as the τοι (see Eucken) which Prof. Tucker introduces in two later passages (1454 a 23 and b 35). Few will approve the readings suggested in 1448 a 15, 1450 a 12, 1451 a 3, 1452 a 16. Speaking generally, one may say that there is too much imagination, not enough sense of the probabilities of things, and possibly not enough attention to other Aristotelian writings. But Prof. Tucker's work stimulates and sets us thinking even when we cannot readily assent to his conclusions.

H. RICHARDS.

JAN'S *MUSICI SCRIPTORES*.

Musici Scriptores Graeci, recognovit, prooemiis et indice instruxit CAROLUS JAN. Supplementum, melodiarum reliquiae. Teubner, 1899. M. 1.20.

IN this small volume of the Teubner series of texts—the number of pages is sixty in all—we have from the highly competent hand of Carl von Jan a complete collection of all the fragments of Greek music as yet discovered. In the case of such a book our chief duty is to recommend it to the attention of scholars. A few points may be noticed.

The fragment of the *Orestes* of Euripides the editor (following M. Gevaert) now pronounces to be in the Dorian 'mode'; that is to say, it is based on a scale of the Dorian species. On the question whether the genus is Chromatic or Enharmonic he decides in favour of the former. The mysterious Z is regarded by him (no doubt

rightly) as simply a mark of the end of the line.

The two Hymns to Apollo now appear in a much more complete form than has been possible hitherto. In the first Hymn a great improvement has been effected by the transposition of the two fragments. The process of filling up *lacunae* by conjecture has been carried on with great ingenuity and success.

The Seikilos inscription has now received the missing final note, which has so important a bearing on the tonality.

The three Hymns which for so long were the only specimens of Greek music have received some fresh light, especially from an article by M. Th. Reinach in the *Revue des études grecques* ix. (1896.) The observation of the law of accent has now drawn a distinction between this hymn and the others.

D. B. MONRO.

PETERSON'S *CLUENTIUS OF CICERO*.

M. Tulli Ciceronis pro A. Cluentio Oratio: edited with introduction and notes explanatory and critical, by W. PETERSON M.A., Hon. LL.D. St. Andrews and Princeton. Pp. lv, 271. London, Macmillan and Co. (*Classical Series*) 1899. 3s. 6d.

DR. PETERSON had laid all teachers of the classics under a debt of gratitude by his well-known translation of the *pro Cluentio*, which was revised and issued with certain notes in 1895. Some further comments of his, upon the text, appeared in this Review in June 1898. He has now followed up these prelusory labours by a new edition of the speech, in which he claims, not without reason, to have constituted the text on independent lines. What these lines are, will best be seen if we proceed to examine certain passages in the light of Dr. Peterson's criticism.

But it may be remarked, at the outset, that finality is not to be expected in the constitution of such a text as that of the *pro Cluentio*. There were, as Classen first pointed out in his edition of 1831, two

recensions of the text: the 'vulgate' as it is called, which is represented by the promiscuous crowd of codd. deteriores, and the superior recension represented by the MSS. known as ST. The latter is supported, on the whole, by P the fragmentary Turin Palimpsest of the 5th or 6th century, which itself however displeases us at times by its ineptitudes; e.g. §35 *postulari* (for *post uiri*): §92 *om. natura*: §101 *praeferebatur* (for *proferebatur*): §129 *iuretur* (for *inuretur*), §146 *in mente* (for *sine mente*). But in three or four cases P has yielded invaluable evidence e.g. §130 *multitudini*: *nemini licitum*: and it goes far to establish the value of the ST recension.

We find further evidence of the existence, in the 14th century or earlier, of a better recension or at least of some MS. from which marginal corrections were taken down in MSS. of the vulgate order of text. Dr. Peterson mentions (after Classen) the cod. S. Marci (b²). He further says (p. xliii)—'There was a codex S. Victoris, believed by Classen to have been used by Lambinus and collated also by Gulielmus': adding that Sylvius cites it in his edition of

1535, the earliest separate edition of the speech. It is strange that by a sort of tacit agreement among editors, the whereabouts of this manuscript is left in obscurity: and Dr. Peterson goes so far as to speak of it in the past tense. But I have recently examined with some care a MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (no. 14749, belonging originally to the Abbaye de Saint-Victor, suppressed at the Revolution), which appears to correspond in all respects to the missing codex. There are fifteen cases in which Σ (as I will call it) shows the readings (mostly in the margin, sometimes in the text) attributed by Gulielmus to the cod. S. Victoris: two cases in which it does not, viz. in not reading *et for sed* (§ 46) and *pronuntiari* (§ 73). This MS. Σ seems to be a patchwork by different hands. Its groundwork corresponds to the M family which Dr. Peterson indicates (p. xlii), showing traces of the four lacunae characteristic of that group. These lacunae however are filled up by very apparent patches: e.g. in § 102 after '*agerent quod nos*' appears an erased line '*quaerit qualis uir*'...from § 107, and continued by the correct insertion '*in tota causa*' etc. on the top of the next folio, in paler ink. There are similar traces of disturbance at § 127. The lacunae §§ 149-154, §§ 176-182 are filled up by an inserted page in either case. The closing pages, from § 198 incipit in quo to the end of the speech, are similarly inserted.

Though the text of Σ agrees in the main with that of M, there are cases in which it contradicts it: e.g. § 47 ad (ob STFM), § 64 inimicus ΣST iniquus FM: § 104 accepisse a Cluentio HS CCCC, ΣST (here correct edd. who say ST soli); ib. aliud is ΣSF. It appears therefore to have some independent value. But its main interest is to be found in its marginal corrections. These appear to have been inserted by more hands than one: a few are written in a very faint ink, whereas the greater part are as clear as the text. Sometimes the emendation promised by an '*al.*' in the margin has not been filled in at all. But these emendations with little exception confirm STb²: but note § 33 possit Σ marg. S, § 48 esse dicet Σ^m S, § 49 hic cum causa Fabricius Σ^m (hic cum causa C. Fabr. T); § 53 hoc quo visus venire posset Σ^m, hoc quovis usus venire posset T: § 72 plane Σ^mF, planius ST: § 113 potuerunt, or putaret, both in Σ^m, while Σ text has potuit aliqui, STb² putaretur.

It may surely then be fairly contended that we have in Σ an additional witness to the best text current in MSS. of the ST type,

a MS. which in its own text follows, but not invariably, the tradition which we have in the Laurentian eleventh century MS. M, the omitted passages (and possibly certain readings) being taken by the scribe from a second MS. before him (such as F), perhaps, indeed, from two combined: for those passages exhibit once or twice the ST tradition. When it comes to the marginalia, we are driven to the conclusion that the whole speech was carefully collated more than once with a MS. of the ST order. It is disappointing no doubt to find little or nothing that is new in the readings whether of margins or text. The MSS. of Cicero have been so thoroughly worked over, from the ninth century onwards, that this was only to be expected: and such scholars as Dr. Peterson address themselves to the task of conjectural emendation. Of all such work the remark of Lehmann (quoted in Mr. A. C. Clark's *pro Milone* p. xlix) holds good: 'in all cases where we have not such good MSS. [as in the *de Senectute*] criticism builds upon an insecure foundation; a conjecture may be put forward which suits the sense, but is not convincing, since the readings before us are themselves the deposit of an ancient and intelligently-formed recension.'

The soundest part of such emendation seems (to the present writer) to be that which concerns itself with intrusions into the text: glosses and 'index-words' in particular. Thus Dr. Peterson condemns '*agitur causa*' in § 58 as a marginal guide which has slipped into the text; and in § 72 *queritur se ab Opp. destitutum*; better than Madvig, who proposed to excise '*sese ab Opp. destitutum*' below.

There are four cases in the speech in which the question of reading turns on the omission of *non*: § 34 *non longe animo prospexisse*, STΣ^m, *longe a. pr. P*, codd. rel.; § 47 *medico non ignobili sed spectato homine* STΣ^m *ignobili sed FMΣ*: § 67 *non ignoratis ST*, *ignoratis codd. reliqui*; § 127 *comperisse, codd. omnes, but non comperisse conj. Graevius*. In the first of these Dr. Peterson follows ST: in § 47, he reads *non ignobili, spectato homine*, as an instance of the appositional *homo* or *uir*: in § 67 all edd. read the *non*: in § 127 Dr. Peterson, with Classen and Baiter, follows the MSS., reading *sese* however for *esse*. On this we may remark, first of all, that the omission of *non* by all MSS. proves very little: it is not unfrequent; cp. *Plane*. § 44 where the best MSS. omit an indispensable *non*. Next, Dr. Peterson's exegesis of the passage is not very clear: *duos esse...dicant* clearly corresponds

to aut illud adferant, and yet he inserts a mark of interrogation, on the ground that the videlicet of the following words implies an answer to a question. But the sense is 'The censors must say that two alone were guilty: obviously then (videlicet) the rest of the jurors voted honestly.' To proceed: Dr. Peterson renders his text (aut illud adferant sq.) 'or else they must make the allegation that they ascertained some fact implicating the others.' This rendering is surely unsatisfactory: adferre is hardly 'to make an allegation' but to 'produce as evidence' or simply to 'bring forward a plea': (Lucr. iii., 354, adf. = rationem adferre, 'to give an explanation'). Again, why aliquid and not id or idem? With the other reading, we get a clear sense 'or else they must plead that they had not actually brought home to the rest the charge which they had effectually proved (habuerint compertum) against Aquilius and Gutta.' The contrast between the two forms of perfect favours this view. It suggests, as the second alternative open to the censors, that they should say 'Two at least are *proved* guilty: of the rest we have our suspicions.' Dr. Reid (ap. Peterson 'Translation' p. 153) confirms this reading by reference to § 131 nihil ipsos habuisse cogniti, nihil comperti.

In § 37 the reading of Müller is accepted, atque ubi pernoctarat ibi diem: I had read atque ubi pernoctaret ibi diem, following P, which involves the doubtful tense pernoctaret. Comparing the MS. readings ibi pernoctaret ibi diem ST ibi pernoctaret et ibi diem FM ibi pernoctaret et ibidem WΣ which all support the imperfect tense, I now think that we should read (as Classen) atque ibi pernoctaret, ibi diem posterum commoraretur: the more so as the sequence of the clauses is Ciceronian, cum esset apud mulierculam atque ibi...commoraretur, cp. Phil. ii, § 77, delituit in cauponula atque ibi...perpotavit, Catil. iii, § 5.

In § 66 vos quaeso...item quae reliqua sunt audiat is read, as against STΣ^m ut item, on the ground that to explain the latter 'one would have to suppose that vos is direct acc. after quaeso and that it takes the ordinary government of verbs of asking': this, it is said, quaeso can only take when coupled with oro, precor and the like. It is true that quaeso ab aliquo is the ordinary construction: but in Sex. Rosc. § 11 we have te...M. Fanni quaeso ut qualem te...praebuisti...talem te...impertias. In § 112 parenthetic quaero (not, as usual, quaeso) read by FMWΣ is cut out by Dr. Peterson, following ST because it 'could not

stand parenthetically in such a context,' and may be due to a marginal adscript *quaere*.

In § 84 the words istam dedit conciliationis et gratiae fabulam (om. ST) are retained, in spite of the banality of the repetition of conciliationem gratiae two lines above. In Σ^m we have istam ultro dedit: which may suggest, as the original, excogitavit ultro, sive, ut homines tum loquebantur, a P. Cethego admonitus. The suspected words, istam...fabulam are surely some scribe's adaptation of the idea in explosum et eiectum est (§ 86).

In § 86 the excision of qui cum matre, as 'the remains of an adscript,' is to be regretted: I have nothing to add to my critical note on the passage, unless it be to say that a passing hit at Sassia is never out of place (cp. § 18 init.) and that Σ has qui cum matre *insere* haerebat, Σ^m has *insere* habebat simultates; another Paris MS. (no. 17883) has a corruption of the true reading, qui cum in re haerebat. In § 94 the latter MS. may be held to support the reading of ST placatum, by its paccatum: it certainly is the only MS. that reads pudens, which most edd. adopt: Dr. Peterson has prudens and pacatum. The emendation in § 98 quid? accusati sunt (qui acc. s. *codd.*) is not convincing: Mr. Lendrum's view, that the relative introduces a refutation (Hermathena vi. p. 358) is more satisfactory (he cp. § 91 quae res fraudi fuit and qui tum interlitus): otherwise atqui would suit better than quid? In § 116 the interesting emendation of Dr. Postgate non remittunt (MSS. non admittunt) is discussed but put aside. It has much to recommend it. The accepted text represents a litis aestimatio as invariably either *lenient* to a fault or negligent. But Cic. is arguing that a certain *severe* litis aestimatio was no iudicium; and we are landed in the supposition 'that the most skilful of advocates starts in his task of minimising the importance of a severe lit. aest. by suggesting that a large number of these assessments of penalty are too mild' (Journal of Philol. xxvi. p. 89). We can only, with Dr. Peterson, reply that the fact is mentioned merely as an illustration of negligentia: which is rather strained, especially as Cic. goes on to give instances of *severe* lit. aestimationes: which agrees better with non remittunt 'refuse to mitigate the penalty.' In Σ^m we find non amittunt, which might be taken to support the emendation.

But so many interesting points are raised

by Dr. Peterson's notes on this admirable speech

singula dum capti circumvectamur amore that we have already exceeded the bounds of a review. Reference may be made to the adoption of in eo loco § 65, the attempt to supply the lacuna in § 103 (which, however, does nothing more than others to mark the transition from the first trial of Fidiculanus Falcula to the second), the defence of accusavit ut cum in § 150, of at heres est C. in § 165, the excision, in § 173 (the poisoning passage), of faciliusne potuit quam in poculo as mere 'index-words' from the margin. The last is not a convincing solution of a passage which Lambinus despaired of emending: but it may point the way to a remedy; one might prefer to keep the triple question (faciliusne...latius...celerius...) and to throw out facilius fallere in pane si esset animadversum quam in poculo, which is really self-contradictory. In § 192 an emendation of an equally unsatisfactory passage is suggested which merits attention.

The Introduction gives a useful summary of the facts of the iudicium Iunianum and the praeiudicia of which so much is made by the orator. The technical question relating to the lex Cornelia de sicariis is fully discussed; the value of Cicero's argument is examined. The Scamander incident is set in a clearer light: the meaning of § 47 pecunia obsignata quae ob eam rem ('for the deed') is determined, though adferre (§ 53) in the sense 'to administer' might have been illustrated (e.g. Cael. § 31); nor is it explained why Scamander had the poison on him as well as the money when he

was caught, when it was Diogenes who was to administer it. (Probably Cicero's story is intentionally confused.)

One last point. In § 163 Ambivium (T.) is preferred to A. Bivium (SMΣ). The true reading is, I believe, Abivium which is found in a Brit. Mus. cod. (Burn 159): and we have here a pun like those in § 72. This is a copo de via Latina, who has been making himself disagreeable: 'if he invites us into his hostelry we shall give him such a reception that he will be sorry he has gone out of his way'; the words de via (Latina) decessisse contain a play upon the name Abivius (abire via).

This Edition makes a distinct contribution to the solution of the difficulties of the pro Cluentio: which is high praise in the case of a speech for which so much had already been done by the successive labours of scholars. It can hardly be regarded as the last word of the higher scholarship on this speech. The interpretation of the pro Cluentio is one of those classical tasks, such as the translation of the Odes of Horace, which have a peculiar attraction for scholars and provide a touchstone of criticism. But we may hope that Principal Peterson will address himself next to some res integra. There are speeches of Cicero which still await an editor.

The only misprints which I have noticed are as follows: p. xli., middle, for § 149 read § 145; p. xlii. for -egrinus read egimus; p. 28 cr. n., for 6 read 9; p. 34 cr. n. on 18, correct thus '*alia* most codd.; *aliqua* some edd.' (Σ M have *aliqua*); p. 249 middle, read pane for pace.

W. YORKE FAUSSET.

SHOREY'S ODES AND EPODES OF HORACE.

Horace: Odes and Epodes, edited with Introduction and Notes by PAUL SHOREY, Ph.D., Professor in the University of Chicago. Sanborn & Co., Boston, U.S.A. 1898. Pp. xxxvii, 487.

THE friend of American freedom will welcome in this edition one of the fast accumulating proofs that the trans-Atlantic domination of Berlin and Göttingen is on the decline. In its practical and its literary character it bears the unmistakable impress of the Anglo-Saxon genius. It forms part of a series entitled the *Students' Series of Latin Classics*, and judged from the standard

of the students' needs it may be truly said to have realized the promise of its motto, οὐ πᾶλλ' ἀλλὰ πολύ. The distinguishing feature of the book is its 'literary' character. Dr. Shorey in his preface does not deprecate this description; only by means of an illustration from the French, which I must transcribe for the delectation of readers of the *Classical Review* who do not know it already, he explains in what sense his edition is not a literary one.

Eccc autem a Tenedo gemini tranquilla per alta.
Eccc autem! Les voilà, ce sont eux! *A Tenedo*; c'est de Ténédos qu'ils arrivent; on les aperçoit de loin; *geminii*; ils sont deux; ils forment un couple!

Ambo serait faible; mais *gemini!* *Tranquilla per alta*; c'est la haute mer; elle est tranquille, et les deux monstres s'avancent. Quel tableau!¹

From these scenic methods the interpretation of Dr. Shorey is far removed. He has a fine ear and a delicate touch; and he understands how in matters exegetical the half is often far better than the whole. His lightness of hand is perhaps best shown by quotation. Two successive notes, on iii. 3. 38 and 40, are '*exsules*: slightly spiteful' [it will be remembered Juno is the speaker] 'and with *beati* a faint oxymoron'—'*busto*: Vergil's *iacet ingens litore truncus*, etc. (*Aen.* 2. 557) was not yet published to preoccupy the imagination.' Here Dr. Shorey's brevity is conspicuous; but he does not show to less advantage where he is fuller. And he is fuller where, for example, ample illustration of Horace's diction or style is the true economy. Witness his excellent note on i. 32. 9 where he shows in elucidation of a general discussion in the preface that the single word *udus* represents in Horace as many as eight Greek words, ἀλίκλυστος, διερός, βεβρεγμένος, ἐλώδης, ὕγρός, εὐνδρος, ἔφνδρος, ἡερόεις. Notes of this kind are not merely scholarly: they breed scholarship.

The literary taste and feeling displayed throughout this commentary make its occasional lapses into the tricks of English speech, of which American scholars have not as yet divested themselves, all the more irritating. *E.g.* 'For knocking with foot, cf. *Plaut. Most.* 444; *Callim. Hym. Apoll.* 3. Observe alliteration.' p. 159. We might parody Dr. Shorey on i. 32. 9 and say 'Note American poverty of articles.' On III. 3. 12 we read 'we may choose between the "purple light" of youth, the halo of apotheosis, and a "purple-stained mouth from a beaker full of the true, the blushful Hippocrene"' (p. 312). 'Blushful Hippocrene,' ye Muses! These may be small matters, it is true; but they are as sand in the eye.

Other English editions of Horace have shown literary tact and insight perhaps as great as Dr. Shorey's, though they have not equalled his brevity. But in another feature of the 'literary' edition he is without a rival. It was his aim to stimulate the student's appreciation of the *Odes* by a somewhat fuller illustration than 'is generally given of Horace's thought, sentiment and poetic imagery.' This aim he has attained by means of copious quotations from English metrical versions and ample illustration of

his thoughts and diction from modern English and foreign poets. I do not wish to suggest that ancient illustrations are absent or in defect. There is an ample store of these also; but they do not constitute so distinguishing a feature in the book. It is hard here to say whether we should admire more the stores of elegant learning from which the editor has drawn or the judgment with which he has made his selection. The result is beyond all question. Dr. Shorey's book cannot fail to stimulate in its every reader a fuller, a deeper and a more vivid appreciation of the art and poetry of Horace. So much do I feel this that I assume the role of censor with considerable reluctance; but the ungracious task cannot be altogether declined.

The study of all classics, we know, has two main branches, criticism and exposition. With neither can it dispense any more than Euclid with his problems or his theorems; though the Q.E.F. of the unbridled critic and the Q.E.D. of the unabashed interpreter have often produced the illusion that it can. Every man (the exceptions may for present purposes be neglected) leans naturally in the one direction or the other; the inclination of Dr. Shorey (he would presumably admit it himself, see Pref. p. vii), is to exposition. We do not mean that he presents an impervious carapace to critical arguments. He discriminates between the alternatives which dissension in the manuscripts offers; and usually his election is right. Occasionally even where they are unanimous he leaves them and adopts a conjecture; sometimes a mistaken one as at *Epodes* v. 87 where he accepts Haupt's *maga non*. But his heart is in the other camp: and if the student desires to understand the real critical issues in a difficult and disputed passage, he must go elsewhere: he will not get enlightenment from Dr. Shorey. And here I must pause to touch upon a very subtle danger to criticism which the free use of modern parallels involves. A quotation from a modern writer brings home to the reader's mind the thought which the citer desires to suggest with a force and vividness that no ancient quotation can match. Such an appeal is apt to sweep reason from her feet while the mind forgets that the modern may have misunderstood or misrepresented the ancient and that at any rate he is a modern after all.

I would purposely illustrate the first possibility by two instances which have no special bearing upon contested points of

¹ M. Sarcy, *Souvenirs de Jeunesse*, p. 180.

Horatian interpretation. The volume of Longfellow's poems entitled *Ultima Thule* contains a poem upon Jugurtha which a well known poet and critic of poetry, Mr. E. W. Gosse, singled out when the book first appeared for high commendation. It runs as follows :

How cold are thy baths, Apollo !
Cried the African monarch, the splendid,
As down to his death in the hollow,
Dark dungeons of Rome he descended,
Uncrowned, unthroned, unattended.
How cold are thy baths, Apollo !

How cold are thy baths, Apollo !
Cried the poet, unknown, unbefriended,
As the vision that lured him to follow,
With the mist and the darkness blended ;
And the dream of his life was ended.
How cold are thy baths, Apollo !

As a matter of fact, Jugurtha's exclamation when thrust into the cold, dark prison was not 'How cold are thy baths, Apollo,' but (addressing his Roman gaolers) 'Jove ! How cold your bath is !' 'Ἡράκλεις, εἶπεν, ὡς ψυχρὸν ὑμῶν τὸ βαλανεῖον, Plutarch *Marius* c. 12. If the poetic mind works so freely with a plain narrative of fact, how watchful must we be of comparisons which suggest that it will render faithfully an ancient conception from the nebulous regions of sentiment and fancy ? Few poets have had a finer knowledge of the ancient poets than Tennyson. He sings of an 'island-valley' with 'bowery hollows crowned with summer seas,' just as Homer had sung of an island, τὴν περὶ πόντος ἀπείριτος ἐστεφάνωται. The resemblance is obvious : and the difference. We may hope that, if Tennyson had been translating the *Odyssey*, he would have avoided a word which carries an idea of 'surmounting' absent from the Homeric verb.

To return to Horace and Dr. Shorey, I would refer first to i. 23, 5, 6 where, in the words of the Preface p. vii., the rival readings are 'briefly discussed.' Of the *uepris*—*ad ventum* of Bentley he writes that it is 'ingenious and smoothly parallel with *rubum dimovere* below'—a mode of phrasing which would reveal the editor's preference, even if the description of the vulgate reading as 'this bold and beautiful expression' had not preceded. Two arguments against the vulgate are mentioned ; that trees have no leaves in spring, i. 4, 11 being cited on the other side, and that in spring the does have no fawns, to which no answer is made. I do not know if Dr. Shorey would accept the explanation of a German (ap. Orelli) that Horace refers to hardened fawns of two

or three years old. Then are quoted Rossetti Love's Nocturne 'When in groves the gracile spring | Trembles' : Swinburne, *Atalanta*, 'When the hounds of spring are on winter's traces | The mother of months in meadow or plain | Fills the shadows and windy places | With *lisp of leaves* (his italics) and ripple of rain.' And for *adventus* is quoted Milton's 'Far off his coming shone.' And in all this the vital issues are never even touched ; that, bold and beautiful as the image may be, the boldness and beauty is not that of ancient poetry while its indirectness and irrelevance is as alien to the classical spirit as is the '*lisp of leaves*' which Dr. Shorey italicises and 'the hounds of spring' which he does not, and that modern reminiscences of the vulgate reading have no weight as evidence in its favour. These and similar considerations can never be lost sight of in comparisons of ancient and modern poetry. Matthew Arnold transforms two words of Horace *Oceano dissociabili* into the noble line 'The unplumbed, salt, estranging sea.' We may hold the English to be more poetical, but its beauty should not blind us as critics to the different canons that must be applied to an original, which states the relevant fact and has done.

In the passage first discussed the vulgate gives poetry and sense, though sense and poetry alien to Horace ; at i. 35. 22 *sqq.* it gives neither. Here is Dr. Shorey's paraphrase : 'Hope and white-robed Faith follow "the fortunes of a fallen lord" and withhold not their companionship even when Fortune (the great divinity) grows hostile (*inimica*), and his personal Fortune (my italics) puts on mourning and leaves the once lordly home.' Mr. Page, whom our editor has used and not unfrequently cites, has admitted the harshness and awkwardness of this double role of Fortune : but Dr. Shorey has no qualms. 'Perfect consistency' (the euphemism is charming) 'is not attained, but the meaning is clear.' Yes, we may rejoin, when you have juggled in the second *Fortuna*, and imputed to literary Latin the loose habits of English expression. But not till then. The place in his commentary on the Odes, however, where we most miss the critical faculty is iv. 8. Dean Wickham is the only modern editor of Horace known to me who has conscientiously grappled with the difficulties of this composition ; and the results are full of significance to the discerning. But Dr. Shorey does not face the problems : he simply smooths them out of sight. I end with an example from the Epodes. The MS. read-

ing at vii. 11 sq. 'neque hic lupis mos nec fuit leonibus, | *unquam* nisi in dispar feris' could be defended if it were credible that Horace used *unquam* interrogatively with *feris*. But Dr. Shorey's solution is this: 'Umquam, besides doing duty with *mos fuit*, is felt as *nunquam* with *feris* owing to the position of *neque*: never fierce to their own kind (except to their unlike).' Will Prof. Shorey frankly say what language he would address to a member of his own class who wrote, and thus defended, the Latin which their professor attributes to Horace sooner than admit that the manuscripts have lost a single letter at the beginning of a line?

I have said that generally Dr. Shorey chooses rightly between the MS. readings; so I will add some exceptions. i. 3. 19 *l. turbidum* (cf. Propert. 3. 3. 24 'medio maxima turba mari est'); iii. 14. 6 *l. diuis*; iv. 4. 36. *l. indecorant*. Sometimes his choice is better than his reasons. There is no necessity to leave the MSS. at i. 2. 39 *Mauri peditis* 'the unhorsed Moor.' At the present time the *acer uoltus* of a horse-soldier whose charger has been killed by the foeman who lies bleeding at his feet needs no illustration to make it intelligible. But the explanation preferred by the editor is 'The *Mauri* were fierce enough and *may well have used foot soldiers*' (my italics)—to the young student especially a demoralising comment.

Occasionally Dr. Shorey is too brief. The

note on iv. 6. 17 '*palam*: with *captis*, antithesis to *falleret*' is right as far as it goes. But, in view of the difficulty which competent critics have found with *captis*, it should have been pointed out that the stress of the sentence lies in the participle and that the finite verb with all that follows *palam captis* (= *ui aperta captis*) has no logical relation to the preceding stanza, and in English must be rendered by a separate sentence. I have noticed few slips or palpable errors: but *caprea* (iv. 4. 14) is not a *kid* (p. 406). Nor (on the same passage) should *vitulus*, iv. 2. 60, be cited as proof that *fulvae* is a possible epithet of a *goat*. We gain nothing by quoting one of Ovid's derivations for *Quirites* to justify the epithet *bellicosus* iii. 3. 57. In the time of Horace *Quirites* was a distinctively civil appellation. Here of course it is a synonym for *Romani*. Dr. Shorey's spelling is generally correct; but he does not follow the best MSS. in writing *montis* (i. 2. 8) and the like, and he fluctuates between *umor* and *humor*. His *meter* for *metre* will not be approved on this side of the Ocean: it too painfully suggests the gas-man. The book deserves an index; and an index of first lines would be a useful addition.

In parting from Dr. Shorey, I would say that if I were limited to three editions of the Odes, his would be one.

J. P. POSTGATE.

TREMENHEERE'S CYNTHIA OF PROPERTIUS.

The Cynthia of Propertius, done into English verse by SEYMOUR GREIG TREMENHEERE, one of H.M. Inspectors of Schools. Macmillan and Co., London and New York. 1899. pp. xiii. 108. 4s. net.

'SCHOLARS will pardon an attempt, however bald, to render into English these exquisite love-poems.' Why? Those who have no Latin may pardon such an attempt, if they like bad verses better than silence; but I do not know why bald renderings of exquisite love-poems should be pardoned by those who want no renderings at all. One who cannot read or understand

omniaque ingrato largibar munera somno,
munera de prono saepe uoluta sinu,

may perhaps pardon the translation

Ungrateful sleep! Give all I could,
Roll from your lap my presents would!

But who else? only the personage of whom Heine tells us 'c'est son métier.' Some bald renderings there are which even scholars will pardon: when Mr Paley sings 'It is present to me to feel the chill, the very severe chill, of a hostile public executioner,' or Mr Buckley 'They cut off his ears and nostrils with the sharp brass; but he, injured in his feelings, went about, enduring that calamity with a frantic mind,' scholars are as grateful as other folk; but Mr Tremenneere never rejoices the heart like this, though he does write 'To eclipse your honoured uncle strive' and ask 'Is yours the

spirit that can brave 'The hard bunk and the howling wave?'

The chief merit of his version is its admirable and even surprising conciseness: he has chosen his metre ill, for our octosyllabic couplet is not only as much unlike the elegiac as one couplet can be unlike another, but also affords very little room; yet nothing essential is omitted, except now and then the definite article. The phrasing too is often pointed; but it mostly wants grace and finish and is sometimes ugly: 'When, Gallus, stuttering and agasp, You languished in the damsel's clasp,' 'And, by Hylaeus bludgeoned well, Lay groaning on the Arcadian fell.' Where everything else is sacrificed to smartness and 'illa suis uerbis cogat amare Iouem' is rendered 'She'd coax the devil to her feet,' some will admire; but there is nothing smart about slang terms like 'cut' and 'wig': they misrepresent Propertius, who is not a colloquial writer but literary to a fault, and they are repulsive. Misrepresentation of Propertius is indeed the capital defect of this performance: good or bad, in movement, in diction, in spirit, it is unlike the original. I will quote some verses from the second poem, which is much the best translated:

Life of my life, why court applause
In fluttering folds of Coan gauze,
With Syrian scent on plaits and curls
And all the gauds of foreign girls?

* * *

What beauties e'er with Nature's vied?—
Wild ivy, meadows gaily pied,
Lone dolls with beauteous berries fraught,
Clear streams that find their way untaught,
Bright shores with native gems self-strewn,
And birds that never learnt a tune!
'Twas not their toilets that did win
Leucippus' daughters each her Twin:
It was not for a powdered face
That Pelops came so far to race;
Nor Idas with Apollo vied
To bear Marpessa off a bride.

Excellent: the rendering is close and deft, the English is pure, the phrasing neat, the lines run well; but what was the Latin? elegiacs by Propertius or hendecasyllables by Martial?

A text is printed opposite the translation, and there are notes at the end.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

THE NEW ANTHOLOGIA OXONIENSIS.

Nova Anthologia Oxoniensis. Translations into Greek and Latin Verse. Edited by ROBINSON ELLIS, M.A., Corpus Professor of Latin and Fellow of Corpus Christi College, and A. D. GODLEY, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Magdalen College, Oxford. Clarendon Press. MDCCCXCIX. 7s. 6d. net.

The New Oxford Anthology is a beautiful volume. Its size, shape, paper and printing, invite and allure the reader, and its contents—ranging from the earliest to the most modern poetry—make it highly attractive to the lover of literature, even apart from its interest as a choice collection of Greek and Latin versions which may be regarded as representative of contemporary Oxonian scholarship. In the way in which it fulfils this its primary purpose the book surpasses expectation, however high—ἀκοῆς κρείσσων ἐς πείραν ἔρχεται—but not μόνη τῶν νῦν, for has not Cambridge recently given us proof, as delightful as convincing, that the reeds of the Cam are still as musically vocal as ever?

To select is difficult when every piece shows finished scholarship and taste; but it will guide our readers to be told that they may look for the most daring and novel experiments among the contributions of Gilbert Murray, recently Professor of Greek in Glasgow, and W. R. Hardie, now Professor of Humanity in Edinburgh. The Latin translations are more numerous by forty than the Greek (107 to 67), and conspicuous among them are W. R. Hardie's charming versions from the prose of George Meredith, Thackeray and Jonson into hexameters which catch exactly the true note—the *vrai air*—of Horace's Epistles. We have from the same hand some dignified tragic Latin iambics (cviii.) and a very successful Greek choral ode (cxli.). Another most brilliant specimen of this kind of composition—unessayed hitherto in Anthologies—is by Gilbert Murray (lxii.). His rendering of a fine poem by Shelley breathes the very spirit and *afflatus* of the Greek choral ode. Indeed, whatever style of Greek or Latin poetry he takes for his

model he appeals with unfailing success to one's sense of beauty and of scholarship. His Theocritean rendering of Tennyson's exquisite 'Come down, O Maid' is a masterpiece. E. D. A. Morshead's anapaestic ode (lviii.) has also caught the spirit of Greek tragedy most successfully. We wish that admirable composer, A. Sidgwick, had adopted the lyric ode in his wonderfully ingenious attempt to render Browning's 'O lyric love' (xviii.). In spite of his remarkable skill in the handling of it, the Greek hexameter refuses to respond to the half-expressed hints, the half-conceived figures, the vague yet suggestive yearnings of the nineteenth-century psychological analyst. The translating into Greek or Latin is often the best test of the original poem, how far the writer has succeeded in envisaging his images and disentangling his 'complicated state of mind.' The rendering into another tongue supplies a kind of *lapis Lydius ad quem ingenia sanabilia explorentur*. We cannot conceive any Greek writer in hexameters (at least of those who have come down to us) expatiating in reflections which might conceivably have floated before the δαυλοὶ πρᾶπιδων δάσκιοί τε πόροι of an Aeschylean chorus. In commenting on the *Cambridge Compositions* we ventured to make a similar remark on a poem by Oliver Wendell Holmes, strangely selected by Mr. Lyttelton as a test piece for translation into Latin elegiacs. We could not conceive a Latin elegiac poet expressing an aspiration that Memory's hand should restore the light of departed days from Time's grey urn. A rendering seemed impossible because the poet had not succeeded in expressing anything. In like manner the poem of Browning suggests many reflections but has not succeeded in expressing them. The Greek hexameter is again applied unsuitably, as it seems to us, but again with amazing scholarship and skill, by T. L. Agar to Goldsmith's 'Village Master' (lxxxiii.).

Another rare and successful experiment is the piece in Latin comic trochaic septenarii merging into cretics, by that accomplished Plautine scholar, W. M. Lindsay (l.). Perhaps the most attractive of Robinson Ellis's contributions—which are not as numerous as we should desire—is his version in Asclepiads (v.). But should not the number of lines in the Latin be divisible evenly by four, according to Meineke's canon, in a piece modelled on Horace's odes? Another very graceful piece by him is his translation into seasons of Pope's epitaph on Gay :

PAGE 110. LXI.

Of Manners gentle, of Affections mild ;
In Wit, a Man ; Simplicity, a Child :
With native Humour temp'ring virtuous
Rage,
Form'd to delight at once and lash the
age :
Above Temptation, in a low Estate,
And uncorrupted, ev'n among the Great :
A safe Companion, and an easy Friend,
Unblamed thro' life, lamented in thy End.
These are thy Honours ! not that here thy
Bust
Is mix'd with Heroes, or with Kings thy
dust ;
But that the Worthy and the Good shall
say,
Striking their pensive bosoms—*Here* lies
GAY.

POPE.

O moribus iucunde, mitis adfectu,
candore puerum qui refers, viros mente,
tuo lepore temperans probas iras,
sacclum iuvare natus et secare idem ;
te non egestas subditum tulit nummis,
neque optimatum blanda cura corrumpit ;
sed qui fuisti fidus ac sine offensa,
vivum fovebant, mortuum dolent omnes.
haec laus tibi ingens ; non quod hic tuum
marmor
contingit ossa principum, cinis reges ;
sed innocens quod omnis et pius dicet
dolore pulsans pectus, Hic iaces, Gai.

Perhaps the most perfect of many very finished compositions by the other editor, A. D. Godley, that accomplished scholar and dextrous parodist, who may be called the Oxford Calverley, is the scene between Gaunt and Bolingbroke (xlvi.). It corresponds almost exactly to the original in the number of lines (36 = 35). The absence of this correspondence is the only defect, if indeed it can be called a defect, in H. W. Greene's masterly senarii on p. 33 (30 = 23), and those on p. 15 (24 = 16) by J. G. Sargent, whose Greek and Latin verses in this volume are worthy of his perfect prose compositions already published, and no higher praise could be bestowed.

Not only the length but the uniform excellence of the compositions renders quotation undesirable and difficult, but we ask leave to put before our readers a short version by A. D. Godley of a clever epigram by another great Oxford man, Goldwin Smith :

PAGE 264. CLXIX.

Ἐν μεγάροισι πατὴρ βίος ἦν ᾗδιστος Ἰάνθης,
ἀλλ' ὄγε νῦν δ' ἐλθὼν ἐν προθύρῳ Θάνατος.

ἡ δὲ καλυψαμένη πομπὸν μετὰ νηλέα βαίνει
 ἐντροπαλιζομένη, μητρὸς ὀρεξαμένη,
 ὄλβια πολλὰ λιποῦσα καὶ ἡβην ἡμερόεσσαν·
 ἐκ δὲ δόμου σβέσσας δᾶδ' Ὑμέναιος ἔβη.
 G. S.

Sedibus in patriis felix vivebat Ianthē:

Mors vocat ad primas visa venire fores:
 respicit illa quidem matremque invita re-
 linquit,

obducto sequitur sed tamen ore ducem.
 gaudia fugerunt vitæ dulcisque iuventas:
 et procul extinctas fers, Hymenææ, faces.

And the following version by Sir Alfred
 Milner will have an interest added to its
 intrinsic merit:

PAGE 266. CLXXI.

But oh, that deep romantic chasm which
 slanted

Down the green hill athwart a cedarn
 cover!

A savage place, as holy and enchanted
 As e'er beneath a waning moon was haunted
 By woman wailing for her demon lover.

And from this chasm, with ceaseless tur-
 moil seething,

As if this earth in fast thick pants were
 breathing,

A mighty fountain momentarily was forced:
 Amid whose swift, half-intermitted burst
 Huge fragments vaulted like rebounding
 hail,

Or chaffy grain beneath the thresher's
 flail.

And 'mid these dancing rocks at once and
 ever

It flung up momentarily the sacred river.
 Five miles meandering with a mazy motion
 Through wood and dale the sacred river
 ran,

Then reached the caverns measureless to
 man,

And sank in tumult to a lifeless ocean:
 And 'mid this tumult Kubla heard from far
 Ancestral voices prophesying war.

COLERIDGE.

PAGE 267. CLXXI.

Quæ deinde intulerit facies se mira, quis
 audet

dicere? nam viridi devolsum colle barathrum
 transversas aperit fauces cedrisque minatur
 adpositis: asper visu diraque verendus
 religione locus, qualem, dum contrahit ignis
 Cynthia, desertis implebat vocibus Ino.

at barathro ex imo, velut acer anhelitus
 ipsam

tellurem atque imo quasset fundamine
 Manes,
 emicat en rapidus ferventi gurgite torrens.
 nec tamen adsidue: spumas namque inter
 et aestum

grandia saxa volant; sic tectis horrida
 grando,

sic tritæ saliunt, urguet dum vannus,
 avenæ.

hic sibi per saltum et volitantia fragmina
 montis

rumpit iter fluvius sacrisque elabitur undis.
 deinde brevem vitam rapiens nemora inter et
 agros

implicat innumeros gyros cursumque mora-
 tur,

nequiquam—iam finis adest antrisque pro-
 pinquat

immensis, hominum nulli quæ cernere fas
 est,

stagnantisque adeo se condidit aequore
 ponti

cum sonitu: at longe resonare audivit
 avitas

Aeneas voces, certum et prædicere bellum.

We would gladly put before our readers
 the compositions of many other contribu-
 tors if we had more space; but some of
 these are well known as past masters in the
 art of composing, and, for the rest, their
 excellence will attract the reader as he turns
 over the pages. Unfortunately, there is
 no list referring the compositions to their
 respective composers. There is only a list
 of contributors, to which we must constantly
 refer if we wish to identify the different
 translators, who are represented only by
 initials (not always the same for the same
 man either) at the foot of each version.
 We cannot see any reason why the whole
 name should not be given. The late Pro-
 fessor Jowett is represented, so far as we
 have observed, by only one piece (xvi.), and
 that piece is disfigured by a curious error:
 'to taste' is rendered by γεῖναι, and the
 only meaning which γεῖναι could bear,
 namely, 'to give a taste of,' is absolutely
 excluded by the sense. Moreover πόσεως
 dissyllabic in the same version is objection-
 able. Otherwise editors would certainly
 have introduced it into Eur. Med. 909:

εἰκὸς γὰρ ὀργὰς θῆλυ ποιεῖσθαι γένος
 γάμους παρεμπολῶντος ἀλλοίου π ὅ σ ε ι.

In xv. should not the vocative be Ἰάγον?
 It is Ἰάσον in the Medæa. Is σοο ever
 elided as in xxv.? In the first line of xli.
 'The fire takes' is rendered ἄπτει τὸ πῦρ.

Surely this should be ἀπτεται. The active form could only mean 'kindles' transitively, and there is no authority for an impersonal usage as in ἐσάλπιγξε and a few other verbs. The rest of the verse is peculiarly happy. 'It does so. But no flame rises' is beautifully turned by τύφει δ' ἀνηφαίστω μένει. In clxx. ὑβρίσω is a very doubtful form. The best edd. read ὑβρίση in Soph. *Aj.* 560 and ἐνβριεῖς in Ar. *Thesm.* 719. In the same

piece 'the cold wind of the stranger,' finds an exact and deft counterpart in the bold expression ἀνέλληνες πνοαί.

We are glad to find that in the Latin lyric pieces no countenance is given to the theory that we are bound to conform to the *synapheia* observed in the fourth book of Horace's odes but neglected in the first three.

R. Y. T.

CORRESPONDENCE.

ROUSE'S DEMONSTRATIONS IN GREEK IAMBIC VERSE.

I SHOULD like to correct one or two mistakes in Dr. Gow's review of *Demonstrations in Greek Iambic Verse*. The line he cites as containing a molossus:—

πόρρωθεν | εἰσόψει | τὸ Δαρδάνου | πέδον
has no caesura, the rhythmical pauses coming where I have drawn upright lines. In the normal iambic, with caesura, which I was discussing, the molossus can only go where Δαρδάνου stands above. Again, in τῆς ὀρθοβούλου Θέμιδος αἰπυμῆτα παῖ, the first metrical group is τῆς ὀρθοβούλου, five syllables. It is true νῦν δ' might stand here, and I am therefore altering the statement in my book, with thanks to Dr. Gow; but both his criticisms show that he

has not understood the metrical analysis of the iambic. This is one of the many proofs that the system of teaching by foot-scansion or metrical snippets (if I may borrow a word of Dr. Gow's) is vicious.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

I SAID that the type πόρρωθεν εἰσόψει το Δ. π. was good enough 'for occasional use.' Mr. Rouse himself says (p. 11) that it 'may be imitated.' I fully agree with him that, in teaching verse-composition, we have to instil the habit of thinking in metrical phrases, but it struck me that his rules would exclude some phrases unnecessarily.

J. G.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN ROME.

(SEE *C.R.* 1899, Pp. 184, 232, 321, 464).

THE excavations of the Forum still continue upon a large scale, and are likely to do so for a considerable time yet. The purchase and demolition of the Church of S. Maria Liberatrice will render it possible to unite the Forum with the Palatine; the road between them has been suppressed, the site of the church is practically clear for excavation, and further important results may be looked for. A short account of what has been done since the middle of last November up to the present time follows.

I.—Comitium and Curia.

The ground in front of the Curia (S. Adriano) has been entirely cleared, and the

façade of the building exposed down to the ancient level. The concrete foundation of the steps by which it was approached from the Comitium extends along the greater part of the front of the building. When the level rose, and the steps were no longer in use, the area in front of them was used as a burial ground in connexion with the church into which the Curia was converted. Some hundreds of skeletons were found, a few lying in terra-cotta (or in one case in marble) sarcophagi, but in most cases simply covered with earth. Other bodies were placed in longitudinal niches cut in the brickwork of the façade, or in graves hollowed in the concrete of the steps. Several pagan inscriptions, including part of a dedication to Julia Domna and Septimius Severus by the Kalatores

pontificum et flaminum, were used to cover the sarcophagi.

The door of the Curia shows clearly the vicissitudes of the building. The original doorway, of which portions of the jambs remain, was only a few steps above the level of the Comitium. After the fire of 1084, the level was raised nine or ten feet, but by degrees the door was buried again, and the view of Duperac (*Vestigi dell' Antichità di Roma*, 1575, pl: 3) shows that in his time it was necessary to descend a few steps to reach it. In consequence of this, when the church was restored in 1654, the threshold of the new door was placed at the top of the second door, and the floor raised to about eighteen feet above the ancient level. In modern times the level has been raised yet another three feet. A portion of the architrave of the door of the Curia (probably belonging to the fifth century) has been discovered, bearing the following words: ...[im]perant[..... | n]jeratius iu [..... | c]uriam sen[atatus....." When the building was converted into a church by Pope Honorius I, this architrave was plastered over, and a metrical inscription painted upon it in red letters, of which the word 'aspice' remains.

The pavement of the interior is practically intact, and much of the marble decorations of the walls remains; but owing to the opposition of the monks who own the church above, it has not been possible to proceed more than a few feet within the doorway.

After the removal of the mediaeval cemetery in front of the Curia, the rough travertine pavement of the Comitium of the latest period was discovered. Upon this rests—about 10 yards from the N angle of the Curia—a rectangular pedestal, bearing upon one side an inscription as follows: 'Marti invicto patri et aeternae urbis suae conditoribus dominus noster imp. Maxentius p. f. invictus Aug.' on another side the date 21st April (probably of the year 308), the birthday of Rome. The original inscription, which had occupied all the four sides of this pedestal, is still entirely preserved on the other two sides, while there are traces of it on the side on which the date of Maxentius' inscription is given. It is a dedication to Antoninus Pius, erected on August 1st, 154 by the collegium fabrum tignariorum. Professor Hülsen, speaking at the German Institute, proposed to connect the re-erection of the base by Maxentius with the 'niger lapis' in the form in which we see it. This, in view of Maxentius' fondness for recalling the memory of the founders of Rome, is not

improbable. The fact that the 'niger lapis' seems to be in connexion with a better travertine pavement, lying immediately below that on which the pedestal stands, is no obstacle, as the pedestal does not, probably, stand in the original position in which Maxentius placed it, but has beneath it 4 or 5 inches of earth. The theory that the bronze wolf now in the Palace of the Conservators at one time stood upon this pedestal has less to commend it.

Immediately in front of the Curia is a large, very shallow basin of white marble, in the centre of which was placed an octagonal base—perhaps for a fountain basin, which a lead pipe discovered a little way off may have supplied. This is in connexion with the uppermost travertine pavement, and immediately below it is a marble pavement, corresponding with the better travertine pavement near the 'niger lapis' in which are visible holes for a railing for dividing the space immediately in front of the Curia from the rest of the Comitium. Below this again are a few slabs, finely cut and jointed, of a travertine pavement, carefully laid on a stratum of hard red cement, and oriented in correspondence with the Curia of the Republic, which faced due S.

Further excavations round the 'niger lapis' have led to the discovery of a round well, lined with curved slabs of tufa, of considerable depth, which now awaits exploration. There have also been found on the S of the 'niger lapis' several small pits, about three feet square, and only four or five feet deep, enclosed by blocks of tufa, the bottom of which is formed of pounded earth and the object of which is quite uncertain. Three similar pits, but of irregular shape, exist close to the lion pedestals.

II.—Rostra.

At the S.W. end of the Rostra of Julius Caesar, and in contact with it, a fine specimen of the earlier travertine pavement of the Forum has been found. It continues on under the supposed site of the Milliarium Aureum, of which no traces whatever have been discovered, and which can hardly have occupied this position.

III.—Basilica Aemilia.

A very interesting article by Professor Lanciani has just appeared in the *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale* for July–December 1899, p. 169. The excavations have shown that there were probably 15 pilasters in the front line, about 17 feet apart from centre to centre: besides

these, at each end was a projecting wing of one intercolumniation (of that at the N.W. end no traces have as yet been found), giving a total length of at least 93 yards (which is far greater than was expected). Between these wings was a marble paved footway six yards wide, approached from the road by two steps, two more steps leading up into the basilica. The tabernae were arranged against the outer wall of the central hall in correspondence with the intercolumniations. The central hall had a nave 53 feet wide and two aisles each 14 feet wide. The pavement of large slabs of coloured marble is extremely fine, and in places very well preserved, though it must have been seen by the devastators of the sixteenth century, who removed even the blocks of travertine which served to support the bases of the columns. These were of Chian marble, three feet in diameter (the intercolumniation being 13 feet), and various fragments of them have been found, much calcined. The controversy as to the provenance of the 24 columns of Phrygian marble in the basilica of S. Paolo is thus definitely settled, not to mention the fact that they are clearly too large for the bases of the central hall, and it would seem that Pliny (*H.N.* 36, 102) is mistaken in speaking of columns of this marble as being the chief glory of the basilica Aemilia. Fragments of smaller columns of Chian marble, belonging to the upper storey of the central hall, have also been found.

Two fragments of an inscription relating apparently to the restoration by Tiberius, which have recently been discovered, make it somewhat doubtful whether the great inscription in honour of Lucius Caesar (*C.R.* 1899, p. 465) really belongs to the basilica or no. Professor Lanciani, in the article above cited, expresses considerable doubts.

The whole building shows considerable traces of the action of fire; the pavement of the central hall is covered with molten copper coins, which apparently fell upon it in a red hot condition; and pieces of charred wood have also been found.

IV.—*Atrium Vestae.*

In a cloaca in one of the rooms on the south side of the court was found a heap of 397 gold coins in mint condition, all (except one of Constantius II.) belonging to the latter half of the fifth century, the great majority, 345, being coins of Anthemius (468—472, A.D.), ten belonging to his wife Euphemia, and 24 more to Leo, who reigned

contemporaneously in the East. It is probable, therefore, that they were hidden in 472, the year of the rebellion of Ricimer. Full particulars, with photographs, are given in the *Notizie degli Scavi* dated September 1899 p. 325, the find having actually taken place in November.

The way in which the pavements were raised and the walls rebuilt further away from the hill, leaving a space between the later and the earlier walls, as the damp was felt more and more, has been strikingly shown in the course of the excavations on the south-west side of the Atrium.

In the N.E. corner of the building, in a chamber belonging to the older habitation of the Vestals, the walls of which are of opus quadratum, a small altar of concrete, faced with white stucco, has been discovered; it stands in a corner and is surrounded by a small stone gutter.

V.—*Porticus Margaritaria*

Beyond the S.E. end of the Atrium Vestae a large brick building is being excavated, the remains of which bear out the theory of Lanciani (*Ruins and Excavations*, p. 209) that this site was occupied by the Porticus Margaritaria, and correspond with the plan given by him. They consist of a large number of chambers about five yards square, arranged in rows on each side of a back-wall, and accessible from one side only, resembling closely in plan the 'horrea piperataria.'

In the centre of the building the partition walls do not seem to exist, and it would seem that there was a larger space broken up only by square brick pillars: the dilapidation is however, considerable, and the excavations have not yet reached completion. The brickwork is not particularly good (the mortar being thick, and the bricks rather small), and looks like 3rd. century work (some at the N. W. end is better); there are two relieving arches of tiles, one above the other, in each wall. Many walls have travertine corbels as if for wooden floors; they were all, apparently, faced with rough white cement. The building is not upon the level, but rises both towards the south-east and towards the south-west, following the slope of the hill.

In later times this building has been used as the foundation for another, reconstructed apparently on the same ground-plan. Massive foundations of concrete have been sunk where necessary—to these belong the two great parallel walls which cut across the earlier Sacra Via—; sometimes the openings

have been filled up with late masonry. Many of the rooms have been half filled with great masses of concrete, upon which the floors of the new building were laid.

At the S.E. end the late concrete foundations cut through the remains of a house of the late Republican or early Imperial period, slightly differently oriented, constructed of rough opus reticulatum of yellow-brown tufa, with quoins of the same material. One chamber has a floor of white marble slabs, surrounded by a wide strip of black mosaic with two lines of white as a border, and with fragments of various coloured marbles scattered among the black cubes. Adjacent to it are the remains of two small storerooms, with floors of *opus spicatum*, and quarter-round mouldings of cement at the bottom of the walls. Further S.W. and at a rather higher level, though belonging to the same house, is a chamber containing a hand-mill *in situ*, and several entire amphorae, besides a heap of fragments: close to it is a well, which is producing some fine specimens of household pottery, lamps, etc. The room has been cut through by the later concrete foundations, but parts of its walls have been left standing, and strengthened in places with brickwork to enable them to bear the weight of the building above.

VI.—*Sacra Via.*

The excavation of the buildings upon the N.E. side of the earlier *Sacra Via*, between it and the Basilica of Constantine, has been completed. They belong in the main to the horrea piperataria of Domitian (Chronogr. a. 354—Mommsen, *Monumenta Germaniae auct. antiquiss.*, vol. ix. p. 146 'horrea piperataria ubi modo est basilica Constantiniana'), as may also be recognised from their plan—a series of square chambers arranged in rows on each side of a backwall, with doors in front and a passage between each row. In front—*i.e.* at the W. end—was a colonnade, of which two travertine bases, and a slab of travertine paving remain. The construction is of brickwork—earlier buildings, probably of the same nature, in reticulatum and opus quadratum, oriented in the same way, have been used as foundations—the thresholds are of travertine, the floors of opus spicatum.

Close to the travertine bases of the colonnade have been found two interesting wells—one with the sides formed of five curved tufa slabs with two sets of footholes (the usual type of well of the republican period), in which were found, amongst other things, many bones of animals which had been sawn in pieces—the refuse of a butcher's shop.

The other well, close by, is mediaeval: the well head was a drum of a fluted white marble column hollowed out. Within it were found two entire marble columns, and various decorative fragments, some of them belonging to the ninth century A.D. The investigation of wells has been one of the most interesting features of the present excavations—their number seems to be unlimited, and they seem to belong either to the republican or to the mediaeval period.

A controversy has recently arisen as to the age of the later pavement of the *Sacra Via*, which has now been almost entirely removed in consequence of the excavation of the earlier road. Professor Norton, in a letter to the *Times* of Feb. 13th, spoke of 'the late road which Lanciani had mistaken for the Sacred Way.' Professor Lanciani replied on the 23rd, maintaining that this road was due to Maxentius; and this appears to be the case. The change of direction is, as I have already stated (*C.R.* 1899, p. 467), due to the erection of the Basilica of Constantine (begun by Maxentius) and of the Porticus Margaritaria, and the increase in width may be taken to be due to the great size of these buildings. The change of level cannot be assigned to any period later than the construction of the entrance to the Basilica from the *Sacra Via*; for this upper pavement corresponds with the level of the foundations of this addition to the Basilica, *i.e.* with the line where the brick facing stops and the rough concrete begins, a line which ascends in correspondence with the slope of the road.

(At one point there is a piece of pavement—apparently *in situ*—about two feet below the level of this foundation line, and four or five above the pavement of the newly-discovered earlier *Sacra Via*. This may belong to some intermediate period, between the construction of the Basilica and the addition of the steps down to the *Sacra Via*.)

But we can date the change of level even earlier—at any rate at the upper end of the slope, immediately before the church of S. Francesca Romana is reached. Here the pavement of this 'late road' is laid immediately above the walls of the 'horrea piperataria,' which, though probably rebuilt after their destruction in the fire of Commodus, certainly ceased to exist when the Basilica was built. Thus, whether the actual pavement at the upper level is of ancient or mediaeval origin, it certainly preserves to us the line of the ancient road; and it may be noted that in the description of the excavations of 1878 (*Notizie*

degli Scavi, 1878, p. 341) the following passage occurs:

'The pavement of the famous road is already exposed for the whole distance between the arch of Fabius and the double temple of Hadrian (the temple of Venus and Rome). Upon the ancient pavement (which is in bad condition and full of gaps) is laid a second, about 1·10 mètres higher, to the level of which correspond remains of buildings of the mediæval period.'

The bad condition of the pavement may

be accounted for by the continual traffic upon it at a time when it was not kept in careful repair.

The pavement under the church of S. Francesca Romana, which at first seemed to be so good that it must belong to the earliest line of the Sacra Via straight across the Velia ridge, is simply the pavement of Maxentius protected by the church built upon it, which church dates from the eighth century at latest.

THOMAS ASHBY, JUNIOR.

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The Classical Review

JUNE 1900.

The announcement of the knighthood to be conferred upon Professor Jebb was welcome not only as an acknowledgement of eminent services to learning and education but also as some token that in the future literary and linguistic studies may be thought worthy of more overt recognition than has been accorded in the past. Since the times, almost legendary, of the 'Greek play bishops,' these studies have been, in the eyes of those who dispense such advancement, their own sufficient reward. Scholarship and learning in England have not only less of the formal national favour than would fall to them in foreign lands: they also receive a less favourable treatment than their sister-studies of science. There is no Royal Society fellowship for them; and the breath of academic compliment bloweth as it listeth. It is a little unfair that there should be this dearth of encouragement; and what is unfair is never wholly politic. Is it too much to hope that the new century may see the establishment of a body which shall be to literary and historical studies what the Royal Society has been for science?

The new scheme of the Cambridge Board of Classics for the improvement of the Classical Honours Examination has now been discussed in the Senate. Their proposals, which deal only with the first part of the Classical Tripos, were received with more acquiescence than enthusiasm. Should

they pass, as they may, they will fix the Cambridge Classical curriculum as a three years course, and if the higher studies which enter into the second part survive, it will be by their intrinsic virtue and not through academic encouragement.

We have received from Amsterdam the official notice of the award of the Hocufft medal, which is a prize for original Latin verse open to the whole world. Out of the 18 compositions sent in 9 were judged worthy to be printed at the expense of the fund. Of these 9 nearly all, including that of the prize-winner (Giovanni Pascoli, of Messina) on *Sosii Fratres Bibliopolae*, were by Italians. The prize is a gold medal of the value of 400 gulden (quadringentum florenorum). The poems for the next competition are to be sent in before the first of January 1901, to Cornelius Bellaar Spruyt, the registrar of the Arts Department of the University (ordinis literarii Academiae) with a motto and a sealed paper having outside the same motto and inside the writer's name and address. The exercises are to be 'nitide et ignota iudicibus manu scripta,' but the judges would prefer them to be copied by the 'portabile Britannicum prelum (type-writer).' The choice of subjects is free; but translations are not admissible, nor poems 'argumenti priuati.' The result will be declared in March. The compositions selected in 1899 were noticed in the *Classical Review* of December last.

ZENODOTUS, ARISTOPHANES, AND THE MODERN HOMERIC TEXT.

In the number of this *Review* for December 1899 a calculation was offered of the extent to which Aristarchus' readings have found a place in the mediaeval Homeric text. The present article extends the enquiry to Aristarchus' two principal predecessors.

I adopt the same classification as in the case of Aristarchus, omitting however one or two categories; the readings are divided according as they are found (1) in all MSS. (2) in the majority, (3) in the minority, (4) sporadically, (5) in none.

As before I omit atheteses, rearrangements of lines, and questions of accentuation.

		(3) 32	= 1
		(4) 114	= 1
		(5)	= 4
			Θ
		(1) 113, 349	= 2
		(2) 378	= 1
		(3)	= 0
		(4) 290, 526	= 2
		(5)	= 15
			I
		(1)	= 0
		(2) 128 (1), 564	= 2
		(3)	= 0
		(4)	= 0
		(5)	= 14
			K
		(1)	= 0
		(2)	= 0
		(3)	= 0
		(4) 317	= 1
		(5)	= 9
			Λ
		(1) 437	= 1
		(2) 219, 368, 439, 799	= 4
		(3) 86, 94	= 2
		(4) 101, 104, 348, 754	= 4
		(5)	= 17
			M
		(1)	= 0
		(2) 161, 231, 340	= 3
		(3) 342	= 1
		(4) 246	= 1
		(5)	= 17
			N
		(1)	= 0
		(2) 423, 449	= 2
		(3) 447	= 1
		(4) 172, 245, 485, 551	= 4
		(5)	= 22
			Ξ
		(1)	= 0
		(2)	= 0
		(3) 16, 118, 208, 249, 310, 400, 437	= 7
		(4) 40, 95, 223, 236, 274, 276, 322,	= 11
		351, 412, 445, 505	= 17
		(5)	
			O
		(1)	= 0
		(2) 139, 179, 459	= 3
		(3) 79, 138, 179, 301	= 4
		(4) 134, 377, 470	= 3
		(5)	= 13
			Π
		(1)	= 0
		(2) 188	= 1
		(3) 161, 507	= 2
	A		
(1) 97		= 1	
(2) 260		= 1	
(3) 393		= 1	
(4) 24, 80, 83, 86, 198, 271, 367 (1),		= 9	
400, 600		= 23	
(5)			
	B		
(1)		= 0	
(2) 12, 53, 448		= 3	
(3) 196		= 1	
(4) 239, 302, 318		= 3	
(5)		= 29	
	Γ		
(1)		= 0	
(2)		= 0	
(3) 211		= 1	
(4) 51, 57, 74, 152 (1), 206, 280		= 6	
(5)		= 13	
	Δ		
(1)		= 0	
(2)		= 0	
(3) 277		= 1	
(4) 161		= 1	
(5)		= 5	
	E		
(1)		= 0	
(2) 293, 466		= 2	
(3) 156, 227		= 2	
(4) 31, 638		= 2	
(5)		= 11	
	Z		
(1)		= 0	
(2)		= 0	
(3)		= 0	
(4) 366		= 1	
(5)		= 7	
	H		
(1)		= 0	
(2) 451		= 1	

(4) 710	=1		Φ	
(5)	=12	(1)		=0
		(2)		=0
(1)	=0	(3)		=0
(2) 171	=1	(4) 335 (?)		=1
(3)	=0	(5)		=4
(4) 173, 392	=2		X	
(5)	=12	(1)		=0
		(2)		=0
(1)	=0	(3)		=0
(2) 34	=1	(4)		=0
(3) 198, 400, 477, 563	=4	(5)		=1
(4) 385, 424, 576	=3		Ψ	
(5)	=19	(1)		=0
		(2) 307		=1
(1)	=0	(3)		=0
(2)	=0	(4) 753		=1
(3)	=0	(5)		=4
(4) 26, 342	=2		Ω	
(5)	=3	(1)		=0
		(2) 486		=1
(1)	=0	(3)		=0
(2) 11, 138	=2	(4) 293, 512, 550, 725		=4
(3)	=0	(5)		=0
(4) 484	=1			
(5)	=4			

The totals may be exhibited in a table :

	A	B	Γ	Δ	E	Z	H	Θ	I	K	Λ	M	N	Ξ	O	Π	P	Σ	T	Υ	Φ	X	Ψ	Ω
Total	34	35	19	7	17	8	7	18	16	9	28	22	29	35	23	16	15	27	5	7	5	1	6	5
All	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Majority..	1	3	0	0	2	0	1	1	2	0	4	3	2	0	3	1	1	1	0	2	0	0	1	1
Minority..	1	1	2	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	1	7	4	2	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sporadic..	9	3	6	1	2	1	1	2	0	1	4	1	4	11	3	1	2	3	2	1	1	0	1	4
None	12	28	11	5	11	7	4	13	14	8	17	17	22	17	13	12	12	19	3	4	4	1	4	0

And to sum up :

Total	.	.	.	385
all MSS.	.	.	.	4
majority	.	.	.	29
minority	.	.	.	29
sporadic	.	.	.	64
none	.	.	.	259.

Considering the powerful opposition that Zenodotus' choices had almost immediately to withstand, it is perhaps remarkable that even a third of them should have in one form or another survived. I can offer no explanation of the resistance of the 4 readings which are found in all MSS. and the 29 which are found in the majority, except that, as I have suggested elsewhere, Zenodotus paid more regard to the κοινή, and coincided with it more often, than ancient critics generally. He is explicitly stated to agree with it by the scholia on B 53, © 349.

The sporadic survivals, which may very possibly be increased by further collation, cannot be due to this cause. I hope before long to offer an explanation of their origin.

I do not find that these considerations are covered by the article of Adolf Römer, *Ueber die Homerrecension des Zenodot.* Abh. d. I. Cl. d. k. Bayerischen Akad. d. Wiss. 1884 xvii. 641, and I presume they are not by the older book of Düntzer (1848) which I have not seen. Pusch, *Quaestiones Zenodoteae* 1889, does not concern himself with Homer.

For Aristophanes it may be sufficient if we summarise the results at once :

Readings peculiar to Aristophanes	81
in all MSS.	2
in the majority	9
in the minority	16
in sporadic MSS.	8
in none	46

The lowness of all these figures compared with those in the case of Zenodotus, is striking. Aristophanes was less original than his predecessor, fell more into the stream of ἐκδόσεις, and therefore was absorbed, or nearly so, by Aristarchus. The scarcity of sporadic survivals, which is

remarkable, is perhaps to be accounted for by the unkindness of tradition, which will have unduly merged Aristophanes in the gulf of *τυές*, *ἐνιοι*, *γράφεται* and the like. A notorious case is at Φ 217 where it was left for 'Ammonius' to restore to Aristophanes his *πελάσας*, hitherto the property of *τυές*.

In Nauck's book on Aristophanes (1848) his readings are analysed according to their intrinsic merit.

It should perhaps be stated explicitly that in this article I have taken account only of the absolutely peculiar readings of Zenodotus and Aristophanes; I have omitted the cases where they agree with one another, with any of their predecessors, and where the reading of either or both of them has been accepted by Aristarchus.

I append a list of Alexandrian and post-Alexandrian critics whose readings have found their way into manuscripts:

Antigonus Ψ 319 (a few).
Apollonius I 153 (a few).
Callistratus Ξ 255 (one MS.).
Crates Φ 558 (one MS.).
Demetrius Ixion B 127 (?) (one or two MSS.).
Epaphroditus Σ 313 (two MSS.).
Heracleo A 298 (majority).
Hermeias II 207 (minority).
Menecrates Δ 94 (all).
Nicias E 203 (majority).
Ptolemy Ascalonites H 177 (MSS. divided).

T. W. ALLEN.

POSTSCRIPT.

The MS. which was quoted in my review of 'Ammonius,' February 1900, as 'Ven. 459' is more correctly 'Ven. 458.' Its scholia have been published by Prof. Ludwig in his 'Homericæ' 1893. I add a few points to his account. (1) The two MSS. Ven. 458 and Par. 2766 are identical not only in their scholia but in their text: they are both members of the 'L Lips.' or *h* family. For Par. 2766 I refer to Dr. Leaf, *Journ. Phil.* 1892, p. 246. These scholia are however not common to the *h* family as a whole; the other members either want scholia or possess scholia of a different character. (2) The mention of Dionysius Thrax, Timarchus and Aristotle on *ἐνταυθοί* (Φ 122) remains the principal peculiarity of Ven. 458 Par. 2766; even 'Ammonius' has only Dionysius. Timarchus, whose name occurs nowhere else, is perhaps Timachidas, a commentator active in the Aristophanes scholia. On Φ 163 Ptolemy Pindarion occurs nowhere else, but his name may perhaps be introduced into 'Ammonius' at the top of col. vii. (3) The quotation from Alcaeus on X 338 is to be found in T (on 332): on the other hand the following morsel of Ibycus, which I do not find ap. Ludwig, seems new. Ψ 533 *πρόσσοθεν. συνέσονται τὸ ὦ καὶ ἔστιν ὁμοιον τῷ παριβυκῷ κύματος ἔξωθεν ἄκρου πᾶσα καλῶς ἀσινής* (*sic.*).

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS AS AN AUTHORITY FOR THE TEXT OF THUCYDIDES.

(WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THUCYD. VIII. 64 § 5 AS QUOTED IN EP. AD AMMAEUM II. 11.)

The passage of *Ep. ad Amm.* ii. runs thus in the text edited last year by Usener and Radermacher (*Dionysii Halicarnasei Opera*, vol. I pp. 430, 431): 'Εν οἷς δὲ τὰς πτώσεις τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ τῶν προσηγοριῶν καὶ τῶν μετοχῶν καὶ <τῶν> συναπτομένων τούτοις ἀρθρῶν ἐξαλλάττει τοῦ συνηθούς, οὕτως σχηματίζει [τῇ φράσει]. 'σωφροσύνην γὰρ λαβοῦσαι αἱ πόλεις καὶ ἄδειαν τῶν πρᾶσσομένων ἐχώρησαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντικρυς ἐλευθερίαν, τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑποῦλου εὐνομίας οὐ προτιμήσαντες.' οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀκολούθως τῇ κοινῇ συνηθείᾳ σχηματίζοντες τὴν φράσιν τῷ τε θηλυκῷ γένει τῆς προσηγορίας τὸ θηλυκὸν ἂν ἔξευξαν μόριον, καὶ τὴν πῶσιν [τῆς μετοχῆς] τὴν αἰτιατικὴν <ἂν>

ἀντὶ τῆς γενικῆς ἔταξαν τὸν τρόπον τόνδε· 'σωφροσύνην γὰρ λαβοῦσαι αἱ πόλεις καὶ ἄδειαν τῶν πρᾶσσομένων ἐχώρησαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντικρυς ἐλευθερίαν, τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑποῦλον εὐνομίαν οὐ προτιμήσανται'. οἱ δὲ τὰ ἀρρενικὰ τοῖς θηλυκοῖς συντάττοντες, ὥσπερ οὗτος ἐποίηκεν, <καὶ> τὰς γενικὰς ἀντὶ τῶν αἰτιατικῶν πτώσεων παραλαμβάνοντες σολοικίζουσιν ἂν ὑφ' ἡμῶν λέγοντο.

'Sometimes Thucydides gives an unusual turn to the cases of proper names, and common nouns, and participles, and the articles attached to them. He will then frame such a sentence as this: σωφροσύνην...τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑποῦλου εὐνομίας οὐ προτι-

μήσαντες. Writers whose syntax conforms to ordinary usage would have coupled the feminine form (sc. of the participle) with the feminine gender of the noun, and would have used the accusative instead of the genitive case as follows: σωφροσύνην...τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑποῦλον εἰνομίαν οὐ προτιμήσασαι. Whereas authors who construct masculines with feminines, as Thucydides has done, and use genitives instead of accusatives, would be said by us to be guilty of solecism.'

Elsewhere (*Dionysii Halicarnassensis Librorum de Imitatione Reliquiae Epistulaeque Criticae Duae*, p. 107) Usener has the following remarks upon this passage, 'iterum in ipsa re quam demonstraturus est Dionysius interpolato exemplo turpiter deceptus est. Thucydides enim viii 64 non scripsit τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑποῦλον εἰνομίας οὐ προτιμήσαντες, sed τὴν...ὑποῦλον αὐτονομίαν οὐ προτιμήσαντες. illud lectionis portentum qua uia ortum sit, optimus codex Vaticanus monstrat, cum τῆς...ὑποῦλον αὐτονομίαν exhibet. τῆς ex glossemate αὐτῆς, ut conicias, natum postquam in libros inrepsit, consentaneum erat etiam nominum casum mutari.'

The authority of Hermann Usener, great everywhere, is especially great in connexion with the *Scripta Rhetorica* of Dionysius. But here he seems to be in error. It is probable (as I shall endeavour to show) that Dionysius has, in this case, preserved a genuine reading of Thucydides.

It cannot, indeed, be denied that Dionysius is lax in quotation. This is decisively shown in cases (*Ep. ad Pomp.*, c. 2; *Ep. ad Amm.* ii. c. 2) in which he professes to be reproducing textually (αὐταῖς λέξεσιν, κατὰ λέξιν) what he has himself already written elsewhere. If the extracts given in these two chapters are compared with their originals in *De Demosth.* cc. 5-7 and in *De Thucyd.* c. 24, it will be seen that textual reproduction did not, in the view of Dionysius, preclude occasional omissions and additions of words, as well as many minute variations in their order.

When quoting from other authors Dionysius shows no less freedom than when quoting from himself. In particular, *Ep. ad Amm.* ii. furnishes clear indications that he is citing Thucydides hastily and from memory. For example, it seems likely that the words ἥ τε οὐκ ἀποτείχισις τοῦ Πλημμυρίου (c. 5) are a confused recollection of the two following passages, τῆς Λευκάδος τὴν οὐ περιτείχισιν (*Thucyd.* iii. 95) and τὴν τοῦ Πλημμυρίου λῆψιν (*Thucyd.* vii. 25). This is an extreme instance of inaccuracy,

but faulty memory is the most plausible explanation of many other less serious discrepancies between the text of Thucydidean passages as given by Dionysius and as given by our MSS. of Thucydides.

It has sometimes been thought that the quotation from Book viii. has suffered through a like lapse of memory. It is, however, almost incredible that the central point on which Dionysius dwells, the use of the genitive in place of the accusative, should be wrongly given. Usener, therefore, thinks that Dionysius quoted faithfully, but from a corrupt source. The true view seems rather to be that he quoted faithfully and from a trustworthy source.

To show this, we must turn from Dionysius to the manuscripts and scholia of Thucydides himself. Usener is right in esteeming highly the authority of B (Cod. Vat.), which is specially valuable in Books vii and viii. But he fails to report its testimony correctly. According to Hude's collation the original reading of B was τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑποῦλον εἰνομίας, which was altered into τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑποῦλον αὐτονομίαν, while αὐτονομίας appears in the margin. Other manuscript readings are: τὴν...ὑποῦλον εἰνομίαν C, and τὴν...ὑποῦλον αὐτονομίαν AEFGM. ἀπὸ is found in B and Dionysius only, ὑπὸ being given by ACEFGM. The Schol. also supports ὑπὸ in the following note: εἰβουλότεραι γὰρ γενόμεναι αἱ πόλεις ἐχώρησαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντικρυσ ἐλευθερίαν, τῆς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑποῦλον εἰνομίας οὐδὲν φροντίσαντες. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ προτιμήσαντες.¹

It will be seen that this Schol. further supports, and gives the grammatical rationale of, the construction τῆς...ὑποῦλον εἰνομίας...προτιμήσαντες. To Usener this use of the genitive appears to be as monstrous as it had already appeared to K. W. Krüger.² But despite their incredulity, and despite the criticism of Dionysius himself, the use of προτιμᾶν (in the sense of 'care for') with the genitive is sufficiently supported by Aesch. *Agam.* 1672, Eurip. *Alc.* 761, Aristoph. *Plut.* 883, [*Demosth.*] *de Halonneso* 80. 22.

The genitive, therefore, rather than the accusative must be read. It is grammatically possible; it is the reading of Dionysius and of the Scholiast; it is also attested by B, the evidence of which not infrequently outweighs that of all other MSS. in Books

¹ Another schol. seems to have had the accusative. Ἀλλως: οὐ προτιμήσαντες, οὐ προτιμότεραν σχόντες.

² K. W. Krüger, *Dionys. Hal. Historiographica*, p. 231.

vii. and viii. Similarly εὐνομίας (rather than αὐτονομίας) and ἀπὸ (rather than ὑπὸ), should probably be read. About the masculine προτιμήσαντες there has, notwithstanding Dionysius' criticism, been no question in modern times. The construction is so plainly Thucydidean.

The extract from Dionysius is, I repeat, quoted from Usener and Radermacher's text, in which the conjecture ἄν ἐξεύξαν is adopted in place of the manuscript reading ἀντέξεύξαν, and in which the ἄν inserted before ἀντί is similarly due to conjecture. It is just possible that the manuscript readings should be retained and that Dionysius should be understood to refer to some actual attempt made to rewrite the words of Thucydides, the merits of whose style were the subject of so much controversy among the later schools of rhetoric.

However this may be, we cannot doubt that the tendency of the Graeco-Roman age would be to eliminate, rather than to multiply, the peculiarities of Thucydidean grammar. But Dionysius himself was too close a student of style deliberately to change an established reading even when it seemed to him so strange as the construction of προτιμᾶν with the genitive. Bearing this in mind, we may feel justified in surmising that, after every allowance has been made for mistakes due to quotation from memory, some of the rare expressions cited by him in *Ep. ad Amm.* ii. as Thucydidean are really so, though they may not be found in our present texts. For example, it may well be that ταραχος (*Ep. ad Amm.* ii. 10) rather than ταραχή was the form written by Thucydides in one or more of the following passages, Thucyd. ii. 84, iv. 75, vii. 80, viii. 42. Such a form would not be rarer than others found among the undisputed readings of Thucydides; and, of course, it is generally conceded that, in a text dependent upon no MSS. of such high standing as that of the Paris manuscripts of Demosthenes and of Plato's Republic, the testimony of all the MSS. must occasionally be set aside.

Still, for the practical purposes of an editor

of Thucydides, the true critical principle to be applied to the evidence of Dionysius is that enunciated by Mr. H. Stuart Jones in his recent edition of Thucydides i-iv: 'testimonia scriptorum antiquorum, et praecipue Dionysii Halicarnassensis, ut in codicum varietate aliquantum ponderis habent, ita raro contra codicum auctoritatem valent.' Although Dionysius is so many centuries older than our complete manuscripts of Thucydides, the authority thus indicated is probably all that should be assigned to him in the four or five score passages—some of considerable length—which he quotes from Thucydides. But in a doubtful case he will turn the scale. Such a case I should be inclined to see in Thucyd. vii. 70, 8: καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ προσέτι ἐκατέρων, εἴ τινα πον ὀρῶν μὴ κατ' ἀνάγκην πρύμναν κρουόμενον, ἀνακαλοῦντες ὀνομαστὶ τὸν τριήραρχον ἡρώτων, οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ τὴν πολεμιοτάτην γῆν οἰκειοτέραν ἤδη τῆς οὐ δι' ὀλίγον πόνου κεκτημένης θαλάσσης ἡγούμενοι ὑποχωροῦσιν, οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι, εἰ οὐς σαφῶς ἴσασι προθυμονμένους Ἀθηναίους παντὶ τρόπῳ διαφνυγείν, τούτους αὐτοὶ φεύγοντας φεύγουσιν. Here the reading δι' ὀλίγον πόνου supported by B, Dionysius and the scholiast, should, I think be preferred to that (δι' ὀλίγου) given by the MSS. generally. Still more probably should Ἀθηναίους (omitted by many editors) be retained, when supported by Dionysius together with all the MSS. In *de Thucyd.* c. 26 Dionysius quotes at considerable length and with warm admiration the passage of which this sentence forms a part, and the fact that he gives the proper noun seems to show that he found it in his copy of Thucydides and felt it to be graphic—'those very Athenians.' There is no variant in the MSS. of Dionysius, and Usener is constrained to remark, in his critical footnote, 'Ἀθηναίους emblemata Dionysio uetustius.' An interpolation it may conceivably be; but conjectured interpolations anterior to Dionysius and the papyrus fragments open up a region into which our existing evidence does not enable us to follow.

W. RHYS ROBERTS.

ON A SAYING OF GORGIAS.

In Thompson's Appendix to his edition of Plato's *Gorgias* there is a discussion of a saying of that sophist to the effect that his longevity was due to his temperate life. The words quoted from Plutarch (*de Gloria Athen.* 5) are as follows:—

ἐπεὶ τις αὐτὸν ἤρετο τίνι διαίτῃ χρώμενος οὕτως ἐμμελῶς καὶ μετὰ αἰσθήσεως τοσοῦτον χρόνον ζήσειεν, ὁ δὲ πῶποτε, εἶπεν, ἡδονῆς ἕνεκεν πράξας. Δημήτριος δὲ ὁ Βυζάντιος ἐν τετάρτῳ περὶ ποιημάτων 'Γοργίας, φησὶν, ὁ Λεοντῖνος ἐρωτηθεὶς τί αὐτῷ γέγονεν αἴτιον τοῦ βιώσαι πλείω τῶν ἑκατὸν ἐτῶν, ἔφη, τὸ μὴ δὲν πῶποτε ἐτέρου ἕνεκεν πεποιηκέναι.'

Lucian in his *Macrobioi* (23) makes him give as the reason διὰ τὸ μηδέποτε συμπερινεχθῆναι ταῖς ἄλλων εὐωχίαις, an expression in which εὐωχίαις recalls the ἡδονῆς in the first answer recorded by Plutarch. But what is ἐτέρου in the second answer? Gorgias certainly cannot have said that he had never done anything 'for the sake of another.' If, again, we choose to make ἐτέρου ἕνεκεν mean 'for the sake of anything else (than living to be old),' we assign to Gorgias a peculiarly unworthy rule of life. Nor could ἐτέρου alone well yield such a sense. Moreover the three phrases ought to

amount to the same in meaning. The saying of Gorgias was evidently well known, for Thompson further quotes Stobaeus for the same answer in a fourth form, viz. οὐδὲν οὐδέποτε, ἔφη, πρὸς ἡδονὴν οὔτε φαγὼν οὔτε δράσας.

The four passages together make it certain that Gorgias spoke of 'never doing anything for (mere) pleasure,' and that the pleasure in question was pleasure of eating (as reported by Lucian and Stobaeus) and other sensual acts (πράξας, πεποιηκέναι, δράσας). The probabilities are that his saying was put in vigorous epigrammatic language. Meineke was on the right scent when for ἐτέρου he suggested ἐντέρου. Zeller quotes a conjecture to the same effect, γαστέρος. But ἐντέρου cannot be rendered *der sinnlichen Lust*, and γαστέρος is, of course, too far from ἐτέρου. The actual word, I believe, was ἡτρον, which is the proper term for the lower part of the trunk. The satisfaction of this part of the body would include that of *all* the sensual appetites, and hence the word was carefully chosen by Gorgias as the completest way of stating the case. 'By never doing anything for the pleasure of the body below the belt.'

T. G. TUCKER.

ON THE OPTATIVE AND THE GRAPHIC CONSTRUCTION IN GREEK SUBORDINATE CLAUSES.

The following paper attempts to show that in certain cases the Optative and Graphic constructions are not regularly employed in subordinate clauses with ὅτι or ὥς, or in 'dependent questions,' after a past tense: that in their place we find the imperfect or pluperfect indicative.

These cases are: (A) when the clause depends on a non-personal phrase, or is itself subject to the principal verb. To this rule there are only four exceptions—all in Xenophon; (B) when the clause depends on a personal phrase which is negated. To this there are five exceptions which admit of special justification.

I have searched through the following authors and works for my instances:—Thucydides, Demosthenes (exclusive of the spurious writings), Lysias (Shuckburgh),

and the Epitaphios, Andokides (Marchant), Xenophon's *Anabasis*, *Hellenica*, *Memorabilia*, *Cyropaedia*, *Agésilas*, *Symposium*, *Hiero*, *Respublica Lacedaemoniorum* et *Atheniensium*, *Apologia Socratis*, *Oeconomus*, *De Vectigalibus*, *De Re Equestri*, *De Venatione*, *De Officio Magistri Equitum*, *Jebb's Attic Orators*, *Plato's Protagoras*, *Aristotle's Poetics XI*, and *Herodotus*.

Goodwin (*M. and T.* § 674. 1.) quotes II. 13. 674,

οὐδέ τι ἦδη ὅττι δηϊώνοντο λαοί,

and remarks in a parenthesis, 'Here the present optative or indicative would be regular in Attic Greek.' Madvig (*Greek Syntax* p. 109 § 130b) perhaps goes a step further when he says, 'where in the oratio recta the present indicative would stand,

sometimes the imperfect is put (of that which coincides in time with the principal sentence), so that the mood, but not the tense, is retained from the *oratio recta*.⁷ He then instances without reference 'ἦδεν, ὅτι ἔπειδον,' and cites Xen. Cyr. 3. 3. 9.

Goodwin also (M. and T. § 674. 2.) quotes Xen. An. 3. 1. 2, and Aristoph. Vesp. 283. The latter is a very doubtful case, and 'He was from the first' seems to be the correct rendering. The former, however, is not, perhaps, the freak some commentators appear to think; rather a principle in Greek Syntax is illustrated which has hardly received the attention it deserves.

The 'Graphic' and 'Optative' constructions in subordinate clauses after ὅτι, ὥς etc., and in 'Dependent Questions,' represent the words of the speaker or interrogator, and the thought or conception in the mind of the percipient. I shall call such constructions subjective.

There are two cases in which such 'subjectivity' cannot be expressed. First (A) when the clause depends on a non-personal phrase, or is itself subject to the principal verb. Secondly (B) when the clause depends on a personal phrase which is negated. For instance contrast 'He did not perceive that the enemy were on him' with 'He perceived that the enemy were on him.' In the latter case his 'subjective' perception was 'The enemy are on me' which is expressed by the Graphic or Optative construction. In the former he did *not* perceive, and therefore no 'subjective' construction is possible; and Homer, Herodotus and Attic Prose writers use in both A and B a past tense, as in English, either Imperfect or Pluperfect according as the sense demands.

The construction A begins in Homer, e.g. Od. 24. 182. γνῶτῶν δ' ἦν ὃ ρά τίς σφι θεῶν ἐπιτάρροθος ἦεν.

In Attic I find the following instances (1). Xen. An. 2. 3. 6. δῆλον ἦν ὅτι ἐγγύς που βασιλεὺς ἦν. (2). Mem. A. 1. 2. 38. δῆλον ἐγένετο, ὅτι...ὠργίζοντο. (3) Dem. 1119. 25. οὐκ ἀδελον ἦν...ὅτι τοῦτο ἐμελλεν ποιήσειν. (4). Xen. Cyr. 7. 2. 4. ἐγένετο τοῦτο δῆλον, ὅτι εἶχετο τὰ ἄκρα. (5). Thuc. 2. 65. 5. αἴτιον δ' ἦν ὅτι...κατέιχε τὸ πλῆθος. (6). Xen. Hell. 7. 2. 10. αἴτιον δ' ἦν...ὅτι...ὠργίζοντο αὐτοῖς. (7). Mem. A. 1. 7. 2. ὡς οὐκ ἐνόμιζεν οὓς ἡ πόλις νομίζει θεοὺς, ποῖω ποτ' ἐχρήσαντο τεκμηρίω; (8). An. 2. 3. 11. ἦν Κλέαρχον καταμαθεῖν ὡς ἐπεστάται. (9). Cyr. 1. 4. 1. τοὺς πατέρας...ἀνήρτητο...ἐνδελος ὦν, ὅτι ἡσπάζετο αὐτῶν τοὺς νείεις. (10). Cyr. 1. 4. 2. δῆλός τε ἦν πᾶσιν, ὅτι ὑπερεφοβεῖτο.

(11). Thuc. 7. 28. 2. αὐτοὺς ἐπείεζεν ὅτι δύο πολέμους ἅμα εἶχον. (12). Xen. Hell. 7. 1. 35. μέγα δὲ συνεβάλλετο τῷ Πελοπίδᾳ εἰς τὸ τιμᾶσθαι καὶ ὅτι ἐνενίκηκεσαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι...καὶ ὅτι πεπορθηκότες τὴν χώραν...ἐφαίνοντο. (13). Cyr. 4. 1. 8. ἀθυρίαν δὲ πλείστην παρέιχε πᾶσιν, ὅτι τὸ ἡγοούμενον τῆς στρατιᾶς φῦλον διεφθάρθαι ἐδόκει ταῖς γνώμαις. (14). Dem. 127. 4. ὁ δ' Εὐφραῖος...ἀπέσφαξεν ἑαυτὸν, ἔργῳ μαρτυρήσας ὅτι δικαίως...ἀνθιστήκει Φιλίππῳ. (Here the principal clause is practically non-personal, and is equivalent to 'The act of Euphraeus proved that etc.')

Very similar to this last are two passages in Lysias (15). X (19) § 39. 1. 256. ὁ γὰρ Κόνωνος θάνατος καὶ αἱ διαθήκαι...σαφῶς ἐδήλωσαν ὅτι πολλοστὸν μέρος ἦν τὰ χρήματα. and (16)—Lys. X (19). § 52. 1. 351. ὁ δ' ἀποθανὼν ἐδήλωσεν ὅτι οὐκ ἀληθῆ ταῦτα ἦν. [cp. also (17) Herodot. 7. 57. εὐσύμβλητον ὦν τῇδε τοῦτο ἐγένετο ὅτι ἐμελλε μὲν ἔλαν στρατιήν.]

Xenophon provides exceptions—(17) An. 4. 1. 17. δῆλον ἦν ὅτι πρᾶγμά τι εἴη. (18) An. 4. 7. 20. ᾧ καὶ δῆλον ἐγένετο ὅτι τούτου ἔνεκα ἔλθοι. (9). An. 2. 4. 2. τότε δὴ καὶ ἐγνώσθη ὅτι οἱ βάρβαροι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὑποπέμψαιεν. (20). Ages. 6 § 6. ἐχρήτο...πολλάκις ἀδελος γιγνόμενος, ὅπου τε εἴη, καὶ ὅπου ἦοι [contrast A (9) and A (10)]. The next four instances are excusable—(20). An. 3. 1. 10. σαφές πᾶσιν ἐδόκει εἶναι ὅτι ὁ στόλος εἴη ἐπὶ βασιλίᾳ (πᾶσιν ἐδόκει=πάντες ἐνόμιζον)—(21). An. 7. 4. 4. δῆλον ἐγένετο οὐ ἔνεκα οἱ Θρᾶκες τὰς ἀλωπεκίδας ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς φοροῦσι...where φοροῦσι is 'a present truth rather than a past fact.' (Goodwin M. and T. § 671) as is (22) De Vectig. I § 2 τοῦτο μὲν εὐθὺς ἀνεφαίνετο, ὅτι ἡ χώρα πέφυκεν οἷα πλείστας προσόδους παρέχεσθαι, and (23) Dem. 679. 5. ἡ μὲν τοίνυν συμμαχία...συνεστάθη...Χαριδήμου δ' ἔργῳ φανεροῦ γεγενημένου ὅτι τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρός ἐστιν.

The construction B. also begins in Homer. cp. Il. 13. 674. οὐδ' ἐ τι ἦδ' ὅττι δηϊώοντο λαοί and 20. 466. νήπιος, οὐδ' ἐ τὸ ἦδ' ὅ, οὐ πείσεσθαι ἐμελλεν. In Attic Prose I find the following—(1). Thuc. 1. 50. 1. τοὺς τε αὐτῶν φίλους, οὐκ αἰσθόμενοι ὅτι ἡσσηνον οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρα, ἀγνοοῦντες ἐκτεινον. (2). Xen. Hell. 7. 5. 16. οὐδ' ἐν τούτου ἐπελογίσαντο, οὐδ' ὅτι...Θηβαῖοις...ἐμελλον μάχεσθαι [cp. Herod. 3. 25. ἐστρατεύετο...οὐτε λόγον ἐωυτῷ δοὺς ὅτι ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς γῆς ἐμελλε στρατεύεσθαι.] (3) Xen. Hell. 3. 3. 9. εἶπον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο...ἀφανίζοντες (=οὐ δηλοῦντες)...ὅτι ἐφ' ἑνα ἐκείνον ἐπεμπον. (4) Thuc. 6. 1. 1. Ἀθηναῖοι ἐβούλοντο...ἐπὶ Σικελίαν πλεύσαντες καταστρέψασθαι...ἀπειρο

(= οὐκ εἰδότες) οἱ πολλοὶ ὄντες τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς νήσου καὶ ὅτι πόλεμον ἀηγοῦντο. (5) Xen. Cyr. 1. 3. 10. ἐπελέλυσθε δὲ (= did not remember) σύ τε ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἦσθα, οἱ τε ἄλλοι, ὅτι σὺ ἄρχων. (6) Dem. 380. 5. is interesting—ῥῆγο... οὐτ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρρώστιαν... ὑπολογισάμενος, οὐθ' ὅτι πρεσβευτὴς ἄλλος ἤρητο ἀνθ' αὐτοῦ [αὐτοῦ S. but vulgo αὐτοῦ], οὐθ' ὅτι τῶν τοιούτων ὁ νόμος θάνατον τὴν ζημίαν εἶναι κελεύει, οὐθ' ὅτι πάντων τοιούτων ὁ νόμος θάνατον τὴν ζημίαν εἶναι κελεύει, οὐθ' ὅτι πάνδεινόν ἐστι... εἰς μέσας τὰς Θήβας... βαδίζειν. Here ἤρητο follows the rule, while πάνδεινόν ἐστι and ὁ νόμος κελεύει are 'present truths rather than past facts' and need not be regarded as exceptions. [cp. also Herod. 8. 78, ἥδεσαν δὲ οὐκ ὅτι σφέας περιεκυκλέοντο... οἱ βάμβαροι].

So far I have cited nothing but ὅτι clauses. I now quote what Latin, in all probability, would treat as Dependent Questions i.e. the subjectivity of the subordinate clause would be shown by the use of the subjunctive mood. cp. (7) Thuc. 3. 22. 4. οὐ γὰρ ἤδει (sc. τὸ στρατόπεδον) ὅ, τι ἦν τὸ δεινόν (Spratt says 'mark the realization; hence the mood of actual fact, indicative'). (8) Xen. An. 3. 5. 17. ἐκάθισαν χωρὶς τοὺς... φάσκοντας εἶδέναι, οὐδὲν δῆλον ποιήσαντες ὅποι πορεύσεσθαι ἔμελλον. (9) Dem. 925. 14. οὐδ' ἐν ἤδει οἷς θηρίοις ἐπλησίαζε. (10) Dem. 1071. 24. οὐδ' ἦσθοντο, ὅτε ἦν τετελετηκώς. Plato. Prot. 315 E. περὶ δ' ὧν διελέγοντο οὐκ ἠδυνάμην μαθεῖν. (12) Xen. Cyr. 1. 4. 8. εἰδῶκεν οὐδ' ἐν ἄλλο ὄρων, ἢ ὅπῃ ἔφευγε. Perhaps we may add (13) Xen. An. 2. 5. 33. ἡμφεγνόουν (οὐκ ἦσαν) ὅτι ἐποίουν and (14) Thuc. 1. 50. 3. οὐ ραδίως τὴν διάγνωσιν ἐποιοῦντο ὅποιοι ἐκράτουν ἢ ἐκρατοῦντο. [Herod. 6. 79. οὐκ ὥρων οἱ ἐντὸς τοὺς ἐκτὸς ὅ, τι ἔπρησον. 1. 78. ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο... οὐδ' ἐν πῶ εἰδότες τῶν ἦν περὶ Σάρδεις. 6. 52. λέγουσι... τοὺς Σπαρτιῦτας... τὴν μητέρα... λαβεῖν... οὐκ εἰδυῖαν τῶν εἰνεκεν ἐφυλάσσετο. 8. 13. οὐκ εἰδότες τῇ ἐφέροντο, ἐξέπιπτον πρὸς τὰς πέτρας. 9. 74. ἀνίστασαν τοὺς δῆμους, οὐκ εἰδότες ἵνα ὑπεξέκειτο ἡ Ἐλένη].

Subjectivity is not always impossible when the verb is negated. e.g. 'I do not know' may be regarded as a positive expression, and be equivalent to 'I wonder,' 'I am at a loss,' etc. and then subjectivity is easily suggested. But in Attic Prose I can only find the following instances (B²) (1) Thuc. 7. 44. 3. οὐκ ἠπίσταντο (= ἠπόρουν πρὸς ὅ, τι χρὴ χωρῆσαι (2) 5. 54. 1. ἤδει δὲ οὐδὲς (= πάντες ἠπόρουν) ὅποι στρατεύουσι (3) Xen. An. 4. 5. 7. ἡγνόμε (= ἐθαύμαζε) ὅ, τι τὸ πάθος εἶη. (4) Hell. 3. 3. 10. οὐκ ἥδεσαν (= ἐθαύμαζον) ὅποσον τὸ μέγεθος εἶη. (5) Thuc. 4. 68. § 6. ἐδήλουν δὲ οὐδὲν ὅτι ἴσασι τὰ πρασσόμενα is the only case of ὅτι which I can discover. Perhaps the position of the negative after the verb, as in B² (2), may have some effect on the construction.

Thuc. 4. 50. 2. is not an exception—ἐν αἰς (sc. ἐπιστολαῖς) κεφάλαιον ἦν πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ γινώσκων ὅ, τι βούλονται. The whole phrase οὐ γινώσκων ὅ, τι βούλονται is from the Recta. So Xen. Oec. 2 § 9. ἐγέλασας ἐπ' ἐμοὶ ὡς οὐδὲ εἰδότες, ὅ, τι εἶη πλοῦτος where ὡς οὐδὲ εἰδότες equals λέγων ἐμὲ οὐκ εἶδέναι. [Add Herod. 4. 150. ἀλογίην εἶχον τοῦ χρηστηρίου, οὐτε Λιβύην εἰδότες ὅκου γῆς εἶη and 5. 92. ἡ δὲ Λάβδα, εἰδυῖα τε οὐδὲν τῶν εἵνεκα ἐκείνων ἀπικοίατο... φέρονσα (sc. τὸ παιδίον) ἐνεχείρισε αὐτῶν ἐνί. 3. 68. is in Or. Obl. οὐτε ὅστις εἶη ὁ συνοικέων αὐτῇ εἶδέναι].

I hope to be allowed an opportunity later of demonstrating that (C) when the clause depends on a verb of seeing, knowing, etc. (i.e. those verbs which take both participle and infinitive) and certain others, the Optative and Graphic constructions occur only in about 50 per cent. of the instances: (D) that *after a past tense* of the verbs above mentioned (if we exclude Xenophon) a plain relative is used in preference to an interrogative in the proportion 6: 1: finally (G) that a direct interrogative is never employed at all by any prose-writer.

H. DARNLEY NAYLOR.

ORMOND COLLEGE,
MELBOURNE UNIVERSITY,
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THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF CICERO'S PHILIPPICS, AND OF THE ORATIONS BEFORE CAESAR.

(Continued from p. 48.)

I.

SINCE the publication of my previous article upon the text of Cicero's Philippics, (*Cl. R.* 1900, pp. 39-48) I have been fur-

nished with new material by the kindness of Dr. de Vries, the chief librarian of the Leiden Library, who offered to send two MSS. to the Bodleian for my use. These are (1) Vossianus, Lat. O. 2., containing *Phi-*

lippias i.-xiii. 29, the Catilinarians and the Oratt. Caesarianae. The MS. consists of two portions; that which contains the *Philippics* belongs, according to Dr. de Vries, to the tenth century, while the second part of the MS. appears to me to be in an eleventh century hand.

(2) Leidensis 148, a thirteenth century MS. containing all the *Philippics*. In the following remarks I term the first MS. *v*, and the second *λ*. They both belong to the *D* family, and *v* is undoubtedly the oldest known member of this. It is singular in view of its antiquity that *v* should not have been previously collated.

The second MS. *λ* is without doubt derived from *v* and is only valuable as a representative of *v* after *Phil.* xiii. 29.

The numeration of the speeches in these MSS. is interesting. In *v Phil.* iii. is correctly numbered, but at the end of the speech comes *Explicit liber iv. Incipit v*. The fifth Philippic is similarly called Philippic vi., so that after the lacuna in the *D* family extending from *v*. 31 to vi. 18, there comes at the end of vi. correctly *Liber vi. explicit*. There is a further error at the beginning of *Phil.* vii., which is described as *Lib. viii.*, but at the end comes correctly *Liber vii. explicit*. There is no title to *Phil.* viii., but it has a correct *scriptio*. The error at the end of *Phil.* iii. is reproduced in *λ*, but the mistake at the beginning of *Phil.* vii. is not. In neither MS. is there any break at iii. 27, *Hodierno die*, as in Halm's MSS.¹ (*abgt*).

I was greatly interested to find that *v* is closely connected with the New College MS. *n*, which I referred to in my previous article (p. 45). The nature of the agreement will be readily seen by comparing the following readings of *vλ* with those which I there quoted from *n*. I take the points in the same order as that there followed. It will be observed that many of the striking readings reported from *n* appear as corrections in *v*. These corrections appear in all cases to be contemporary, and in several to be entered by the first hand.

At *Phil.* xii. 26 there is a break in *v*, two-thirds of a line being left vacant, while a capital *H* has been erased. In *λ* there is no break. (The *H* in *haec ego* in *n* is written by the illuminator.)

xii. 18 sic . . . querebantur om. *vλ*.

22 exitum qui mihi fuit propositus exitus *vλ*.

¹ This break at iii. 27 in *abgt* is obviously due to the error in numeration at the end of *Phil.* iii. which occurs in *v*.

xiii. 4 cum fecerimus *vλ*.

30 in hac causa *λ*.

xiii. 19 deleta *vλ*.

xiv. 13 cogitari *vλ*.

viii. 7 puniret (*ante ii. litt. ras.*) poenam
v: puniret poenam *λ*

ii. 101 agro p.c. Campano *vλ*.

vii. 3 non pa^cuis añ pertimescendis *v*:
non paucis an pertimescendis *λ*.

viii. 17 lineae sunt *v*: lignee sunt *λ*.

ii. 7 ioca *vλ*.

63 gerens ex regens *v* (*corr. m.i.*)
gerens *λ*.

87 Sp. add. sup. lin. m.i. in *v*: Sp. *λ*.

xii. 2 appellare mallent *v*: apellare
mallem *λ*.

xiii. 34 quod ex quid *v*: quod *λ*.

xiv. 38 caderent nonnulli *λ*.

v. 6 r. p. *vλ* (*rei p.* appears to be an
eccentricity of *n*).

9 *ita* erased before *castellis* in *v* and
inserted by *m.i.* before *ab ingres-*
sione: *ita ab ingressione λ*.

10 coloniis *vλ*.

viii. 17 *vel illi* erased after *huic* in *v*, and
omitted by *λ*.

xiv. 38 si illi vixissent *λ*.

In the five passages quoted from *Phil.* xiv. *v* agrees with *n*.

That *vn* come from the same source is shown by the test of omissions. Thus they both omit 1.34 putasne . . . voluisse, ii. 21 eisque . . . quidem, v 22 et . . . concupisset, vii. 2 Antonii . . . legatos, viii. 28 nec . . . consulares, x. 20 non . . . reddere, 21 secuti . . . quarta, xi. 18 ante . . . duas, 26 opinor . . . cohortes. On the other hand *vλ* contain ii. 18 ut non modo . . . contraria, iii. 2, tamen . . . Ianuariae, vii. 2 populares . . . optimo, viii. 19, gravitatem . . . civitas, while *v* contains iv. 7 ostenditis . . . iudicare, which is omitted by both *n* and *λ*. The MSS. also are characterised by the same corruptions, the reading of the second hand in *v* being nearly always followed or developed in *nλ*, e.g.

Phil. i. 1 cum sperarem] cum perare *v*, cum
pararem *λ*, comperirem *n*.

5. magis sup. lin. in *vλ*, in text. *n*.
enim et in sup. lin. in *v*, in text. *nλ*

13. iam sunt] iam fuit *v*: iam fuerunt *nλ*.

19. promulgata] ^{pro}nulgata *v*: ^upromulgata *λ*: promulgata *n* de tertia decu-
ria] detercia *v*: decuria *λ*: de tertia *n*.

20. negligimus] negligimus *v*: negligimus λn ducimus] docimus *v*: docemus λn .

The conclusion seems almost irresistible that *n* like λ is copied from *v*. There are, however, certain difficulties, since *n* possesses some notable readings not found in *v* λ , the occurrence of which requires explanation, viz. i. 2 renovavi *Vn* (revocavi *v* λ), ii. 6 impudica *Vn* (pudica *cell*), iv. 17, negatis, *Vcn* (negastis *v* λ), 11 non est *V'n* (non est, non est *cell*) v. 17, habuerit *Vn* (habuit *cell*) 25 at hi] haec *Vn* (haec ii *vel* et hii *cell*), ix. 16 videatur *Vn* (videbitur *cell*). These cannot be due to accident.

While therefore, the probability is that *n*, while descended from *v*, has been in places corrected from a good MS., it is not impossible that *v* has been corrected from an ancestor of *n*. The point could doubtless be settled by a minute examination, but I did not think it of sufficient importance to warrant the expenditure of time involved. In either case the variants represented by *v*^{*} are of remote antiquity.

I now proceed to consider the value of these corrections, and their relation to the first hand. In the majority of cases a reading erased in *v* was that of *l* or *t*, e.g. 1.10 quem praesentes] after quem *v* had originally praesentis dixit pro populo. (For the readings of *lt* see my previous paper, p. 44.)

The corrections of *v*² are of very various value. In some cases they are obvious conjectures, which show the ignorance of their author, in others they are variants found in allied MSS., in others they are excellent readings for which there is little or no other authority (except *n* λ).

One of the most fatuous conjectures is that already mentioned on viii. 17, viz. lignae turre. Others are:

- xi. 32 sivissent^{passi}] fuissent *v*: passi fuissent λn .
33 cuius benevolentia in populum Romanum est] cuius benevolentia p. expertus
R. est *v* (expertus est λn).
x. 18 potest igitur stare res publica freta^{esse} veteranis] potest igitur res p. freta veteranis *v* (freta esse λn).

Among ordinary variants I would mention:

e.g. 1.17. ad Opis] ad opes *v* (opes *l*, opus *t*) 18 toga] toga ex togam *v* (so *c*): togam *V*: totam *lt*. 2.22 id tot *v* (with *Vc*) at tot *t*: et tot *l*. Others are more striking, e.g. ii.

45 ut se contra suum patrem] se *v*² with *V*, te *cell*. 81 dixit se *v*² with *V*: dixisse *cell*, 85 recipiebat *v*² with *V*: recipiebat (accip. *t*) *cell*, iii. 4 omnibus *v*² with *V*: hominibus *cell*. In other cases they are readings only known previously from the fifteenth century vulgate (*i*) e.g. xi. 23 ulla ex parte curam *v*² (and *i*): ullam etc, *cell*. 30 ceteraque quae *v*² (and *i*): ceteraque *v*¹*t*: cetera quae *l*: ceteraque omnia quae *b*. There remain cases in which the readings of *v*² are unsupported by other MSS. (except *n* λ), as in the striking cases previously quoted, viz. ii. 63 gerens, 87 <Sp. >, v. 9 ita ab ingressione, xiii. 34 quid. To these I would add xiii. 22, desinet as conjectured by Ernesti: designat *ltv*¹: desinat *b*. Readings of doubtful value are ii. 9 crimen tuum] meum ex tuum *v* (tuum del. Manutius), 32 iudicatos *Vc*: iudicandi *v*²: iudicati *lv*¹, indicantur *t*. I reserve some others for future discussion.

My general conclusion is that these corrections were all entered into *v* from a MS. which the scribe or a corrector had before him and that, apart from a percentage of early conjectures, generally to be recognised by their crudity, the variants of *v*² represent a genuine MS. tradition.

After the failure of *v* at *Phil.* xiii. 29 *n* and λ serve to check each other. They agree very closely in all respects. As *n* is slightly the older MS., and is free from some ignorant blunders found in λ , it is perhaps the better of the two. Their consensus gives us the reading of the tenth century Vossianus, which is not without importance in view of the paucity of evidence for this part of the *Philippics*.

The liberality of Dr. Vries has caused me some embarrassment, since, when I received the Vossianus, much of my apparatus was already in print. As it is clearly entitled to take the place of the New College MS., I judged it best to transfer to it the symbol *n*, and shall in my edition refer to the New College MS. after xiii. 29 as *o* (i.e. Oxoniensis).

I now proceed to discuss the MS. evidence for the three speeches before Caesar, viz. pro Marcello, pro Ligario and pro Rege Deiotaro, reserving for the present some *Adversaria* upon them as well as upon the *Philippics*.

II.

Various causes have tended to complicate the textual criticism of the *orationes Caesarianae*. I would mention the following:—

I. The carelessness of Graevius who, find-

ing in his *Coloniensis* (Harl. 2682) two copies of these speeches, quoted indiscriminately from both, giving one name to the result. This is a subject with which I have dealt elsewhere.¹

II. The fact that, although as a rule the three speeches are found together in MSS., in the Zürich edition the *pro Marcello* and *pro Ligario* were edited by Baiter, and the *pro Rege Deiotaro* by Halm. These two scholars worked upon different methods, Halm employing a number of MSS. (e.g. nearly forty in the case of the *Catilinarians*) and Baiter very few, a fact which Müller frequently deplures.² In the case of the *pro Marcello* Baiter did indeed use five MSS. —if we include the fragmentary Tegerseensis (*T*), which contains §§ 1–15 only—forming two distinct families. In the *Ligariana*, however, he contented himself with three, one of which was the *Coloniensis* as known from very misleading quotations. Halm, on the other hand, used eight MSS. for the *Deiotariana*, of which the *Coloniensis* was one.

III. A minor confusion due to the division of editorship is to be found in the symbols used for the MSS. The *Gemblacensis* or *Bruxellensis* 5345, which contains these three speeches, was termed *G* by Baiter, but in the *Deiotariana* Halm styles it *B*, as he required the symbol *G* for his *Gudianus*. This nomenclature has been adopted by subsequent editors.

IV. A more serious misconception is due to the exaggerated importance attached to the readings of the *Erfurtensis* (*E*), and its congener the *Gemblacensis* (*B*). This is due to the fact that the *Ambrosianus* (*A*) had not yet been collated by Baiter, while the *Coloniensis* had disappeared. In their absence the title of *meliores* was given to *BE*, nor was this surprising, since it could hardly be claimed by any other MSS. then accessible to scholars. Madvig's unerring judgment taught him that there was something wrong. He remarks a falling off in the quality of the *meliores* in these speeches and says that in the *Deiotariana* there is *summa codicum . . . discrepantia et quasi testimoniorum confusio* (Op. Ac. ii. 299). The point to which he continually recurs throughout his discussion is that the *meliores* are interpolated, and that the truth must be sought elsewhere. A *melior familia*, how-

ever, which does not contain good readings is unworthy of the name.

The oldest MS. containing these speeches, the *Ambrosianus* (*A*) tenth cent., was subsequently collated by Baiter, who published his collation in 1863 (*Philologus* xx. pp. 335–350), without discussing in any way the affinities of the MS. His collation has been used by Müller and Nohl. Müller does not discuss the position of *A* in the *pro Marcello* and *pro Ligario*, but adopts a large number of readings from it. On coming to the *Deiotariana* he does classify it, referring it to the family of which the *Gudianus* is a member, as against *BE*. He terms the latter *paulo integriores*, the former *magis corrupti*. Nohl, who did not edit the *pro Marcello*, in the *pro Ligario* picks and chooses upon eclectic principles, while in the *pro Rege Deiotaro* he throws in his lot with *A*, which, like Müller, he associates with the *G* group, saying 'vix quindecim (locos) invenio quibus hanc familiam erroris convincere possimus,' definitely dethroning the *meliores*. It is to be noted that this statement of Nohl is only true of the *G* family where they agree with *A*. Where they disagree they are often flagrantly corrupt and interpolated.

In 1892 I published my collation of the lost *Coloniensis* (Harl. 2682) shewing that the first copy of these speeches found in this MS. is closely connected in the *Deiotariana* with the *Gudianus*, and in the *pro Marcello* with the *Mediceus* L. XLV., while the second copy agrees throughout with *A*. The second copy I termed *H*, and the first *h*. I further stated the conclusions at which I had arrived, viz.

(1) that the criticism of the three speeches should proceed upon the same lines.

(2) that *AH* throughout the three speeches form a family by themselves, there being two interpolated groups, viz. (a) *BE*, the so-called *meliores*, and (b) the first copy in Harl. 2682, or *h*, together with its congeners, of which the best known are *M* in the *pro Marcello* and *G* in the *pro Rege Deiotaro*.

Further investigations have strengthened the convictions which I then expressed. I proceed to give some account of MSS. which I have since consulted.

These are :—

- (1) Vossianus, Lat. O. 2, saec. XI (V)
- (2) Dorville 77, saec. XI (D)
- (3) Harleianus 2716, saec. XI (L)³

³ This only contains the *pro Marcello* and *pro Ligario*, §§ 1–6.

¹ *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, vii. pp. xi–xiii.

² Cf. ii. 2, lxxv. Baiterus suo more paucis codicibus contentus fuit, *ib.* lxxxiii, xciii, &c.

- (4) Mediceus L. XLV, saec. XI (*n*)¹
 (5) Auct. Rawl. G. 138 saec. XV (*σ*)
 (6) Harleianus 4927, saec. XII (*a*)

Of these V agrees with AH, and I denote their consensus by the symbol α ; DL agree with BE and I term their consensus β : *maσ* belong to the same family as *h* (the first copy of these speeches in Harl. 2682) and *g* (Gudianus 335, containing the pro Deiotaro only). This third family I term γ .

I proceed to give some account of these.

(1) Vossianus (V).

This MS. is almost a *gemellus* of A. Their agreements may be illustrated by the following:

- Marc. 9 obstrepi clamore militum videntur et tubarum sono H $\beta\gamma$: obstrepit clamor militum et tubarum soni A: obstrepiit clamor militum videntur et tubarum soni V.
 13 a plerisque...et falso] plerosque... falsos AV.
 15 nam et] tamen AV.
 33 stantibus] statibus AV.
 Lig. 3 conquievit] conquiebat AV.
 13 et nos iacentes ad pedes] *om.* AV.
 26 constantia? constantiam dico?] constantiam *om.* A: constantia *om.* V.
 37 in foro de optimis] de optimis in foro AV
 Deiot. 7 accusatione] hac causatione AV.
 22 speculis] speluncis AV.
 25 tibi porro inimicus] *om.* AV.
 26 cuncta] coniuncta AV.
 28 bene ut armis] bene fuit armis AV.
 33 enim nomine optimi viri] enim hominis nomine optimi viri AV.

Its agreements, however, are not exclusively with A, *e.g.* it has the following readings with H, Marc. 10 videntur, 28 dicenda, Lig. 30 et quidem, Deiot. 17 percussus, 30 acerbitatis. It does not appear to have been copied from A. It contains words omitted by A, *e.g.* Deiot. 38 tum non dubito, 40 oculis *etc.* and also is free from a number of *proprii errores* found in A., *e.g.*

- Marc. 33 reddito] praedito A.
 Lig. 1 per te scire] pertimescere A.

- Deiot. 24 etiam atque ad aciem] etiam atque aciem V: etiam atque etiam A.
 41 exquire] exquirere A.

These variations might be explained as due to correction. The following case is more decisive:

- Deiot. 1 iniquum est] iniquum $\div$ V, preserving the symbol used in the archetype; iniquum esse A, misinterpreting it.

The following corruptions in AHV are interesting:

- Marc. 21. an ex eo numero] ex eone ex numero A: anexo numero V: axeneone ex numero H.
 Lig. 20. cum senatus censuisset] cum señ censuisset A: cumse ñ censuisset V: cēt señ censuissem H.
 Deiot. 36. de se senatus imminutum] de se ñ inminutum A: de señ inminutum V: desensenim minutum H.

I have not found any notable readings in V *sol.* Its connexion with A is so close that it cannot be appealed to as an independent witness where A and H differ, but it serves to show when A misrepresents the archetype of AV.² The best of the MSS. appears to me to be H. I only find one case where AV have a manifestly superior reading against all other MSS., viz.

- Lig. 18 quibus ipsis ignovisti AV: quibus ipse ignovisti *rell.*

On the other hand all editors adopt the two following readings quoted from H by Gulielmus:

- Deiot. 36 sustulerat H: distulerat AV: sustinuerat $\beta\alpha$: subierat σ .
 40 ecquonam Gulielmus: et quonam H: quonam *rell.* (*etiam* A)

while the following seem certain:

- Lig. 5 tertium tempus quod... restitit, si H, as conjectured by Baiter: tertium tempus est quod... restitit, si AV: tertium tempus est (*om.* est L) quod... restitit, quod si β : tertium est tempus quo... restitit, quod si γ .

¹ This MS. was previously collated for the pro Marcello. All that I have done is to collate it for part of the pro Ligario.

² *E.g.* Deiot. 17 percussus HV: percussus A, 30 acerbitatis HV, acerbitas A: Lig. 23 ultra HV: ultra A.

21 statuerat excusari H, as conjectured by Orelli (cf. *Phil.* v. 14, *Att.* xii. 13. 2): statuerat excusare *rell.*

38 forsitan postulet H: forsitan postulat *rell.*

I omit more doubtful cases. In a number of instances the reading of H seems prior to that of AV, *e.g.*

Marc. 15 integra re] integrare H: integre AV.

25 te idem] et idem H: et te idem AV.

Lig. 23 etiam probata] etiam eadem probata H: etiam adprobata AV.

Deiot. 30 in lucem evocavit] in luce me vocavit H: in luce vocavit AV.

I have previously remarked (*Anecd.* p. xxix) upon the number of faulty divisions found in H, and the survival of stray capitals, *e.g.* § 27 in RS (=iners), which show that it was copied from a very ancient original.

(2) Dorville 77 (D).

This MS. is of great interest. It contains (i.) the pro Marcello, pro Ligario and pro Rege Deiotaro, and (ii.) in a different hand, the Laelius, Cato maior, *Invectivae* Ciceronis in Sallustium et Sallustii in Ciceronem, and the *Somnium Scipionis*.

In the *Orationes Caesarianae* its affinities are with BE, and chiefly with B. It is superior to both MSS. in value as well as in antiquity; and helps to explain the growth of the recension found in BE.

Most of the readings of D are also found in BE (and L) and I denote the agreement of the group by the symbol β . That D is most closely connected with B will be seen from the following cases:

Deiot. 19 re illo tempore non perfecta BD (with α): rex illo tempore non perfecta re E (with γ).

21 perduint BD *sol*i: perdunt HVE: perdent A: perdant γ .

26 magni animi BD (with α): magnanimum E (with αh).

It will be noticed that in the first and third cases BD agree with α in a good reading against E. In the following cases D agrees with α against BE:

Marc. 8 victo α D: victum hm : victoriam BEL α .

12 adferet D with AHL: adferat BE h : adfert V.

34 C. Marcello α D: M Marcello BEL: Marcello γ .

Lig. 24 dubitem α D: non dubitem BE γ .

Deiot. 11 nobis α D: novis BE γ .

16 tectior α D¹: rector D² BE γ .

23 audientes α D: obaudientes h : obedientes BE.

32 perductus α D γ : productus BE. impotens α D γ : impudens BE.

33 in invidia esse HV: invidia esse AD: invidiose BE.

It might be thought that these very important readings had been introduced into D by the familiar process of contamination. The case quoted from Deiot. 16, however, is in favour of the other alternative, viz. that D has preserved the original reading, while BE have been corrupted or contaminated. That this is so will be shewn by the following instances:

Marc. 7 tuam esse... αh : tuam esse D: tuam ^{se} esse BEL.

Lig. 7 qui me...esse alterum $\alpha\gamma$: qui me...esse me alterum D: qui...esse me alterum BE.

23 non ultra α : non tam ne Dm: non tam ut non h : non tam propter id ne BE.

Deiot. 21 in cubiculo malle dixisti αh : in cubiculo ^{um} te ire malle dixisti D: in cubiculum te ire malle dixisti BE.

30 repudiari^{is} $\alpha\gamma$: repudiaretis *ex*-itis D: repudiaretis BE.

31 prendi α : adprendi D: apprehendi BE.

32 immanitate α : inumanitate D¹: inhumanitate D² BE.

My conclusion is that D represents the oldest form of the β recension, and serves to bridge over the gap between BE and α .

(3) Harleianus 2716 (L).

This MS. also belongs to the β group. It is bound up with the MS. of the *De Officiis* once belonging to Graevius (*Graevii codex optimus*), which has been wrongly inserted by the binder in the middle of the pro Marcello. The MS., which I term L, contains the pro Marcello, and pro Ligario §§ 1-6, ending at the words *dicendi aboritur*. It does not throw much light on the text. It has one noteworthy agreement with α against BDE, viz.

Marc. 26 parumne...magna α L: parumne
igitur...magna BDE: parumne
igitur...gloriam magnam γ .

Other interesting readings are

Marc. 2 socio a me et comite distracto
 α BD γ : socio a me et comite
distracto et socio L: comite dis-
tracto et socio E.

ib. et mihi meae *ed. Cratandrina*: et
mihi et meae *codd.* L has mihi
et meae, which seems the earliest
form of the corruption.

There is, however, not much to be gained
from it.

(4) Mediceus, L. XLV. (m).

This MS. is well known as being the chief
authority for the Catilinarians. It has
already been collated for the pro Marcello
by Antonio Sarti *in usum Garatonii*. Sarti
did not collate it for the part of the pro
Ligario which it contains. I have myself
collated it for Lig. 1-25. The last page has
been damaged, and I could not read it. As,
however, elsewhere it agrees closely with h ,
this is not of much importance. I shall
refer to several of its readings while dis-
cussing the next MS.

(5) Auct. Rawl. G. 138 (σ).

This MS., in spite of its late date, is not
without interest. It is closely connected
with m and h , as will be seen from *e.g.*

Lig 13 eo spectat] eo mortem spectat $hm\sigma$

Its affinities are with h rather than with
 m . I quote the following:

Lig. 1 familiaritate ea m : et familiaritate
ea $h\sigma$.

3 arripuit m : statim arripuit $h\sigma$
pacem m : in pace $h\sigma$.

7 Ex Aegypto litteras misit m : lit-
teras misit ex Aegypto $h\sigma$.

14 repente m : derepente h : te re-
pente σ .

17 quisquam m : quicquam $h\sigma$.

It is free from several *proprii errores*
found in hm , *e.g.*

Lig. 6 quam non reformidem . . . quantum
potero voce contendam σ . quān
rēformidinē...quantum nrē for-
midinem potero voce contendam
 m quam rem formidinē...quan-
tum potero formidinē conten-
dam h .

The following variants are instructive:

Marc. 3 vitae m : om. σ : aetatis h .

Lig. 6 ut populus Rom. h : ut pop. hoc
Rom. hoc m : ut pop. Rom.
hoc σ .

10 acuet] cauet hm : accuet σ .

16 saluti civi calamitoso esse] civi
calamitoso esse m : civi calami-
toso prodesse h : saluti civi ca-
lamitoso prodesse σ .

Deiot. 36 magni animi] magnianimum σ
magnanimum h .

The tradition of the family to which σ
belongs is sufficiently represented in the
pro Marcello and pro Ligario §§ 1-25 by
 hm , and in pro Deiot. 1-26 by g (Gudianus)
and h . I have, however, thought it worth
while to collate σ from Lig. 26 to end, after
 m becomes illegible and from Deiot. 27 to end,
after gh fail. Its readings in these portions
of the two speeches are not without import-
ance: *e.g.* Lig. 38 σ reads *salute dando* with
 h (*salutem dando* $\alpha\beta$), thus showing that
this reading, conjectured by Müller, is
not an eccentricity of h , but the genuine
tradition of the γ family. I do not, how-
ever, attach great importance to the variants
of γ as against α , since like β they are much
interpolated, although they have a different
set of interpolations.

(6) Harleianus 4929 (α).

This MS. (olim Collegii Aginensis Soc.
Jesu) contains the Catilinarians, *Invectivae*
Ciceronis in Sallustium et Sallustii in
Ciceronem, *Pridie quam iret in exsilium*,
Oratt. post reditum, Paradoxa, in Vatinius,
pro Caelio, pro Balbo, de Provinciis
Consularibus, pro Sestio, *Orationes Caesar-*
ianae, and *Laelius*. It was collated for the
pro Caelio by Bährens. I collated it some
years ago for the Catilinarians and found it
closely connected in them with A (Ambros-
ianus). I recently examined it for the
Oratt. Caesarianae.

The MS. belongs to the same family as
 $ghm\sigma$ (γ). Not only has it most of the
interpolations of the γ group, *e.g.*

Marc. 1 angebar <cum viderem>, 8
tanta vis <tanta copia>, 15 partis
meae periculo, 19 tecum salvos esse,
21 extenuabo <verbis>, Lig. 8
dubitem <dicere>, 14 <cave
credas> cave ignoscas, 37 clarissimo
<M. Marcello restituto>, Deiot. 9
exorari, 11 quiescendum ut sibi esset,
22 latrociniiis <hostium>, 25

rumores <sparsi>, *ib.* animo
<erga te> fuit;

but also agrees with the rest of γ in the collocation of words, in *proprii errores*, and the small points which denote common origin. So much is this so that it is only on occasions that it breaks away from the family, and that its reading has to be recorded.

In several cases it agrees with $a\beta$ against corruptions or interpolations found in the rest of γ , e.g. it reads correctly

Marc. 21 qui fuerunt (qui superfuerunt *hm*), 25 diu...vixi (te diu...vixisse *hm*), Lig. 13 eo spectat (eo mortem spectat *hm*), 25 vultis (vis *hm*), gloriemini (gloriar *hm*).

It has a very few readings characteristic of β . I noted the following:

Marc. 8 victoriam (victo *a* victum γ)
Lig. 30 ad iudicem sic <agi solet>, *om.*
agi solet *ay*.
Deiot. 5 intra <domesticos> parietes, *om.*
domesticos *ay*.
20 in cubiculum <te ire> malle,
om. te ire *ay*.

These, however, are exceptional.

On the other hand *a* has a large number of agreements in important readings with *a*. I instance the following in which *aa* agree against β and the rest of γ :

Marc. 6 sibi ante vindicat *om.*, 12 lenitas [animi], Lig. 11 qui usque ad sanguinem incitari solent odio, 22 <prohibere> illa voluisse, 30 quærere, *ib.* totus animo (tametsi totus *h*: tametsi totus animo β), 31 fruuntur, 35 quam...tam, Deiot. 6 ei regi, 13 non ut ad, 21 ait etiam, 29 ponendorum, 30 abducere, 31 prendi, 35 praeteritum, 41 se esse confidunt.

These *a* readings do not agree exclusively with A(V) or H. Thus *a* reads with A perculsus Deiot. 17 (percussus HV), with AV Lig. 23 adprobata (eadem probata H), Deiot. 26 exspoliare (spoliare H), 32 est corruptus iste (iste est corruptus H), but Deiot. 33 nomine optimi viri with H (hominis nomine optimi viri AV), and in invidia esse (*om.* in AV.)

The tempting theory at first suggested itself to me that *a* represents the earliest form of the γ recension, the other MSS., viz. *ghm*, having lost the good readings still preserved in *a*. If this were true, then *a* would serve as a link between *a* and λ , much in the same way as D mediates

between *a* and β . On further consideration I had to abandon this view, since the readings of *a* do not explain those of *ghm*, and the agreements of *a* with *a* are almost entirely in striking readings such as might have been introduced by contamination. I now consider *g* (the tenth century Gudianus) in the pro Rege Deiotaro, and *hm* in the other two speeches to give the genuine tradition of the group, many of the corruptions found in them having been removed from *a*, into which good readings have been grafted *ab extra*.

The chief interest of *a* lies in the light which it throws upon the genesis of a MS. to which great value was attached by Halm, viz. R (cod. Oehlerianus, nunc Gissensis, saec. XIV.). He says that 'in the pro Rege Deiotaro this contains the good readings of both families, and that without dispute it gives the text of the speech in the purest form.'¹ He wrote of course without knowledge of A or the MSS. which I have myself used. It is only in this speech that he speaks of R with this enthusiasm, all that he says of it in the pro Marcello and pro Ligario being that it is *eine keineswegs verächtliche Quelle*. Owing to the division of editorship it was not used by Baiter for these two speeches, and so I am not acquainted with its readings in them. It is possible, though unlikely, that in them it was copied from a different source. What I am in a position to assert is, that *a*, from which it appears to be derived in the Deiotariana, occupies the same relation to *g* and *a* throughout.

The relation of R to *a* will be seen at a glance from the following readings only found in them:

Deiot. 4 perturbat] petebat, 14 tectis] veteris, 15 domi] domui, 17 finget] fingere, 18 ait] autem, 24 quomodo] quia, 27 res rationesque *om.*, 28 admirari] ammirari, 30 repudiaretis] repudiatis, 32 Servio] ut ferunt, 34 in victoria] in victoria victoria tua, 41 te victore] te victorem, 42 Dorulaus] dorulans.

R, however, which is two centuries later than *a*, has in the course of time gathered a number of corruptions from which *a* is free. I quote the following cases in which *a* agrees with the other MSS. against a corruption or interpolation only quoted from R.

Deiot. 10 senatus hoc nomine saepe honorificentissimis decretis] senatus

¹ Gel. Anz. 1849, p. 676.

hic nomine semper honorificentissimo
R. 13 hostilibusque bellis] hostibus
 bellisque *R.* 18 celasset] potuisset *R.*
 19 tum te inspicere velle] cum te
 inspicere vellet *R.* 22 bellum] arma
R. 23 non quaero quam veri] non
 credo quod vere *R.* 25 quam tibi
 pecuniam non subministrare] quam
 qui pecuniam non subministraret *R.*
 28 minime] nomen *R.* 29 ardebat]
 habebat *R.* 36 de se senatus im-
 minutum] de senatum consulto in-
 imicum *R.* 43 vales plurimum, negat
 umquam] plurimum vales, negat
 inquam *R.*

In many cases a corruption found in *a* is further developed in *R*, e.g.

23 vel quia non nosset vel si nosset] vel
 quia non nosset (noscet *R*) vel quia
 non nosset (posset *R*) vel si nosset (nos-
 cet *R*) *aR*, 26 obruisse] oblivisse *a*,
 obligavisse *R*, 42 ad ultimos prose-
 cutum] ad ultimos (-imum *R*) prose-
 cutum fuisse *aR*.

There are few alterations made by a corrector in *a*, but they are without exception adopted in *R*, e.g.

12 si eius ^{tum} viri *a*: si eius tum viri *R*
sol. 17 volebas *ex* volebat *a*: volebas

R sol. 37 quidem *ex* quidam *a*:
 quidem *R sol.*

The following cases are important since in them the reading of *a* explains that of *R*:

14 ut eum] ut eam *a*, ut *R*, omitting *eam*
 as unintelligible.

16 quis consideratio illo, quis tectior]
 after *tectior a* adds *illo*, *R* omits
quis tectior, the eye of the copyist
 having passed from the first *illo* to
 the second.

18 potest] p ^t *a*: potuit *R*, wrongly inter-
 preting the abbreviation.

41 et a te] etate *a*, est a te *R*.

R, then, is a descendant of *a*. I do not, however, think that it is copied immediately from *a*. Thus § 27 *R* omits *vacabat* in a lacuna, obviously on account of an obscurity in the archetype. In *a* the word is perfectly clear. In all probability several generations of MSS. intervene between *a* and *R*.

The great superiority of the *a* recension to those found in *β* and *γ* is strikingly exemplified by the value which Halm attached to *R*, this being due to the occasional *a* readings which have been introduced into *a*, and have survived in its degenerate descendant.

ALBERT C. CLARK.

(To be continued).

ELUCIDATIONS OF LATIN POETS.

II.

VIRGIL BUC. IV 24.

Occidet et serpens, et fallax herba ueneni
 occidet.

We learn in our grammars that a genetivus qualitatis sine epitheto is not Latin. Roby § 1308 'Genitive of quality or description; always with adjective.' Draeger ed. 2 vol. 1 p. 462 'Höchst ungewöhnlich und durchaus nachklassisch ist der Gen. qualitatis ohne Attribut: Apul. apol. cp. 75 homo iustus et morum. Symmach. i 72 homo litterarum. Nur scheinbar abweichend: Lucan vi 30 felix ac libera, legum (scil. tuarum) Roma fores iurisque tui. Sonst wird nichts citirt.'

Then we turn to our commentaries and read such notes as these: '*herba ueneni*,

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Graeco more pro uenenata'; '*ueneni* is a gen. of quality. Comp. Juv. iii 4 gratum litus amoeni Secessus.' Baehrens on Catull. 23 11: '*non casus alios periculorum*. h.e. casus periculosos.' Munro on Lucr. iii 42 *Tartara Leti*: '*leti* seems a gen. of quality: see n. to v 369 *cladem pericli*; and comp. Prop. i 1 3 *mihi constantis deiecit lumina fastus*.' On Lucr. v 369: '*cladem pericli* is a rare form of expression: comp. 201 *silvaeque ferarum*: 1193 *murmura magna minarum*: *pericli* here and *minarum* there seem to have the force of an epithet; to be in fact genitives of quality, something like 764 *coni umbras*; iii 42 *Tartara leti*: see n. there: Virg. ecl. 4 24 *fallax herba ueneni*; Juv. iii 4 *gratum litus amoeni Secessus*; v 47 *calicem nasorum quattuor*; comp. too Catull. 23 11 *Non casus alios periculorum*.'

Why not add *ingenui uultus puer*? Prop. i 13 *constantis fastus* and Iuu. v 47 *nasorum quattuor* are examples, perfectly regular examples, of the gen. qualitatis cum epitheto. So is Iuu. iii 4 *amoeni secessus*, if it is a genitive at all and not a nominative plural: Prof. Mayor ad loc. calls it an epexegetic genitive, which it evidently cannot be, but he changes his mind at iii 48 and v 47. Lucr. v 764 *coni umbras* is an ordinary possessive genitive, 'the darkness of the cone'; and Munro himself translates it so. Possessive again is 1193 *murmura minarum* 'the rumbling of threats': the construction is precisely that of *clamor tonitruum* ap. Cic. ad. fam. viii 2 1: *minae* simply means *tonitrus* as heard by the ear of ignorance and superstition. iii 42 *Tartara Leti* has been elucidated by no less an authority than Virgil himself, who at georg. iv 481 sq. writes 'ipsae stupore domus atque intima Leti | Tartara' to let posterity know that the genitive is possessive; and v 201 *siluae ferarum* is similar, *siluae* quas possident ferae.

On Catull. 23 11 *casus periculorum* I will speak more at length, because I have never seen it rightly explained. *casus* is here the abstract verbal substantive of *cadere* = *accidere*, and means *happening, occurrence, incidence, contingency*: the genitive is subjective, and *casus periculorum* corresponds to *cadunt* (= *accidunt*) *pericula* as *fuga Pompeii* to *Pompeius fugit*. Exactly parallel is Caes. b. G. iii 13 7 '*quarum rerum omnium nostris nauibus casus erat extimescendus*,' and doubtless Cic. ad. fam. vi 4 3, which the editors of Catullus quote, is the same construction, '*ad omnes casus subitorum periculorum magis obiecti sumus*.' At b. G. viii 34 1 *casus* is again an abstract verbal noun with a subjective genitive, but this time it is from *cadere* = *euadere*, '*cum oppidani miserrima Alesiae memoria solliciti similem casum obsessionis uererentur*,' i.e. *uererentur ne obsessio eodem caderet siue euaderet*. In Suet. Claud. 25 '*ad arcendos incendiorum casus*' a similar explanation is feasible, but this may be the defining genitive, like Cic. in Cat. ii 6 '*insidias caedis atque incendiorum*,' with *casus* in its common sense of 'mishaps': to explain *casus periculorum* in this way would be impracticable, because *periculum* and *casus* are then too nearly synonyms. At bell. Alex. 7 1 '*ad extremum casum periculi omnes deducti*' I think the genitive is partitive and the sense 'the last emergency of peril'; Liu. xxii 32 2 '*casum uniuersae dimicationis*' and xxvii 12 9 '*casum*

uniuersae pugnae' are 'the hazard belonging to a general engagement.' Last of all I come round to Lucr. v 369 '*aut aliam quamuis cladem importare pericli*.' This I cannot translate: Bruno writes *per ictus* (compare 352, 358, 363); but perhaps the whole verse comes from the author of the absurd interpolation 372 '*aut alia quamuis possunt ui pulsa perire*.'

I suppose no one will quote Catull. 12 8 sq. '*leporum* | *disertus puer ac facetiarum*' now that the Oxford MS gives *dissertus* and so establishes Passerat's *differtus*; but I remark that Munro (Crit. and Eluc. p. 41), forgetting his notes on Lucretius, says 'the genitives cannot without an epithet be genitives of quality.' Nor can *ueneni*.

But Spohn and others say 'quasi continens uenenum' and cite Solin. 43 *poculum ueneni*, Tibull. iii 5 34 *lactis pocula*, i 3 46 *ubera lactis*, Verg. buc. v 68 *crateras oliui*, Aen. iii 67 *sanguinis pateras*. To these may be added Cicero's bombastic *poculo mortis*, if Cicero's it is, at pro Clu. 31, and also an instance which may seem at first more apposite than the rest, de fin. iv 76 *palearum nauem*, parad. iii 20 *nauem paleae*, a ship, that is a shipload, of chaff. But all this is nothing. The nouns on which these genitives depend are the names of receptacles: *herba ueneni*, explained on this analogy, will be no less absurd than *arbor oliui* or *capella lactis* or *homo sanguinis*.

Should it be suggested that the genitive is the gen. of definition, specification, epexegetis, that too is impossible. In that construction the genitive word is related to the other as species to genus, *arbor abietis*, that sort of *arbor* which is denominated *abies*. But poison is not a sort of plant: *herba* and *uenenum* are not genus and species; they are two genera. In short *herba ueneni* is not Latin at all.

And Virgil has not written *herba ueneni*: he has written *fallax herba ueneni*. That the genitive might belong to *fallax* was suggested by C. G. Heyne, who if he had been properly trained would have become a really great scholar, and who even now is the most honest and intelligent of Virgil's commentators. Heyne says '*fallax ueneni*, ueneno fallaci; exquisitiore usu poetae, ut *audax animi*': a more appropriate example would be Tac. ann. iv 7 2 *occultus odii*. But to explain in this manner a genitive found in company with *fallax* is circuitous and perverse: no one says that Hor. carm. iii 3 1 *tenacem propositi* means 'proposito tenaci.' Adjectives ending in *-ax* and formed from transitive verbs assume, or are capable of

assuming, an *objective* genitive. With *capax*, *ferax*, *rapax*, *tenax*, the construction is common, less common with *fugax*; well known, though apparently unique, is *Ou. met. xv 234 'tempus edax rerum'*; less known are *Manil. v 143 'Baechi Venerisque sequaces'* and *Sil. viii 463 'uiros spernaces mortis'*: *fallax* itself is so employed in *Tac. ann. xvi 32* to which I will come anon. Therefore *fallax ueneni* has no business to mean *ueneno fallaci*: it ought to mean *quae fallit uenenum*; and it does.

But now I hear it asked, What does *fallit uenenum* mean? It means *dissimulat uenenum*. In Greek the equivalent verb *δολοῦν* is employed in this sense by *Sophocles Phil. 128 sq. ναυκλήρου τρόποις | μορφῇν δολώσας, ὡς ἂν ἀγνοία προσῇ*. In Latin the corresponding use of *fallere* is commoner. *Prop. iv 5 14 'sua nocturno fallere terga lupo,' i.e. dissimulare*, disguise her own shape under that of a were-wolf. *Ou. fast. iii 22 'sua diuina furta fefellit ope,' i.e. celauit*. *Tac. hist. iii 23 'donec adulta nocte luna surgens ostenderet acies falleretque,' i.e. ambiguas uisu efficeret*, rendered deceptive to the eye. *Ou. met. viii 578 'spatium discrimina fallit,'* the distance makes the divisions imperceptible. *Manil. i 240 'fallente solo decliua longa,'* the earth disguises its convexity and seems to be flat, 676 'rectaque deuexo fallit uestigia cliui,' the ecliptic, by its obliquity, conceals the fact that it lies in one plane. Hence proceeds the common usage whose type is *Hor. serm. ii 2 12 (Ou. met. vi 60) 'studio fallente laborem' (curam, luctum, dolores, horas, noctem), making the toil unfelt*.

As with *fallere*, so with *decipere*. The

three following passages are usually explained wrongly or not at all. *Prop. ii 34 35 sq. 'Phrygio fallax Maeandria campo | errat et ipsa suas decipit unda uias,' i.e. dissimulat cursus suos,*¹ disguises its flow, so that you cannot tell which way it runs, 'ita sinuosus flexibus ut saepe credatur reuerti' says *Pliny n.h. v 113*. *Sen. Herc. fur. 154 sqq. 'hic exesis | pendens scopulis aut deceptos | instruit hamos aut suspensus | spectat pressa praemia dextra,' i.e. celatos (Ou. met. xv 476 nec celate cibis uncos fallacibus hamos)*. *Liu. xxii 4 4 'Flaminius... id tantum hostium, quod ex aduerso erat, conspexit: ab tergo ac super caput deceptae insidiae,' i.e. occultae*: *Madvig* doubtfully proposes a far-fetched explanation, and other editors alter the text. Then with the more familiar shade of meaning *Ou. trist. iv 1 14 'fallitur ancillae decipiturque labor.'*

Not only does *fallere* mean *dissimulare*; it means *simulare* too. *Verg. Aen. i 684 sq. 'tu faciem illius noctem non amplius unam | falle dolo et notos pueri puer indue uoltus,' i.e. simula, ementire*. In the participle this use is not uncommon, as *buc. vi 48 'Proetides implerunt falsis mugitibus agros,'* mimic lowings. Hence has sprung the one other recorded example of *fallax* with a genitive, *Tac. ann. xvi 32 fin. 'specie bonarum artium falsos et amicitiae fallaces.'* From *fallo (=simulo)* *amicitiam* comes *amicitiae fallaces = amicitiae simulators*; from *fallo (=dissimulo)* *uenenum* comes *fallax herba ueneni = herba ueneni dissimulatrix*.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

¹ For the unemphatic *ipsa suas* see *Ou. amor. ii 6 55 'explicat ipsa suas ales Iunonia pinnas.'*

A. CONJECTURE ON STAT. *SILV.* V. 3. 94.

Te Pietas oblita uirum reuocataque caelo
Iustitia et gemina plangat Facundia lingua
Et Pallas doctique cohors Heliconia Phoebi
Quis labor Aonios seno pede ducere campos
(cantus Barth)
Et quibus Arcadia carmen testudine mensis
†Cydaliben nomenque fuit.

The MS. readings reported by *Bährens* are *Cydalibem* or *Cydaliben*, and *Cyclaliben* (*Poliziano*). The best of the Bodleian MSS. (*Barlow 23 = Auct. F. 5. 5*) gives *Cidalibem*; only in one MS. have I found a v. l. which at once struck me as not improbably

guiding to the true reading of the passage. It is in the library of the Gerolomini at Naples. This MS. had as the first writing *Cicla liber*, changed later to *Cyda liber*. Retaining *liber* = book or title to authorship, I trace in *cicla* or *cyda* the rare, and, to many scholars, unknown word *Chria*. *Chria* is a mere latinization of the Greek *χρεία*, and had a technical meaning. *Quintil. i. 9. 4. Chriarum plura genera traduntur: unum simile sententiae, quod est positum in uoce simplici 'dixit ille' aut 'dicere solebat': alterum, quod est in respondendo 'interrogatus ille uel 'cum hoc ei dictum esset, re-*

spondit: tertium huic non dissimile 'cum quis dixisset aliquid uel fecisset.' etiam in ipsorum factis esse *chriae* putant ut 'Crates, cum indoctum puerum uidisset, paedagogum eius percussit,' et aliud paene par ei, quod tamen eodem nomine appellare non audent, sed dicunt χρεῖδης, ut 'Milo, quem vitulum aduenerat ferre, taurum ferebat,' in his omnibus et declinatio per eosdem ducitur casus, et tam factorum quam dictorum ratio est. Cf. ii. 4. 26. A minute and very lucid account of *chriae* is given by Diomedes p. 310 in vol. i. of Keil's *Grammatici Latini*. I may cite from this chapter of Diomedes two specimens, both from Vergil 'Publius Vergilius Maro dixit "Auri sacra fames,"' 'Publius Vergilius Maro dixit "Degeneres animos timor arguit."' In this chapter the word appears in the MSS. in the forms *curiarum*, *churiae*. Diomedes again speaks of *Chriae*, p. 482, under the heading *De specie poematis exegetici uel enarratiui*. His words are *Exegetici uel enarratiui species sunt tres, angelitice, historice, didascalice. angelitice est qua sententiae scribuntur ut est Theognidis liber, item chriae*.

In this latter passage of Diomedes *Chriae* is spelt in the MSS. *diviae*.

The fact that a book of *Chriae* is here compared with Theognis sets the meaning of the word in a tolerably clear light. Any collection of ethical maxims, rules of conduct, principles of morality, would fall under the word, particularly if prefaced with the name of the author, who, at first, would usually be a poet.

The *liber Theognidis* is in Elegiac metre. Statius in particularizing the *lyre* (*Arcadia testudine*) would allude to *chriae*, collected from the Greek lyric poets, who of course abound in such *sententiae*, as any page of Bergk's P.L.G. proves.

I would write then :

Et quibus Arcadia carmen testudine mensis.
Chria liber nomenque fuit.

and explain of collections of versified gnomes or sentences excerpted from Greek lyric poets, prefaced with their names, and formed into a book (*liber*). To the lyrists whose gnomes were thus collected, the collection would be 'a book and a name.'

ROBINSON ELLIS.

A. BODLEIAN MS. OF MACROBIUS.

EYSENHARDT in his edition of Macrobius has used for the *Saturnalia* only two MSS., the ninth century Bamberg MS. (containing Books I.-III. xix. 5) and the eleventh century Paris MS. (containing the whole). Prof. Goetz in his *Commentatiuncula Macrobianae* (Jena, 1890) points out the inadequacy of this material and calls the attention of future editors to a ninth century codex in the Regina collection at the Vatican, with shelf-mark Reg. lat. 1650. This codex, he shews, is closely related to the Bambergensis, and serves to correct its errors.

I should like to direct attention to a Bodleian MS. (Auct. T. II. 27). which is similarly related to the Parisinus. It is a MS. from Metz and passed from the famous Meerman collection into the Bodleian Library. In Mr. Madan's *Summary Catalogue* it is numbered 20637 and is thus described: 'Saturnalia of Macrobius, written in the 10th. century. Ends in III. iv. *propria dici theous megalous oous chris*, no more having been written... Was written by three scribes

concurrently... A facsimile of fol. 94^r is in R. Ellis' *XX Facsimiles from Latin MSS.* (Oxf. 1891).'

Its connexion with the Parisinus (*P*) may be seen from the following passages: I. vii. 28 both MSS. leave a blank space for the Greek quotation. III. init. both MSS. omit *violatum... multa*. I. iv. 7 *hostilius hosti filius P*; *hostilius hosti filium* Bodl. I. x. 13 *scortoque nobilissimum scortum intra aedem inclusisse P*: *scortoque nobilissimum id temporis scortum intra aedem inclusisse* Bodl. I. xvii. 24 *Libystinus—promuntorium Apollo om. P* Bodl. I. xviii. 6 *καβατος P* Bodl. 12 *αμενοιο P* Bodl; 22 l. 1 *παντα ιε...ιτερα P* Bodl; l. 7 *τεπολιο P* Bodl. I. xxi. 17 *vertere P* Bodl. I. xxiii. 22 *ελκαυτα P* Bodl.

It is free from a good many errors of *P*, e. g. such omissions as I. tit. *conviviorum*. I. i. 2 *omnis*. I. ii. 3 *visum*. I. iv. 24 *unicum*. I. xviii. 19 *nam...Ιαώ*; such transpositions as: I. ii. 17 *aut his aut nobis*. I. iv. 4 *nobilitate quam doctrina*. I. v. 4 *inquit*

affruistis (adfruistis inquit Bodl.); and wrong readings like: I. iv. 13 *vocata*; 18 *quoque*. I. v. 1 *utebantur*. I. ix. 14 *lumen*.

But it is inferior to *P* in such points as these: I. iii. 6 no symbol of a lacuna in Bodl. I. iv. 15 *Liberalium...non om.* Bodl., and so cannot have been the parent MS.

The curious corruption *iudicium* for *risum* in *P* at II. ii. 16 is explained by the reading of Bodl: *omnibus in censorum i. iudicarium*

(*supraser.*) *risum remissis*. In the famous passage in II. vii. 3 where Laberius' prologue is quoted, l. 15.

uno plus vixi mihi quam vivendum fuit is omitted in Bodl., as in *P*: but in Bodl. there is a sign of omission ('h') at the end of the preceding line, so that in the archetype l. 15 must have been added in the margin.

W. M. LINDSAY.

A OR AB IN HORACE, EPOD. 17. 24.

In their edition of 1864 Keller and Holder read in this passage 'nullum ab labore me reclinat otium,' and in the *Epilegomena*, p. 409, Keller says: 'Mavortius (AX'g Taurin.), überhaupt die II. Classe nebst M R L r a und Pph.' lesen a labore, die III. Classe und γ haben ab labore. Ab wird richtig sein, a falsch trotz B R und trotz Bentleys Vertheidigung. Vgl. *carm.* III 17, 1 und die Bemerkung zu *carm.* IV 10, 6.' On page 593 of the *Epilegomena*, however, Keller changes his mind and writes: 'Es ist doch mit der besseren Ueberlieferung a labore festzuhalten, vgl. *Serm.* I 1, 68 a labris,' and accordingly the edition of 1899 reads a labore.

The question cannot be settled either way by a single quotation. As regards the manuscript evidence, any reliable testimony to *ab* before a consonant is worthy of respectful consideration, especially in a classical poet, and in general the probability of a correction from *ab* to *a* in such a situation is decidedly more probable than one from *a* to *ab*.¹ Moreover, since Keller and Holder's Third Class preserves the original orthography with more fidelity than the other two (see ed. of 1899, p. lxxxii), there is a considerable weight of testimony in favour of *ab*, for the question is after all one of orthography, like that of the assimilation and non-assimilation of prepositions in composition.

As regards Horace's usage, he has *a* before consonants 20 times, and, exclusive of the case under consideration, *ab* 5 times, 'ab Iove,' C. 1. 28. 29: and *Epist.* 1. 12. 3; 'ab se,' C. 3. 5. 43; 'ab dis,' C. 3. 16. 22; 'ab Lamo,' C. 3. 17. 1. That is, he uses *ab*

before *i cons.*, *d*, *l* and *s*. He is consistent in using *ab* only in the case of *i cons.*, and there for a special reason. The formula 'ab Iove' is of very frequent occurrence, even in writers who otherwise use *a* before *i cons.* Ovid has the formula 8 times out of 10 exceptions to the rule of using *a* before consonants; Virgil has it 5 times. On such formular expressions in general see *Archiv für lat. Lex. und Gramm.* x, p. 468 ff. 'Ab dis, ab Lamo,' and perhaps 'ab se,' may also be regarded as formular. Horace has 'a labris,' *Serm.* 1. 1. 68: 'a domo,' C. 4. 5. 12; 'a sole,' *Serm.* 1. 4. 29.

In favour of *a labore* it may be said, that all the other instances of *ab* before consonants in Horace occur in his later writings. Similar changes of usage are seen in Cicero, who gradually discards the use of *ab* before consonants, and in Tacitus, who has 38 cases of *ab* before consonants, of which 33 are in the *Annals*. But on the other hand, 4 of Horace's 5 cases are in his lyric poetry, and the only one in his hexameters is the common formula 'ab Iove.' *Ab labore* occurs in Terence, *And.* 78, and *Hec. pr.*, ii 23, *Caes. B. G.* 3. 26. 2. Terence always uses *ab* before *l* and in Caesar the proportion of *ab* to *a* is 20:8.

While the evidence cannot perhaps be regarded as conclusive, it seems decidedly to favour *ab labore*. Certainly Keller's published reason for changing his mind does not appear an adequate one. It may be added that 'Bentleys Vertheidigung' consists merely of the remark: 'Sed parvi interest: neque tantillam ob causam editiones convellendae sunt,' a statement not in accordance with modern views on the subject. Keller's 'Bemerkung zu *carm.* IV 10, 6' appears to have no bearing on the question at issue.

JOHN C. ROLFE.

University of Michigan.

¹ Keller himself (*Epileg.* p. 469, on *minitaris-miniteris*) rightly favours this general principle: 'ceteris paribus müsste das viel seltenere *cum* mit dem Indicativ dem häufigen *cum* mit Coniunctiv vorgezogen werden'; and so *passim*.

THE COMPARATIVE FREQUENCY OF *ANTEQUAM* AND *PRIUSQUAM*.

IN Mueller's *Handbuch, zweiter Band, Seite, 344, §262*, Stolz and Schmalz say that *antequam* is used much less frequently than *priusquam*. While I have not investigated this subject as fully as I would like, nevertheless my researches along this line lead me to believe that the above statement is too strong, especially for authors from Caesar down. I add some of the results I have obtained. True, in Caesar's entire works *antequam* occurs but 3 times (B.C. 1. 2: 1. 11. 2: 3. 11. 1) while *priusquam* occurs 36 times (B.G. 1. 19: 1. 43: 1. 44: 1. 53: 2. 12: 2. 32: 3. 10: 3. 18: 3. 26: 4. 4: 4. 12: 4. 14: 5. 27: 6. 3: 6. 5: 6. 30: 6. 37: 7. 25: 7. 36: 7. 47: 7. 56: 7. 71: 7. 78: 7. 82: B.C. 1. 22: 1. 28: 1. 41: 1. 54: 1. 67: 2. 14: 2. 34: 3. 7: 3. 11: 3. 67: 3. 100: 3. 109:). Out of 104 examples from Cicero 69 have *antequam* and 35 *priusquam*, a proportion of 2-1 in favor of *antequam*. (I do not consider it necessary to quote these.) Out of 78 examples from Livy, 23 have *antequam* and 52 *priusquam*, a proportion of about 2-1 in favor of *priusquam*.

I have examined the entire works of Tacitus, Sallust, Suetonius, Pliny the Younger, Nepos and Boetius, with the following results. Tacitus has *antequam* 25 times (Ann. 2. 73: 4. 46: 4. 67: 6. 23: 12. 5: 15. 39: 15. 74: Hist. 1. 4: 1. 7: 1. 33: 1. 67: 1. 74: 2. 6: 2. 35: 2. 96: 3. 15: 3. 70: 4. 25: 4. 52: 4. 60: 4. 79: 4. 85: Ger. 13: Dial. de Or. 5. 27.) *priusquam* 4 times (Ann. 4. 39: 13. 20: 14. 31: Hist. 5. 5), a proportion of 6-1 in favor of *antequam*. Sallust has *antequam* 3 times (Cat. 36. Jug. 76: 97) *priusquam* 14 times (Cat. 1. 6: 4. 5: 13. 3: 32: 44: 51 (line 103): Jug. 5: 20: 25: 35: 44: 54: 59: 97); here a proportion of about 5-1 in favor of *priusquam*. Suetonius has *antequam* 10 times (Aug. 94: 101: Julius 18: 67: Tib. 14: 18: Cal. 1: 28: 44: Claud. 12) *priusquam* 17 times (Jul. 44: Aug. 4: 16: 19: 35: 43: 74: 76: Tib. 2: 20: 22: 67: Cal. 3: 9: 12: Gal. 11: Otho 2), a proportion of about 8-5 in favor of *priusquam*. Pliny the Younger has *antequam* 17 times (Epist. 1. 16. 1: 1. 16. 7: 3. 9. 25: 5. 18. 1: 6. 23. 4: 8. 14. 4: 8. 14. 5: 8. 20. 9: Traiani Ep. 81. 1: 118. 2: Pan. 10: 21. 26: 64: 69: 92: 95), *priusquam* 3 times (Epist. 5. 9. 4: 5. 13. 5: 8. 20. 8), a proportion of about 6-1 in favor of *antequam*. Stolz and Schmalz further say that

Nepos does not use *antequam* at all, but if 4. 5. 2 does not use *antequam*, I would like to know what it is; itaque paucis ante gradibus, quam qui eum sequebantur, in aedem Minervae . . . confugit. Nepos has *priusquam* 25 times (1. 5. 4: 2. 7. 3: 2. 8. 4: 3. 2: 4. 4. 3: 7. 3. 2: 10. 4. 4: 10. 8. 5: 11. 2. 5: 12. 2. 2: 14. 3. 1: 14. 11. 5: 15. 2. 2: 15. 3. 3: 15. 8. 4: 15. 9. 1: 17. 2. 2: 18. 3. 6: 18. 4. 2: 18. 8. 6: 20. 3. 5: 23. 1. 3: 23. 7. 6: 25. 11. 6: 25. 21. 4:) a proportion of 25-1 in favor of *priusquam*. Boetius has *antequam* once (contra Etychen. 8. 30) *priusquam* 5 times (Phil. Cons. 2. 3. 18: 5. 3. 103: 5. 4. 51: 5. 4. 55: 5. 6. 119: 5. 6. 125), a proportion of 5-1 in favor of *priusquam*. Thus after taking some of the most prolific users of *priusquam* the proportion of all that I have used summed together is only about 3-1 in favor of *priusquam*, which beyond doubt must modify the statement of Stolz and Schmalz greatly, for instead of being used much more than *antequam*, in the authors I have examined it is used but 3 times more.

N. WILBUR HELM.

DE PAUW UNIVERSITY,
GREENCASTLE, IND.

Since writing the above I have been informed that Stolz and Schmalz have, in the third edition of their grammar, modified their statement made in the second edition in regard to the comparative frequency of *antequam* and *priusquam*. To the careful student of these words there can be no other conclusion than that *antequam* is used practically as often as *priusquam*, especially in authors later than Caesar, and in some of these, as Cicero, Tacitus, Pliny the Younger, Seneca the Philosopher, and Velleius Paterculus *antequam* exceeds *priusquam* by large proportions. In fact several writers use *priusquam* often as a second choice or a substitute in the event of a close repetition of the 'before' idea, in order that variety of expression may thus be secured.

My more recent investigations into the use of these words have carried me through Valerius Maximus, Velleius Paterculus and Eutropius in their entirety, the twelve 'Dialogues' of Seneca the Philosopher, and the 'Ad Familiares' of Cicero, for their use in Epistolary Latin. I have myself been

somewhat surprised at the frequency of *antequam* in these authors, selected for no other reason than the variety of style employed by them. The results of my investigations are hereby given. In the 'Ad Familiares' of *Cicero* *antequam* occurs 23 times (2. 2. 2. 19. 1. 3. 5. 4. 3. 6. 2. 3. 7. 3. 3. 9. 1. 4. 4. 3. 7. 14. 1. 9. 10. 3. 9. 14. 3. 9. 15. 4. 10. 3. 2. 10. 4. 1. 10. 16. 2. 10. 33. 2. 11. 5. 2. 11. 13a. 4. 12. 18. 1. 13. 17. 2. 15. 16. 1. 15. 21. 2. 16. 14. 1. 16. 23. 2.) *priusquam* 16 times (3. 7. 2. 4. 11. 1. 6. 18. 5. 7. 23. 4. 8. 11. 3. 8. 16. 4. 9. 21. 1. 9. 26. 1. 10. 8. 1. 10. 18. 3. 10. 20. 2. 10. 21. 6. 11. 13a. 2. 11. 20. 2. 12. 14. 5. 13. 1. 6.); a proportion of 3-2 in favour of *antequam*. *Valerius Maximus* has *antequam* 10 times (2. 2. 1. 2. 6. 2. 3. 2. 22. 3. 4. 5. 4. 4. 9. 4. 5. Ext. 1. 5. 8. 3. 8. 13. Ext. 1. 9. 1. Ext. 2. 9. 3. 1.) *priusquam* 25 times (1. 6. 3. 1. 6. Ext. 1. 1. 7. 4. 1. 7. Ext. 2. 2. 6. 16. 2. 8. 2. 3. 2. Ext. 5. 3. 7. 1. 1c. 3. 8. 3. 3. 8. Ext. 4. 4. 1. 2. 4. 1. 13. 6. 4. 3. 6. 4. 5. 6. 6. Ext. 2. 7. 2. Ext. 5. 7. 3. 1. 7. 3. 7. 7. 4. 4. 7. 4. Ext. 2. 8. 7. Ext. 15. 9. 2. 1. 9. 3. Ext. 4. 9. 12. Ext. 7. 9. 13. 3.); a proportion of 5-2 in favour of *priusquam*. *Antequam* is found in *Velleius Paterculus* 22 times (1. 6. 4. 1. 7. 3. 1. 8. 1. 1. 12. 5. 1. 12. 6. 1. 12. 7. 1. 15. 3. 2. 28. 1. 2. 30. 2. 2. 45. 5. 2. 48. 2. 2. 49. 1. 2. 49. 3. 2. 54. 2. 2. 62. 1. 2. 65. 2. 2. 84. 1. 2. 87. 3. 2. 93. 1. 2. 104. 4. 2. 115. 4. 2.

129. 5.) *priusquam* 2 times (1. 10. 2. 2. 42. 3.) giving a proportion of 11-1 in favour of *antequam*. *Seneca* in his twelve 'Dialogues' uses *antequam* 23 times (de Ira, 1. 11. 4. 1. 11. 5.: 2. 3. 3. 2. 26. 3. 2. 29. 3 [3 times]: 3. 8. 8.: 3. 10. 4. ad Marc. de Cons. 9. 1.: de vita beata 20. 5.: de tranq. an. 11. 8.: de brev. vit. 9. 5.: 20. 3.: ad Poly. de Cons. 3. 3.: 4. 3.: 9. 2.: 9. 7.: 10. 3.: 12. 5.: ad Helv. Matr. de Cons. 5. 3.: 15. 2.: 16. 7.) *priusquam* 3 times (de Prov. 8. 1.: de Ira, 2. 12. 2.: ad Marc. de Cons. 11. 1.) giving a proportion of 8-1 in favour of *antequam*. In all *Eutropius* *antequam* occurs but once (4. 6) *priusquam* not at all. The sum of these proportions results in a proportion of 7-3 in favour of *antequam*. Then if we take the sum of this proportion of 7-3, which is deduced from some of the most prolific users of *antequam*, and of the proportion of 3-1 in favour of *priusquam*, deduced in the former investigations from some of the most prolific users of *priusquam*, we secure a conservative average of 4-3 in favour of *antequam*. I believe that the final proportion which will be secured from the use of these words in all the writers, will not vary greatly from the proportion given above, at least it will be of such a character as to render impossible any such a rash statement as Stolz and Schmalz made in their second edition.

N. WILBUR HELM.

NOTES.

ON TYRTAEUS, 'Εμβατήρια, 2, 2.—The expression κοῦροι πατέρων is commonly translated 'sons worthy of your fathers.' May it not really mean 'genuine citizens' in contradistinction to the εἰλωτες, etc.? Cf. the phrase πατροῦχος παρθένος; also the Latin 'patricii,' father's children, i.e. children begotten in legal wedlock, genuine Roman citizens inasmuch as they alone in the eye of the law had a father (v. Mommsen, Bk. I. ch. v.).

Moreover note that it is immediately followed by πολιῆται in apposition to it.

It is true that the latter is altered by editors into πολιητᾶν, but this emendation is not only unwarranted by MS. authority, but also, in my opinion, quite unnecessary. The original text runs:—

Ἄγετ', ὃ Σπάρτας εὐάνδρου,
κοῦροι πατέρων, πολιῆται.

This is the text that Dio Chrysostomus (i. 92, Rsk.) and Tzetzes (Chil. i. 26, v. 692 seqq.) had before them, and, to my mind, it is perfectly intelligible.

Thiersch was the first to emend, or rather alter it into

Ἄγετ', ὃ Σπάρτας πολιῆται,
κοῦροι πατέρων εὐάνδρων.

Hermann did not consider the text as standing in absolute need of correction and, accepting it as it was, explained the phrase κοῦροι πατέρων as 'digni patribus filii,' quoting Soph. *El.* 365. But in commenting on Thiersch's emendation he proposes one of his own: 'Quod si tamen aliquid mutandum sit, longe facillima in promptu est correctio:

Ἄγετ', ὃ Σπάρτας εὐάνδρου
κοῦροι πατέρων πολιητᾶν.'

This emendation reluctantly proposed by its author, was eagerly embraced by his followers, and has found its way in most modern editions of the fragments of Tyrtæus. Schneidewin, however, retains the original text (v. *Delectus Poetarum Elegiacorum Graecorum*, Göttingae, 1838).

G. F. ABBOTT.

EMENDATION OF PLATO, PHILEBUS, 17 E.—The text of this passage as printed by Mr. R. G. Bury in his recent edition is as follows:—*ὅταν γὰρ ταῦτά τε λάβῃς οὕτως, τότε ἐγένου σοφός, ὅταν τε ἄλλο τῶν ὄντων ἐν ὁτιοῦν ταύτῃ σκοπούμενος ἔλῃς, οὕτως ἔμφρων περὶ τοῦτο γέγονας.* Radham brackets *οὕτως*—*γέγονας*, partly on the ground that 'the antithesis between *τότ'* *ἐγένου σοφός* and *ἔμφρων γέγονας* is a poor verbal contrivance,' and partly because 'the tenses are strangely chosen, *ὅταν λάβῃς, ἐγένου*—*ὅταν ἔλῃς, γέγονας*.' I can see no point in the first objection, but the second is relevant, and Mr. Bury justly observes that 'there is some cause for suspicion both in *οὕτως* and *γέγονας* after the aorist.'

Radham's remedy is unsatisfactory on other grounds, and also because it leaves *ἔλῃς* untouched. Does Plato ever use *ἐλεῖν* in this way as the equivalent of *λαβεῖν*? I think not. We ought, I believe, to read *ἔλῃς* for *ἔλῃς*. As *ἔχω* with this meaning is the perfect of *λαμβάνω*, the tenses fall into their proper sequence *ὅταν λάβῃς, ἐγένου*—*ὅταν ἔλῃς, γέγονας*, and the meaning appears to me just right.

J. ADAM.

* * *

AUGUSTINIAN READINGS IN CICERO AND PLINY.

Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.* i. § 26.—Augustine, *Epist.* 118, 24 quotes 'neque sensum...sentiret,' and in § 25 quotes from 'Deinde' to 'nominetur.' Goldbacher's MSS. of this letter (see his edition in the Vienna Corpus, vol. 34, 1898) are six in number, Monacensis (saec. X.), Audomaropolitanus (saec. X.–XI.), Parisinus (saec. XI.), Mus. Brit. (saec. XI.–XII.), another Parisinus (saec. XII.), and Vaticanus (saec. XIII.). The MSS. are unanimous in giving the following readings different from those adopted by C. F. W.

Müller. I append, from Mayor's edition, other authorities which show the Augustinian reading. Schwenk's apparatus criticus (in *Classical Review*, 1890) has nothing bearing on these points. I quote by the page and line of Müller.

p. 13, 18 ipsa] tota.

p. 13, 19 istam] ipsam: so the Roman edition of 1471 (Swainson in Mayor).

" " uoluit esse] esse uoluit: so Erlangensis (according to Goldbacher), and Harleian MS. 2465, of late fifteenth century (Swainson in Mayor).

It will be for Ciceronian specialists to determine what sort of a text Augustine had before him.

Pliny, *H.N.* v. 23.—*Tria promunturia...duo efficiunt sinus, Hipponensem proximum ab oppido cet.*

Hipponensem, Na. *Hipponiensem*, RAd. *Hippomenensem*, P. *Hipponiensium*, D.

Such is the ordinary text, with the apparatus critics of Sillig subjoined. The MSS. of Augustine, older and better than those of Pliny, especially in the early books of the 'Natural History,' almost invariably read *Hipponiensis*. Witness the following passages in Goldbacher's admirable critical edition of Augustine's *Epistles* (*Vienna Corpus Scriptorum Eccl. Lat.*) 32, 2; 57, 2; 86; 111, 1; 112, 3; 115; 118, 9: Goldbacher, too, courageously prints the form on his title-pages. The inscriptions (*C.I.L.* viii.) are unanimously in favour of it. See, too, the geographical index to Mommsen's *Chronica Minora* (in vol. iii. 1898). Henceforth, in all editions and lexicons, the form *Hipponensis* must give place to *Hipponiensis*, formed like *Carthaginiensis* (from Carthagin-), *Atheniensis* (from Athen-), and *Corinthiensis* (from Corinth-).

A. SOUTER.

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OXFORD PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

At a meeting of the Oxford Philological Society held on Friday May 18, the following communications were made.

Professor ROBINSON ELLIS proposed an emendation of Statius *Silvae* v. iii. 93, 4, (above p. 259).

The Rev. G. C. RICHARDS proposed an explanation of the inscription of the so-called Aristonophos vase from Caere in the Capitoline Museum in Rome. The vase is commonly regarded as of Minor-Asian fabric, and of not less than seventh century date. The inscription, which is written from right to left, reads *ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝΟΦΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ*, and the name has been interpreted variously as *Ἀρίστων* ὁ *Φώς* (for *Κάως*), *Ἀριστόλοφος*, *Ἀριστόνοθος*, or *Ἀριστόνοφος*. Mr. Richards, arguing from the inexperience indicated by the writing of *ἐποίησεν* (which cannot be a dialect form) for *ἐποίησεν*, suggested that the letter *⓪* between the two *omicrons* may be a slip on the part of the writer; and that having written one *omicron* too many, he simply cancelled it by a stroke of the brush. Such forms as *ἐποίησεν* are not uncommon and afford some support to this view. The name should therefore be read *Ἀριστόνο[ο]ς*.

Mr. J. L. MYRES offered an explanation of the Homeric catch-line:

καὶ διὰ θάρηκος ποδὺδαῖδ' αὖλ' ἡρήρειστο,

which he agreed with Dr. Reichel in regarding as an interpolation in the passages in which it now stands, intended to elucidate the course of the Homeric combats to a later audience which was accustomed to the use of the bronze *θάρηξ* of the Hellenic hoplite-armour. Mr. Myres pointed out that the word *θάρηξ* originally means merely the chest, and *θωρήσσεσθαι* (as in the *Odyssey*) merely 'to put on body-clothes: (2) that the phrase *πολυδαῖδ' αὖλ'* is inapplicable to the solid metal *θάρηξ* of the hoplite-equipment, and, like *παναίολος*, must be referred to some sort of scale armour: (3) that such scale armour was worn in Mykenaean times along with the body-shield, and that examples of it are represented by the clothing of the men on the 'Warrior vase' from Mykenai and by the numerous gold discs, perforated to be sewn upon a garment, which were found by Schliemann in the 'Shaft graves.' He concluded therefore that the Homeric catch-line was not necessarily itself of late composition, but was more probably a tag from an earlier stratum of Epic, which lent itself to a new interpretation in the mouth of rhapsodists who were familiar only with the hoplite-armour.

REVIEWS.

DILL'S ROMAN SOCIETY.

Roman Society in the last century of the Western Empire. By SAMUEL DILL, M.A., Professor of Greek in Queen's College, Belfast; sometime Fellow and Tutor of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Second edition, revised. London: Macmillan. 495 pages. Price 8s. 6d. net.

It is gratifying that Professor Dill's work, which is important both for the points of view presented and for the accuracy of its details, should so soon have reached a second edition. The period to which it refers is, for all those who have studied it at all, a most interesting one, full of parallels with the conditions prevalent at the present day. It is the great merit of this book that the interest will be brought home by it to a much wider circle of readers than have hitherto felt its influence. The author's aim is to discover 'how men lived and what were their thoughts and private fortunes during this period of momentous change.' Several circumstances combine to make the task far from easy. In the first place, the materials are, as Professor Dill remarks, widely scattered. They belong also to two great groups, Christian and non-Christian, and writers have been apt to confine themselves to one or other of the two. The classical scholar has been in the habit of reading Claudian and Ausonius, perhaps also Rutilius, and of treating them out of relation to their environment; or, so far as he has endeavoured to reconstruct that environment, he has been apt to overlook the really valuable evidence to be gained from writings like S. Jerome's letters, which have been left to the department of the theologian. Those interested in theological questions have not been equally neglectful of the pagan sources, but their works have been unjustly ignored by many of those who approach the subject from the opposite side. Professor Dill has succeeded in utilizing all that is most important for his purpose, whether Christian or not. Then again, the historian of this period requires wide sympathies of a rather unusual kind. He has not only to feel interest both in Christian dogmatic controversialists of various types and also in Julian's attempted reaction and its

following; he has also to bear with those whose conduct was less heroic and who gave a half-hearted adhesion to the dominant side. Professor Dill disclaims any intention of dealing with the general history of the time; yet this cannot fail to be present as a background, and it is no small thing that men of such different types as Symmachus, S. Ambrose, Stilicho, Rutilius, Sidonius, are all presented to us, when there is occasion to refer to them, in a just and favourable light.

Yet even for one who is prepared to use every kind of available material and to treat the sources with sufficient sympathy to extract the utmost from them, the problem remains a hard one. How are we to tell how men lived and what they thought, at this time? The historian of an obscure period, when he finds himself unable to provide an answer to his main question as a whole, will show his ingenuity by dividing it and selecting such portions of it as admit of an answer, in the hope that he may be able ultimately to effect something towards a complete answer by putting these partial answers together. In the Five Books of this work, Professor Dill asks practically five such partial questions.

(1) What were the causes of the continued vitality of Paganism in spite of militant Christianity and of severe penal laws? As to the *fact* we have abundant evidence: in the openly pagan sympathies of a large number of the Senate at a time when we should least expect it, in the frequent though ineffective pagan revivals, in the aggressively pagan character of many among the most distinguished Imperial officials, in the 'latent force of pagan sentiment' to which witness is borne by the *De Civitate Dei* and the History of Orosius, as well as by the respectful treatment with which paganism meets in many of the writings of S. Augustine and in some even of S. Jerome. Unfortunately, the *causes* are not easy to discover, and perhaps Professor Dill does little more than illustrate the fact from various sides. If Imperial edicts against paganism had to be administered by pagan governors, they may well have produced little effect; but why were those governors pagans? The approach

of paganism to Christianity, though Mithra or Isis as interpreted by philosophers, may help to lessen our surprise at an enthusiasm which the Roman state religion (in the form which it had long since assumed) could not have inspired, but why, if the two were in some respects so similar, did many prefer Mithraism to Christianity, in spite of obvious reasons for preferring the latter? The past history of Rome and the continuity of tradition accounts for something; but S. Augustine at least was a good Roman patriot. To many persons, especially those who pride themselves on intellectual eminence, the fact that a religion is adopted by the masses of the people, is in itself a reason for not adopting it; this aristocratic feeling, strong enough among ourselves, was perhaps still stronger in Rome. And, in spite of our abundant evidence, may not that evidence (if the expression be allowed) be in excess of the fact? The opposition to the early Roman Empire plays a large part in the literary tradition of that epoch, yet it is fairly certain that that opposition was not only ineffective but insignificant in extent; may it not be the case that we hear more of paganism than we ought, owing to the accident that many of the writers on whom we are compelled to draw, were pagan or semi-pagan in sympathy? Perhaps Professor Dill might have developed more fully points such as these, though he hints at them in his work.

(2) What was the moral state of society at this time? The denunciations of Ammianus, S. Jerome, or Salvian, suggest the question whether, if Christianity had really so little moral effect on society, we may not find here another reason for the permanence of pagan sentiment? Men of high ideals might possibly give up old associations for the sake of a real moral reformation; but what were the signs that such a moral reformation would take place? Our impression is modified when we turn to Symmachus, Ausonius, Paulinus of Pella, and Sidonius. Professor Dill gives a most interesting account of the light thrown by their works on this question, and it is clear that individual morality stands in most respects on as high a level as would be revealed by almost any other stage of social history about which we might happen to have similar information, and that abnormal vice is rare. At the same time we discover from these writings an almost startling absence of interest in the great political events of the time, although three out of the four authors are in various degrees

politicians. On the other hand, Christian asceticism (which, if not in S. Jerome himself, at any rate in some even of his immediate followers, takes a practically Manichaean form) is beginning, in its despair of a speedy reformation of the world, to exalt retirement from active life and to draw off many of the best and highest-minded men from their proper sphere in the business of the state.

(3) We need not look further, in order to face the third question: how came the administration of the Empire to fail so completely? If literary studies and solitary retirement absorb the whole interest of so many men, pressing political problems are neglected by both classes; mercantile and commercial pursuits called for a thorough and systematic reorganisation, but the state occupies itself with precautions to prevent the attempts of the mercantile and commercial class to evade the impossible regulations which the state has itself imposed. This period only requires to be known to provide the economist with some of his most striking lessons on the dangers of governmental interference with the normal development of social and commercial facts, and to warn socialists that a state-system, however carefully contrived, is of little value unless it is met and supplemented by patriotic impulses in the individual and a zeal for the common good. To the high-minded character of the government during the greater part of the century under consideration and of Majorian in particular, Prof. Dill does full justice, and this portion of his book may be selected, especially in the dearth of English literature on the subject, as that from which the scholar will gain most.

(4) Was the distinction between Roman and barbarian an ultimate one and felt to be such those who lived in this period? A careful analysis shows this to be by no means the case: while the Romans have become very cosmopolitan, the barbarians are above all things desirous to stand well with the great power, and to act as its servants. If there is little that is new in Prof. Dill's Fourth Book, which deals to a large extent with purely political history, yet the selection of events is good and the presentation of them is always interesting. We are left, however, with the disappointed feeling (produced by most modern works on this subject) that the simplest and most natural conception of the fall of the Western Empire has been removed and that nothing has been substituted in its place.

(5) What were the vital elements of Roman culture at this period? The literary student, interested in the historical development of his subject, will find much useful matter in the answer to this question. All such students know that this was an age of extreme conservatism, with a mania for style and with small success in its cultivation, exhibiting a sound taste in the choice of its favourite poets, if not of its prose writers, boasting of simplicity, yet absorbed in artificiality; but they will find these general characteristics illustrated here from a wide field, and also a collection of references which ought to lead to the increased study (to mention only English works) of Prof. Nettleship's *Lectures and Essays* and Mr. Capes' brilliant lectures on *University Life in Ancient Athens*.

Apart from a good deal of repetition, which was perhaps unavoidable, there is little fault to find with Prof. Dill's carefully constructed answers to these questions; but has he shown what result these answers give with reference to the whole question

before him? In a sense his work may be said rather to provide materials for the investigation of men's lives and thoughts during this epoch than to conduct such an investigation. Probably an author of Prof. Dill's literary skill, with his great knowledge of the available literature, will be able to do more in the future towards telling us 'how men lived and what their thoughts were' during his century, and his wide sympathies might help him to work out the parallels between the last century of the Western Empire and our own day with great advantage to contemporary social philosophy.

A table of dates has been prefixed to the second edition, forming a useful addition to a book dealing with a period the events of which are so little known to the general reader. The work has been carefully revised; the references, a valuable feature, have been improved in some details, and the whole, apart from a few quite unimportant misprints, is remarkably accurate and free from blemish.

P. V. M. BENECKE.

ROTHERT'S KARTEN UND SKIZZEN.

PROF. E. ROTHERT, *Karten und Skizzen aus der Geschichte des Altertums*. [Düsseldorf, 1897. Reissue.] 5 m.

THE combination of a brief abstract of the history of a period or a movement with a clearly drawn and well coloured map, letterpress and map sharing the same face of the same sheet of paper,—this is the plan of Dr. Rothert. His aim is given in the words 'zur raschen und sichern Einprägung,' and few will deny that the aim is successfully achieved.

The maps are admirably clear and often very helpful. Those illustrative of the Second Punic War may be cited as instances. But it may be doubted whether it was necessary to add a plan of the battle of Cannae: and whether the one given is on the whole the most probable, is a further question. To me it seems that the insertion of battle-plans is a mistake. They are all very well in an exhaustive work, but this the book before us does not pretend to be. The case is different with the plan of the manipular legion given in No 14 'das Kriegswesen.' Here important principles are made clear by a judicious use of diagrams and colour.

The letterpress is generally remarkable for compressing much information into a small space. The selection is for the most part judicious, not seldom excellent. Yet there are places where it may fairly be thought that the true historical perspective would be better preserved by a different choice. For instance in No 10 we find the heading 'Thebens kurzdauernde Blüte.' This is divided into 'Thebens Emporkommen 379/361' and 'die Schlacht bei Leuktra 371,' the latter with a plan. That Thebes, oligarchic by natural bent, became democratic for a time out of sheer hatred of Sparta, seems to be ignored. That she went on to impose in her hour of triumph democratic constitutions upon non-democratic states such as the Achaean cities (Xen. *hell.* vii 1 §§ 42-3) of course is ignored also. Yet that such was Theban policy, and that too in defiance of the wishes of Epameinondas, is perhaps the most significant fact in the post-Leuktran history of Thebes. It illustrates her unfitness to be a leader in Hellas: it leads up to what is the next heading on the same page, 'Philipp und die Griechen,' in a way that an account of the battle of Leuktra, however good, does not and cannot do.

A good instance of a bold and useful map is No 11 dealing with the empire and career of Alexander the Great. It is, however, desirable to remember that the actual empire of Alexander existed only for a moment. On the other hand the kingdoms of the Successors, after the wars of settlement, did attain considerable permanence, and were important factors in Roman policy for 150 years. Rightly therefore does Freeman in his *Historical Geography* give a map [vi] of the four great kingdoms about 300 B.C., and call particular attention to them in maps iv, viii. But Dr. Rothert, I regret to say, gives no map of the great Successor-kingdoms in their prime. And, when he comes (No 19) to 'die Unterdrückung der Diadochenreiche,' his maps merely illustrate the campaigns in several important wars. Egypt and the Syrian part of the Seleukid realm do not come in at all. And the maps of the Mithridatic wars do not help matters.

It seems a pity too that the last map of the Roman Empire is merely devoted to

showing its extent in 117 A.D. Of the various administrative subdivisions, of the tendency of East and West to part company, of the gradual falling-away of the provinces, of the short-lived recovery of some of them under Justinian, there is no recognition whatever.

In short, while this book is a most elegant and attractive companion in the reading of the ancient writers (or some of them), it is not possible to regard it as seriously concerned with history as history. And it is not only fair but necessary to say this, for the volume is only the first of a series reaching down to modern times. Dr. Rothert has laid us under an obligation by the production of so well-executed a collection of maps. I only wish that he would modify his selection of subjects in a more strictly historical spirit and thus increase the utility of what is undoubtedly an excellent design.

W. E. HEITLAND.

GUDEMAN'S *LATIN LITERATURE OF THE EMPIRE*, VOL. II.

Latin Literature of the Empire. Selected and edited, with revised texts and with brief introductions by ALFRED GUDEMAN, University of Pennsylvania. Vol. II. Poetry. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers.) Pp. x, 494. Price \$1. 80.

THIS is a companion volume to the Prose selection reviewed in the *Classical Review* of last year, and follows the same plan. A brief account of the contents may be of interest.

The *Pseudo-Virgilian* poems come first: the *Culex*, *Copa*, *Moretum*, and *Lydia* are given in full, and there are four extracts (about one-third of the work) from the *Aetna*, including the introduction and the episode of the *Pii Fratres*. Of *Manilius* over 1,100 lines are printed; the selections include the introductions to the first four books, the description of the milky way and the comets, and the myth of *Perseus* and *Andromeda*. *Phaedrus* is represented by about a third of his works. *Seneca* is well represented—especially his *Agamemnon*, of which 500 continuous lines are given. The next longest selection is one of about 300 lines from the *Troades*. Several of the

well-known choruses are given (e.g. the 'ultima Thule' passage from the *Medea*, and the one on the power of love from the *Phaedra*). In all there are about 1,400 lines. The *Octavia* is given entire, but later, as post-Senecan. *Persius'* prologue, with the first and fifth satires follow. From *Lucan* we have about one-seventh of the *Pharsalia*. The selections given are: the introduction (l. 1-182), the conference between *Brutus* and *Cato*, the mutiny of *Caesar's* troops, the first 300 lines of the 7th book, and *Pompey's* murder, with the lament of *Cornelia*, and *Cato's* eulogy of his fallen leader. Next come the third and sixth eclogues of *Calpurnius*, with which is the fourth of *Nemesianus*, and the *Octavia*, as explained above. About an eighth of the work of *Silius* is given, including almost the whole of book 3 (except the catalogue), the episode before *Cannae* in which a son kills his father, the eulogy of *Ennius* in the 12th book, and the first 150 of the 15th. From *Valerius* we have the parting scene and council of the gods from the 1st book, the *Hesione* episode from the 2nd, the *Medea*-scenes from the 6th and the first 520 lines of the 7th. This is about a sixth of the whole work. *Statius* is represented by

5 siluae (the psittacus, Lucani genethliacon, and prayer for sleep among them), 180 lines of the Thebais (Parthenopaeus' parting from his mother, and the grove of sleep) and all but the last 150 of the Achilleis. Of *Martial* about 850 lines are given, books one and ten having the lion's share. Of the apophoreta only those of literary interest are cited. Of *Juvenal* we have all but 40 lines of sat. 1 and the whole of satires 3, 7, 10 and 14. The *Pervigilium Veneris* is printed next. The *Ausonius* selections are: the introduction of himself to his readers, the first part of the ephemeris, the stenographer, the poems on the deaths of his father and his wife, the Minervius poem, the protrepticon to his grandson, and the Mosella in full—in all, a little over 800 lines. From *Claudian* we have three of the shorter poems, the beginning of I. in Rufinum, the preface to III. de consulatu Stilichonis, the gigantomachia and the whole of the de raptu Proserpinae—nearly 1,500 lines.

Different editors would no doubt make different selections, but there is very little that one would wish changed in the one before us. As the editor felt bound to include Juvenal, it seems a pity that he gave none of the sixth satire a place here. But surely it would have been better to consult practical utility rather than academic completeness and exclude both Juvenal and Martial. The latter has been 'selected' often enough. There is too much of Valerius' seventh book: at least, what has been printed seems to have made it impossible to give the description of Jason's fulfilment of Aetes' demands, and the account of the actual winning of the fleece in the next book. And Statius' Thebais hardly gets its rights. The fact is, too much space is occupied by the 'perpetui nunquam moritura uolumina Sili,' who does not deserve, in a book of this kind, the respect he must receive in a Corpus.

I would fain believe that a mere selection of this kind will have a very stimulating effect upon those who have not hitherto read these later Latin authors, but I find it hard to do so. What seems to me a real desideratum is an edition with explanatory notes, and these brief. At present, generally speaking, the editions to be used are plain texts or voluminous modern or sixteenth and seventeenth century editions. Even Langen's Valerius is greatly spoiled by long lexicographical notes (quite useless to those who, not having yet read that author, wish to amend their ways) and ex-

planations of points that an intelligent reader can easily settle for himself. Whether Professor Gudeman intends to add a volume of explanatory notes I do not know, but there is no hint of it in the preface. Indeed he has not taken such pains with this volume as lead one to expect it. The apparatus criticus seems to me too brief: yet it is certainly not reliable. It purports to give 'the more important deviations' from the 'basic texts,' the reading adopted by Professor Gudeman standing first, in a bracket, and the letter ω being added in case of its being supported by the reading 'unius codicis uel plurimorum.' I have tested it in reference to four authors, in whom I take special interest, with these results. For Persius only three variants are recorded, two of them of no more importance than the variation of 'tu' for 'tum' and 'et' for 'ast.' Much more important are 1. 57 where 'protenso' is read, whilst Jahn-Buecheler 1893, the basic text, has 'propenso,' 5. 59 'fregerit' (J.-B. 'fecerit'), 176 'ducit' (J.-B. 'tollit'), of all which the apparatus says nothing. One of the notes is actually wrong: 'tu ω tun' should mean that J.-B. reads 'tun' in 5. 146, which is not the case, as it has 'tu.' The same kind of mistake occurs on Lucan, 7. 130. The note is 'mortis ω et mors.' But the basic text (Hosius) has the same reading as Professor Gudeman. Again, on 179 of the same book, we have: 'ululare patres et sanguinis ω patres et cunctas.' To say nothing of the way in which Hosius' reading is stated (as if, where our editor has 'ululare,' Hosius had nothing), the addition of ω is wrong here. No MS. reads 'ululare,' a correction of Oudendorp's, in 179, though in 180 MVU have it, and Professor Gudeman seems to have confused the two facts. In this last line (180) Professor Postgate's correction 'dementibus' is accepted, but wrongly printed as two words. Much the same has happened in regard to Valerius 7. 230. Here Professor Gudeman cites my suggestion 'cluseris,' as though it were his adopted reading, before the basic 'cluserit.' As he does not cite the rest of my conjecture, and 'cluseris' is nonsense without a further change (as Mr. Bury has seen) I turned with curiosity to the text, where I found, after all, the basic text holding its own! Ten lines below is this line:

i precor atque uanum pro me dimitte timorem

where Heinsius' 'uanum' has been adopted

instead of the basic 'illum' without the necessary correction of 'atque'! For the copious selections from Silius only three variants are given, though the Teubner text admits of a good deal of 'revision.' As an actual fact in two places which Professor Gudeman has left unaltered, Bauer has himself recanted in his preface to the second volume. But apart from this, 9. 145-6 is surely sheer nonsense as it stands, and I cannot believe that both 'alta' and 'altae' should stand in 10. 530.

The brief introductions give all that is necessary, but might have been made a little more interesting. For example, in that to Silius, reference might easily be made to p. 350 where stands one of Martial's epigrams, addressed to that poet. In the summary of the contents to the *Punica*, it is not enough to say that the main theme of book 13 is the fall of Capua. This will not help the reader who finds the only extract from the book entitled 'The Sibyl's

Prophecy.' The fact is, more than half the book describes Scipio's interview with the shades—an episode the more interesting as Silius here follows Homer rather than Virgil. It is strange to find a passage from Valerius' second book labelled 'Arrival of the heroes at Colchos': it is in reality the Hesione episode at Troy. Another, from book 6, is headed 'Medea's first view of Jason.' Anyone familiar with Val. knows that he differs from Apollonius in making Medea meet Jason on his way up from the ship—in book 5.

Most of these slips are of no very great importance, but one is a little surprised to find them in a work which cannot after all have made great demands upon the editor's time and trouble. I can only hope that Professor Gudeman will make his book really serviceable by publishing a third volume containing brief explanatory notes to his selections.

WALTER C. SUMMERS.

BRIEFER NOTICES.

T. Lucreti Cari de rerum natura libri sex ed. A. Brieger. Ed. stereotypa emendatio. Teubner. 1899. Pp. 84, 230. M. 2.10. This amended edition shows considerable improvement upon that of 1894. The book is enlarged by an appendix of 23 pages, from which we regret to learn that the slips and misprints which disfigured the previous edition were in great part due to an illness of the editor. We do not know what limits Messrs. Teubner set to revision; but we are sorry to see that the triple numeration of lines and the unmetrical alterations *furentibus auris* (5. 410) and *speciesque ponenda* (6. 83) still survive. On the latter passage it is fair to add that in point of sense Brieger's reading is right, and that Giussani, who defends the manuscript reading against him, neither in his commentary nor in his review of this edition, *Rivista di Filologia* (1900, p. 209), betrays the slightest consciousness of the fatal flaw in the emendation. The appendix does full or nearly full justice (Mr. Housman's article in the *Journal of Philology*, vol. xxv. appears to have been overlooked) to the more recent contributions to Lucretian criticism.

In it, references to Giussani's Italian commentary figure largely as we should expect. I may here be allowed to touch upon one place

where the two scholars are at issue about an emendation of my own. At 4. 193 sq. I proposed (*Journal of Philology*, xxiv. p. 139) 'primum quod paruola causa | sat procul a tergost quae prouehat atque propellat, | quod superest ubi tam uolucris leuitate ferantur' with the sense that 'the *idola* which bodies give off can pass over vast spaces in a marvellously short time *since* (=ubi) they are so light that the smallest impulse (*i.e.* whatever it is that causes them to be detached from the bodies that give them off) is enough to send them flying great distances through space.' I fail then to see why Giussani complains in his note that I give no reason why a small cause suffices to impart a very great velocity while in the *Rivista* (p. 178) his words imply that I take *sat* with *procul*. The criticisms of another distinguished exponent of ancient philosophy, the veteran Professor of Greifswald, F. Susemihl, have also left their mark on the new edition. Susemihl had complained in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, (Aug. 5, 1895), that the emendations cited were not consistently assigned to their first authors. Now, says the editor, 'non paucis locis emendatorum antiquiorum nomina infra afferam et praeterea non raro egregias Lachmanni coniecturas, quas olim

satis habui tacito consensu probare, nunc ad auctorem referam.' All true lovers of Classical scholarship will welcome the change as an improvement. It would not be difficult to find points in which the editor's judgment in this revised edition might be challenged; but this must not blind us to his services to Lucretian criticism, chief amongst which must rank his contributions to what Giussani appropriately names the "stratigraphy of the text." Scholars are aware that Lucretius as presented by the Leyden codices is deformed by a number of misplacements and duplications. The fact is certain though its causes may be obscure. The merit of Brieger's text is that incoherencies and excrescences are not presented without warning to the reader for him to beat his brains upon and marvel what the editor thinks of the philosopher-poet that he is editing, but an endeavour (often it may be an unsuccessful one) is made to obtain some coherence from the tradition, or failing that to indicate its absence by some arresting mark. We are accustomed to speak of poets as artists; and if we can believe that in 1.885 *sqq.* Lucretius, clothed and in his right mind, intended the public to read that it is an objection to Anaxagoras' theory that 'grain bruised in stone mortars should give out blood or some other constituent of our bodies,' and then 'cum lapidi lapidem terimus, manare cruorem,' or that after the line 'et uis magna geli, magnum duramen aquarum' (6, 529), he placed the line 'et mora quae fluuios passim refrenat euntis,' we may as well believe that sculptors will put out their statues with alternative legs and arms. Brieger does not; and until his work is done more successfully by some one else, his edition will not be superseded.

J. P. P.

Virgil—Georgics IV. By J. SARGEANT, M.A., Assistant Master at Westminster. Blackwood. 1900. Pp. xxix., 100. 1s. 6d.

It is not often that so good a school edition of a well-known classic like Virgil finds its way into the market. Mr. Sargeant, without actually contributing any new thing to the interpretation of his author, has nevertheless contrived to make his annotations interestingly brief, and yet invest them with a certain freshness of treatment. Above all, he has made them practically useful for those for whom the book is designed. As a practical teacher he knows that the old principle of *μηδὲν ἄγαν* is a valuable one. At the same time a little more illustra-

tion is occasionally desirable. For example, on 285 reference should have been made to the story of Samson and the lion; on 431 the famous passage in Matthew Arnold's *Forsoaken Merman* might have been appositely quoted; on 498 'invalidas' might have been illustrated from Tennyson's 'Only the wan wave | Brake in among dead faces, to and fro | Swaying the helpless hands'; and, in v. 500, Arnold's lines in *Sohrab and Rustum* beginning 'Unwillingly the spirit fled away' would have afforded a good parallel. The principle of quoting largely from the Bible, and from the English poets, by way of illustrating a classic, specially a poet like Virgil, can hardly be too often applied. Comparison is the soul of criticism.

The book is, perhaps, not so strong on its grammatical side as it might be; this is noticeable in the case of mood-constructions. One chief value of Kennedy's edition of Virgil is the care with which this department of Virgilian syntax is treated. Another—in my opinion, quite minor—defect is the studied disregard of questions of textual criticism. As this edition is evidently not meant for beginners, one would like to know, however, what text Mr. Sargeant has followed generally.

Among the many good points in this edition—which seems to aim at inculcating a love of Virgil as literature, rather than making it a dull mechanic exercise, with an eye to 'examination' all the time—must be noted (1) the well-executed illustrations that adorn the book, the value of which is enhanced by the brief explanations given on pp. vii.–ix.; (2) the Appendices, dealing with archaisms, poetic peculiarities, lists of trees and shrubs, metrical notes; (3) the list of Greek verbs found in the fourth Georgic, e.g. *orgia* (521), *ambrosia* (415); (4) the 'select list of words' in lieu of the inevitable vocabulary that publishers—not editors!—are so fond of foisting on us; this list is a special feature of the book, and is valuable from a philological point of view; (5) a list of passages from Aristotle bearing on certain natural history sections in the poem. These passages are given in full, and are very properly rendered into English as well; (6) passages from Homer—also given in full and duly Englished—that Virgil has consciously imitated.

Enough, perhaps, has been said to indicate that the book has a distinct value of its own. Schoolmasters will not do amiss if they introduce it into their classes.

Sandwich, Kent.

E. H. BLAKENEY.

Cornelii Taciti Opera Minora recognovit breuiter adnotatione critica instruxit HENRICUS FURNEAUX. Clarendon Press. pp. 116. 1900. Price 1s. 6d. (cloth 2s). The name of the editor of this text is a sufficient proof that it is the outcome of sound scholarship and judgment and a thorough knowledge of all the data which should be at the command of an editor of Tacitus. All Tacitean students respect his memory, and no invidious *de mortuis* will be supposed to hamper a critic who declines to censure anything in the present volume. In all these works there are critical points with regard to which it is impossible, for the present at any rate, to expect universal agreement; and it is perhaps surprising to find on a consideration of these points how often we come to the same conclusion as Furneaux. To take an instance of disagreement, I should like to draw attention to *Agr.* 28 2 where Furneaux retains *remigante* with an obelus. I find it hard to understand any of the emendations quoted, except that of Ulrichs (*refugo, ante*). *Remigrante* gives the same sense, but in an almost impossible form, as it is certainly not the natural word to use if the pilot *escaped*. The rest assume that he remained on board and used his skill against the interest of his captors, which view is, I submit, refuted by the following words. If, as Gudeman thinks, *remigare* can be used of a *gubernator*, the text is sound: if not, read *regente*. Two of the pilots were murdered; the third continued to give his services. That the ships were afterwards lost *per incitiam regendi* does not matter. The poor man had probably been eaten by that time. But the editor's principle has been to print corrupt MS. readings in the text, in preference to the best of rival emendations—a very good principle, if the book is intended for the use of advanced students. In *Dial.* 41, there is no mention of an emendation which I have long known and liked, though I do not know whence it came—*antiquum* for *antiquis* ('the fact that orators still have their own old battle-field in the forum'). Perhaps it has not been published. It is perhaps to be regretted that Furneaux could not read Peterson's vigorous attack on the supposed lacuna of *Dial.* 40. For my own part, I think it convincing.

Externally the volume merits the praise which the series received in the April editorial of this *Review*; but the cloth cover is strangely unattractive.

GILBERT DAVIES.

Senecae Epistolae: edidit OTTO HENSE. Teubner: 1898. Pp. xl, 621. Price 5 M. 60.

THIS new edition of Seneca's letters was much needed: the preface to Haase's edition, which Teubner has reprinted until now, is dated 1852; and much material has been accumulated since then, partly by more accurate collations of the known MSS., partly by conjectural emendations of many scholars, among whom the great name of Madvig is preeminent. In reading Haase, it was desirable (though inconvenient) to keep Madvig's *Adversaria* open beside one.

The collection of letters is not contained entire in any MS.: it was divided at a very early period into two parts, of which the first contained 88, and the second 36, letters. The best MSS. of both parts were known to Haase, but the collations on which he relied were neither complete nor accurate; the fault seems to lie chiefly with Fickert. All this is rectified in the present edition: the editor relies on fresh collations of all the important MSS. One of the most important for the second part of the collection was burnt in the bombardment of Strasburg in the Franco-German war; but it so happened that it had been collated throughout in 1863, and collated by Bücheler.

It was Bücheler who urged Hense to undertake the work of this edition; he also has revised the proof-sheets and enriched the book with many valuable emendations and notes. The text is simply indispensable for the student of Seneca.

The book does not include the spurious correspondence with St. Paul, or the fragments, both of which Haase gives; nor is the *index nominum* a satisfactory substitute for the generous index which doubles the usefulness of Haase's book. Yet Hense's edition is bulkier by nearly 200 pages: this is partly due to the larger type used, partly to the much greater space allotted to the *apparatus*. One notes with gratitude that this is printed at the foot of the page and not hidden away in a preface; it is to be regretted that some of the new Teubners still follow the bad old custom.

J. D. D.

Monumentum Ancyranum, edited by W. FAIRLEY, Ph.D. Vol. V, No. 1 of *Translations and Reprints from the original sources of European History. Department of History, Univ. of Pennsylvania.* Philadelphia, 1898. Pp. 91. Price 60 cents.

THIS little book consists of the text of

Augustus' celebrated autobiographical inscription, based upon Mommsen's edition of 1883, with a brief introduction and a commentary drawn in the main from the same source. To these it joins a translation into English, and a bibliography of the inscription in which are included contributions to its elucidation which have appeared since the standard edition. Dr. Fairley appears to have translated his text correctly; but his quotations (e.g., Dio. 54, 1, p. 22 n.), are occasionally rendered with too much freedom. And a certain weakness in exact scholarship is betrayed here and there as by the note on p. 51, that *profligatus* 'means wretched rather than unfinished,' where the point of Gellius' criticism on the use of

profligare by Augustus, which is not made clear in Mommsen's note, has been missed altogether by the American editor and by uncertainties in spelling, e.g., Cnaeus but Gaius and Caius. The book shows but little independence. It follows Mommsen even in retaining the inconvenient and pedantic dating in years U.C. while again it gives the now generally abandoned explanation of *princeps* as *princeps senatus*. But it is quite good enough to put into the hands of students of ancient and modern history, and should command a considerable sale. In a second edition, an index of proper names and of the chief matters treated of in the notes should be added.

J. P. P.

VERSION OF A GREAT EASTERN RAILWAY NOTICE.

These Time Tables are only intended to fix the time at which Passengers may obtain their Tickets for any journey from the various Stations, it being understood that the Trains shall not start from them before the appointed time, but notice is hereby given, that the Company do not undertake that the Trains shall start or arrive at the time specified in the Tables, nor will they be accountable for any loss, inconvenience, or injury which may arise from delays or detentions, unless upon proof that such loss, inconvenience, injury, delay, or detention arose in consequence of the wilful misconduct of the Company's Servants. The granting of Tickets to Passengers to places off the Company's Lines is an arrangement made for the greater convenience of the Public; but the Company do not hold themselves responsible for any delay, detention, or other loss or injury whatsoever arising off their Lines, or from the acts or defaults of other parties, nor for the correctness of the times over other Companies Lines, nor for the arrival of this Company's own Trains in time for the nominally corresponding Trains of any other Company. Passengers booking at intermediate Stations can only do so conditionally upon there being room in the Train.

Hæ Tabulae tantum quo tempore tessera
detur

Quaque profecturis de statione docent;
Scilicet ante suum raedae non tempus
abibunt;

Hoc unum sociis suscipietur opus;
Non ut eant raedae Tabulas veniantve
secundum,

5

Non ut poena sibi danda sit ulla morae,
Si damnum iactura labor cadat inde—
nisi illa

Culpa ministerii sit manifesta sui—
Tessera cur aliena super loca detur ituris,
Maior commoditas publica caussa fuit; 10
Sin mora vel damnum via non sua facta
sit ulli,

Illa se pactos condicione negant,
Vel si quid faciat seu quid male negliget
alter.

Sive parum variis congruat hora viis:
Seu male servarint ipsorum tempora
raedae

15

Quae dicant alii se statuuisse suis.
Scandere qui cupies media statione viator,
Hoc facies, sedem si tibi raeda dabit.

G. PRESTON.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

THE SITE OF PRIMITIVE ATHENS.
THUCYDIDES II. 15 AND RECENT
EXPLORATIONS.

ἐπειδὴ δὲ Θησεὺς ἐβασίλευσε, γενόμενος μετὰ τοῦ ξυνητοῦ καὶ δυνατὸς τὰ τε ἄλλα διεκόσμησε τὴν χώραν, καὶ καταλύσας τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων τὰ τε βουλευτήρια καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐς τὴν νῦν πόλιν οὖσαν, ἐν βουλευτήριον ἀποδείξας καὶ πρυτανεῖον, ξυνώκισε πάντας, καὶ νεμομένους τὰ αὐτῶν ἐκάστους, ἅπερ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ, ἡγάγκασε μῆ πόλει ταύτῃ χρῆσθαι, ἢ ἀπάντων ἥδη ξυντελούντων ἐς αὐτὴν μεγάλη γενομένη παρεδόθη ὑπὸ Θησεῶς τοῖς ἔπειτα· καὶ ξυνοίκια ἐξ ἐκείνου Ἀθηναῖοι ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῇ θεῷ ἑορτὴν δημοτελῇ ποιοῦσιν. τὸ δὲ πρὸ τούτου ἡ ἀκρόπολις ἦν νῦν οὖσα πόλις ἦν, καὶ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον. τεκμήριον δέ· τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκρόπόλει καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἔστι· καὶ τὰ ἔξω πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἴδρυται, τὸ τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου καὶ τὸ Πύθιον καὶ τὸ τῆς Γῆς καὶ τὸ ἐν Λίμναις Διονύσου, ὧς τὰ ἀρχαιότερα Διονύσια τῇ δωδεκάτῃ ποιεῖται ἐν μηνὶ Ἀνθεστηριῶνι, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων Ἴωνες ἔτι καὶ νῦν νομίζουσιν· ἴδρυται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἱερὰ ταύτῃ ἀρχαῖα· καὶ τῇ κρήνῃ τῇ νῦν μὲν τῶν τυράννων οὕτω σκευασάντων Ἐννεακροῦνφ καλουμένη, τὸ δὲ πάλαι φανερῶν τῶν πηγῶν οὐσῶν Καλλιρρόῃ ὀνομασμένη, ἐκείνῃ τε ἐγγὺς οὖσῃ τὰ πλείστου ἀξία ἐχρῶντο, καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου πρό τε γαμικῶν καὶ ἐς ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν νομίζεται τῷ ὕδατι χρῆσθαι· καλεῖται δὲ διὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ταύτῃ κατοίκησιν καὶ ἡ ἀκρόπολις μέχρι τοῦδε ἔτι ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων πόλις.

Attention and controversy have recently been drawn to this passage by the excavations and theories of Dr. Dörpfeld, which have brought into doubt the identification of the sites mentioned. It seems worth while therefore to examine the text upon the assumption that these sites are unknown, and to ascertain as far as possible, without reference to anything now disputed, what is the view propounded by the historian respecting the limits of primitive Athens. In certain points the current interpretation still seems to require correction.

The description proper is contained in a single sentence; 'before this,' that is, before the concentration under Theseus, 'the *acropolis*, which is now, was the city, together with τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον.' The term *acropolis*, as appears from the next sentence, which speaks of

sanctuaries 'in the acropolis itself' (ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκρόπόλει), is used first in the strict sense, for the precinct at the top of the hill. To this we are to add, as comprised in the city, τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν (τὴν ἀκρόπολιν) πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον. These words give us no circumscribing line, and not much information of any kind. Something however may perhaps be inferred from the shape of the sentence. The additional area, the τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν, seems to come in as a detail, almost as an after-thought, appended to the statement that ἡ ἀκρόπολις ἦν νῦν οὖσα πόλις ἦν. We should therefore naturally figure it as not only subordinate to the acropolis but in some way closely incorporated with it. In relation to the acropolis this additional area, to justify the arrangement of Thucydides, should be a part neither large nor independent.

His supporting arguments are indicated with such excessive brevity, that there is scarcely one sentence of which the natural bearing is perfectly clear. There is however one such sentence. Καλεῖται δέ, he says in conclusion, διὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ταύτῃ κατοίκησιν καὶ ἡ ἀκρόπολις μέχρι τοῦδε ἔτι ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων πόλις: 'and because of the ancient settlement here, the acropolis, as well as (the present city), is still to this day called by the Athenians πόλις.' He alleges, as a thing explained by his theory and therefore supporting his theory, the fact that the acropolis bore in his day the name πόλις. Now whatever he may have intended, there is not room for dispute respecting the true and natural bearing of this fact as an argument upon the ancient topography of Athens. It is possible to argue from it, not perhaps conclusively, but with force, that what the acropolis was still called, that the acropolis once actually was; that 'the city' of some former time was the acropolis *and nothing more*. So it might be argued, and correctly, from the present application of the name *city* to a certain area in London, that this area once was London. And the inference must be this or nothing; if the later usage of the name πόλις be not held to prove that the acropolis was once itself the πόλις, then it can prove nothing for topography whatever. We thus get a strong light upon ἡ ἀκρόπολις ἦν νῦν οὖσα πόλις ἦν, καὶ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν κ.τ.λ. The form of this statement, we said, suggests that τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν is something subordinate and supple-

mentary. We now see that this must be true to the utmost conceivable extent. If the supporting argument is to be relevant, τὸ ἐπ' αὐτὴν must be so strictly subordinate, so mere a supplement, that in a looser way of speaking, it might be included as part of the acropolis itself. If Thucydides' ancient πόλις was the citadel *plus* something, it was also the citadel simply.

The explanation of this inconsistency—for a verbal inconsistency there is—has been properly sought in the features of the site. It is plain that the *acropolis* in the narrow sense, the summit-fortress, never could have been occupied alone. The western end was and is not difficult of access; and modern researches have proved that of the southern face also a portion, the western portion, was in its natural state of no impracticable slope. An outer enclosure securing these slopes would be at once a necessary *addition* to the citadel proper, and, in a looser way of speaking, a necessary *part*. Taking then the expressions of Thucydides together, something of this sort we should suppose to be in his mind.¹ We will now see how far his other arguments seem to be reconcilable with this conception.

Τεκμήριον δὲ τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἐστί. This clause has not been treated with sufficient accuracy. First, a needless doubt has been raised about the reading. Since the expression ἄλλων θεῶν, 'other deities', does not explain itself, it is suggested that we should 'complete the sense' by inserting καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς Ἀθηναίας or the like—'in the acropolis itself are the sanctuaries of *Athena herself* and other deities.' But the suggestion is gratuitous. The goddess of the Acropolis has been mentioned, under her 'proper title' ἡ θεός, in the clause next but one before this, καὶ ξυνοίκια ἐξ ἐκείνου Ἀθηναῖοι ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῇ θεῷ ἑορτὴν δημοτελεῖ ποιῶσιν. In such a context, no obscurity can attach to the phrase 'other deities also have their sanctuaries in the acropolis,' and the proposed insertion would be technically indefensible, even if true to the meaning.²

¹ So Dr. Dörpfeld and his supporters, to whose arguments so far I have little to add.

² Mr. L. Whibley has pointed out to me that the contrast between ἡ θεός (Athena) and οἱ ἄλλοι θεοὶ was actually familiar to the official language. The treasurers of Athena were ταμίαι τῶν τῆς θεοῦ or ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ, and there was a similar board of ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν. See the decree of Callias, *C.I.A.* i. 32, and compare *C.I.A.* i. 194. Such a use would greatly aid in interpreting Thucydides' ἄλλοι θεοὶ to the ear, even if it were not clear in itself. The decree of Callias also exemplifies the alternative use of πόλις and ἀκρόπολις.

But secondly—and this is a point of great importance to the general interpretation—the insertion is not true to the meaning. Even those, who do not alter the text, appear generally to alter the sense, by treating the sentence *as if* it contained the words καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς Ἀθηναίας or the like, and signified accordingly 'in the acropolis itself are the sanctuaries of *Athena and* of other deities also.' The sentence of Thucydides refers not at all to any 'sanctuaries of Athena', but only to those of other gods, respecting which it asserts that *these* are in the acropolis, as well as those of Athena, and not those of Athena only.

To change the sense is to thrust upon the author a proposition irrelevant to his purpose. From the general statement that the acropolis contained ancient sanctuaries, those of Athena and others, what could be inferred? The common assumption appears to be that it is intended to prove the antiquity of the acropolis. This would be a strange piece of reasoning. The acropolis being the manifest nucleus and first cause of the city, its primitive antiquity would naturally be assumed, not proved, as in fact it is assumed by Thucydides. But if we will suppose a disputant so sceptical as to require proof, it would be idle to offer proof from the monuments. With far less temerity, with far less absurdity, he would deny the antiquity of these, and the argument, thus conducted, must revolve in a circle.

But Thucydides is not guilty of any such parallogism. His proposition, which is neither designed to prove the antiquity of the acropolis, nor capable of proving it, is simply that *in the acropolis itself there are the sanctuaries of deities other than Athena*: and the question is, what inference, respecting the ancient limits of Athens, he can draw from that. It is by no means obvious, and our answer must be tentative. We may perhaps find the way by asking first, why he should regard the presence in the acropolis of other sanctuaries than those of Athena as noticeable at all. Why should they not be there? Because (shall we not answer?), as the acropolis was regarded in the Periclean age, as it had then long been regarded, the Παλλάδος ὄχος belonged to Pallas so entirely and absolutely, that no worship not connected with her seemed to have a natural place there. By the recent reconstruction, by the Parthenon, Erechtheum and Promachos, the conception of the citadel as the sanctuary of 'the goddess' had been developed to the utmost capacity of art. It seems therefore not

unreasonable to suppose that in that age the introduction of other worships there would have seemed an anachronism, and therefore the presence of other worships there would seem a relic of antiquity, a fact demanding historical explanation. If we may suppose this, and remember that Thucydides aims (as we have seen) at proving the citadel to have been once itself the city, the bearing of this argument will become clear. 'The citadel' Thucydides argues, 'is and immemorably has been appropriated to Athena; it is natural to suppose that, ever since it became a citadel merely, the central point of a large surrounding city, it must have been reserved, as we should and do reserve it now, for the patron goddess only, and that other worships would be accommodated elsewhere. Why then do we actually find in the citadel other sanctuaries? It is because, before Theseus and his *συνοικισμός*, the citadel was itself the city; and the 'other deities', if not admitted there, would have been excluded from Athens altogether. These sanctuaries therefore record, and are evidence for, the fact of such a former limitation.'

Καὶ τὰ ἔξω (ἱερὰ), proceeds the argument, πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἱδρύνται, τὸ τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου κ.τ.λ. 'and the sanctuaries outside are situated towards this part of the city rather, as that of Zeus Olympios,' etc. Here it was until recently taken as obvious, that *πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως* refers to *πρὸς νότον*, the 'part of the city' meant being identified with *τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον*. And obvious, in the proper sense, this may be; that is to say, it is a supposition which, from the form and disposition of the clauses, would readily suggest itself; and if it was not the intention of the author, he has run some risk of mistake. But it will hardly be maintained that Thucydides never wrote ambiguous sentences; and the question is, not whether this interpretation is obvious, but whether it is correct.

Be it noted first, that, in supposing it obvious, modern readers have been guided partly by an assumption certainly erroneous, the assumption that the preceding clause, referring to the sanctuaries within the acropolis, is intended as a proof that the acropolis was *part* of the ancient city, as an argument for the first half of the proposition that 'the ancient city consisted of (1) the acropolis, and (2) *τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν κ.τ.λ.*' Assuming this, it was perhaps inevitable to connect our present clause with the second half of that proposition. But in

reality, as has been shown, the clause relating to the sanctuaries within the acropolis will not bear either the sense or the inference which has been put upon it. The supposed connexion therefore fails; the argument upon the sanctuaries *without* is totally distinct from the argument on the sanctuaries *within* (it should be divided from it not by a comma, but by a colon); and thus a relation between *πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως* and *τὸ πρὸς νότον* is no longer presumable.

Further it should be remarked, that if there is indeed an intended correlation between the two uses of *πρός*, the author is inaccurate in the latter use. The monuments (he must have meant to say) lie 'in' or 'about' (*ἐν, κατά*) the southern part of the city, not 'towards' that part. In writing *πρός* 'towards', he must have been unduly influenced by the feeling that 'this part' meant 'the part towards the south.' Such an inaccuracy is indeed conceivable, but it is not to be disregarded in weighing the merits of the interpretation.

But a graver objection remains. Thucydides is contending that the ancient city was limited to a certain portion of the later city, that it comprised this and no more; and he would prove this (as is supposed) by the existence of very ancient monuments within the portion prescribed. Now such an argument would be precarious, and would do little credit to the logic and sagacity of the author. It is of course true that the appearance of ancient monuments in a certain quarter tends to prove ancient occupation; but it is not at all true that, in estimating the antiquity of occupation in different quarters, the non-appearance of ancient monuments necessarily disproves ancient occupation. We have first to eliminate or allow for the possibly unequal effects of time and change; and from certain remarks which Thucydides makes elsewhere,¹ we should suppose that he could not have been blind to this consideration, and would not have rushed lightly to the conclusion, that the ancient dimensions of a city can be limited off-hand by drawing a line round the visible ancient monuments.

For these reasons, and especially for the last, this interpretation appears, if not inadmissible, so unsatisfactory that we ought to prefer a suspension of judgment. Our purpose is to ascertain what Thucydides can tell us, on the assumption that the sites, which he mentions, are unknown. And the sentence *τὰ ἔξω ἱερὰ πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ*

¹ See Thuc. i. 10.

μέρος τῆς πόλεως μάλλον ἴδρυται ought, on this assumption, to be marked as uncertain. The interpretation, which might suggest itself superficially, is seen upon consideration to be untenable. No other, as I think, would occur naturally; and a prudent reader would therefore await further information, supposing that the topographical data, the sites of the monuments, if they could be recovered, would explain the brief and vague indication which without them is not sufficient.

A similar difficulty rests upon the remaining argument, drawn from the fact that, in the time of the author, it was 'still the custom, in consequence of the antique (*habit*), to use before weddings and for other sacred purposes the water' of a fountain called Enneacrounos, or *Nine-spouts*, the history of which, so far as necessary for the purpose, is given in the same brief elliptical style as the rest. The *Nine-spouts*, he says, derives its form and name from the operations of the Pisistratidae, and covers the natural spring or springs, which bore the name Callirrhoe. This spring 'was near, and they used it for the most important purposes', ἐκείνη ἐγγὺς οὖσα τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐχρῶντο.¹ The arrangement of the words is odd and characteristic, but he seems clearly to assume and imply, that his ancient city was ill-supplied with water, having no other source but Callirrhoe both conveniently near and good enough 'for the most important purposes'; and further, that the yield of Callirrhoe itself was scanty. Fresh water easily accessible would naturally be used for all purposes, so far as it would go; and the destination of it to 'the most important' is intelligible only as the effect of necessity. As to *Enneacrounos*, the very name and form seem to import a large use and supply; and it therefore appears that the operation of 'the despots' not merely absorbed the old source, but greatly increased it by supplies from elsewhere. Indeed it is for this reason that Thucydides, who is least of all mortals a gossip, refers to the history of the fountain at all. His point is this; the water of Enneacrounos is now sought by Athenians for certain sacred purposes; in the present condition of the city and the fountain there appears no cause for this, the water being

quite ordinary; it is explained by the fact that Enneacrounos replaces and represents Callirrhoe, which, for primitive Athens, was necessarily a special and reserved water, the city as then limited having only this supply both near and good, and that not adequate for all purposes. The present use of Enneacrounos therefore is evidence for the ancient limitation of the city. How Callirrhoe was used by those who lived near it, he takes to be known, as doubtless it was, since the alteration of the fountain was almost within memory. All this is interesting, but, until we know the site of Enneacrounos (which is one of the points in dispute), does not help to determine the intended limitation of the city.

To sum up then what can be learned from Thucydides himself respecting his 'Athens before Theseus', we find that (1) it might be identified with the acropolis, if that name were taken largely; (2) the portion of it, which was external to the acropolis proper, comprised the south-western slope by which the citadel was approached; and (3) this external portion can in no case cover any ground which might not, in a loose and popular way of speaking, be regarded as actually pertaining to and included in the acropolis itself.

It does not belong to the plan of this paper to identify the disputed sites. But whatever may be right, the view prevalent until lately appears, as an explanation of Thucydides, manifestly impossible. The long acceptance of it can be taken only as one instance among many of the facility with which, where the facts are supposed to be known, a text, especially if at all obscure, will be strained to accord with them. This explanation started from the assumption that the 'sanctuary of Zeus Olympios' and the 'Pythion' mentioned by Thucydides are the unfinished temple of Pisistratus and a precinct of Apollo adjoining it. These lie S.E. of the citadel, more than a quarter of a mile from its nearest point. Thucydides was therefore taken to mean that Athens 'before Theseus' comprised, together with the citadel, an area extending southwards of it to this distance or thereabouts. Now this will explain the words τὰ ἔξω (ἐνὰ) πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως μάλλον ἴδρυται, if we put upon them the superficial interpretation which has been above discussed. It will explain this clause, so taken, and it will explain nothing else. In particular it conflicts with the plainest of the author's assertions, that he accounts for the application of the name πόλις, in a narrower

¹ The change of ἐκείνη to ἐκείνοι is mistaken and obscures the point, which is, that because Callirrhoe (ἐκείνη) was once naturally or necessarily used in a certain way, therefore the water of Enneacrounos, its successor and representative, is still used in a similar way, though in the altered state and circumstances such a use is no longer natural.

sense, to the acropolis itself. The former existence of a πόλις comprising, with the citadel, an external area to the south having a radius of 500 or 600 yards, *i.e.* many times as large as the citadel itself, could no more account for that application of the name than the plan of the Periclean city could account for it. One might as well explain the narrower sense now sometimes given to the name 'city of London,' by the fact that London once extended no further west than St. James's Square.

Dr. Dörpfeld's plan, which draws the outer wall of the archaic city close round the S.W. of the acropolis hill, is at least in general accord with the representation of Thucydides as a whole; it gives, as he rightly maintains, a πόλις practically limited to the citadel and so explaining the origin of the name. He claims, as I understand, to have found some slight traces of such a wall. He has certainly discovered, near the foot of the hill on the west, a place to which water was conveyed by an elaborate and still existing water-course, the construction of which can (he says) be dated by the character of the work in the sixth century, the age of 'the despots'. There he would place *Enneacrounos*. It has been made an objection that such traces of a spring, as have been found there, indicate a small and scanty source, which now seems to have failed and disappeared; and further that the surrounding ground was always without fountains, as appears by the numerous wells. All this seems, on the contrary, to accord with Thucydides, and actually to be required for the *Enneacrounos* of his story.¹

Close by, on the other side of the ancient road to the acropolis from the west, Dr. Dörpfeld claims to have found the precinct of Dionysus ἐν Λίμναις. Here also I see no objection, though the actual evidence is, so far as I can judge, less strong than for his *Enneacrounos*.²

¹ There is evidence (late) for an *Enneacrounos* by the Ilissus and near the Pisistratean temple of Zeus Olympios; but this, supposing it trustworthy, raises no difficulty, as there is not the slightest reason for presuming that the name was unique. The word *enneacrounos* is, strictly speaking, rather a description than a proper name; and if 'the despots' or their engineers gave such a form to a fountain in one place, they may well have done so in another or in others; or again the type may have been imitated in later times. Dr. Dörpfeld would suppose a transference of the name from his original site to the other, but his explanation seems, though possible, artificial, and is in any case not necessary.

² Nothing can be argued from the title ἐν Λίμναις. Inferences from the apparent meaning of proper names, of which the history is beyond investigation, are useless and misleading. The name may have

The 'sanctuary of Gé' is easily found, on the testimony of Pausanias, immediately before the gate of the acropolis. Evidence, slight but sufficient, shows that the title *Pythios* was connected with a sanctuary at or near the cave of Pan, on the N. face of the acropolis and near the W. end, and (probably) that of *Zeus Olympios* with a sanctuary adjoining it. These Dr. Dörpfeld supposes to be those named by Thucydides.

Now these sites would suit the general purport of Thucydides very well. If the city once consisted of the acropolis only, it might be expected from the nature of the case, that sanctuaries would be found crowded about what was then the only gate and approach; and Thucydides will be indicating that they were so found, naming four and adding that there were others. In the collective description of these sites as lying πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον, we must take τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως as signifying that portion of the (later) city which has been previously marked off as the content of the ancient city, that is to say, the acropolis and its outwork, the acropolis in the larger sense. This is Dr. Dörpfeld's supposition, and it gives a natural sense, so far, to the words. But what then exactly is meant by πρὸς? Dr. Dörpfeld, if I understand him rightly, takes πρὸς to mean on the ascent to, on the slope of, citing the description of Torone (Thuc. 4, 110) as οὔσης πρὸς λόφον, *lying up hill*; where however the notion of ascent is given not by πρὸς but by λόφον. With such a phrase as *this part of the city*, πρὸς can hardly signify more than *towards*. But is not this enough? Is not *towards*, in a description so very brief, a sufficient equivalent for *on and about the approach to*? What Thucydides must (*ex hypothesi*) wish to indicate is, that if you approached his 'ancient city' by the only way in which it could be approached, you would find ancient sanctuaries lying, as they should lie, especially thick about the entrance. It seems a not unnatural way of putting this in compressed form, to say that they lay *towards* his ancient city *more than* anywhere else. And we have thus a point and reason for the word μᾶλλον, which ought not to be superfluous. Sanctuaries very ancient there probably, indeed certainly, were in other parts of the later city. Nor does the argument deny this, depending only on the fact that 'towards this part of

changed its sense, or may be a mere corruption. The sanctuary ἐν Λίμναις may have had no more connexion with any *marsh* than *Burnham Beeches* with any *beech*, or *Sandiacre* with any *sand*.

the city' there was a special aggregation of them.

It must of course be frankly admitted, as was said before, that Thucydides, if this was his meaning, has exposed himself to be misunderstood by readers not acquainted with the facts. The proximity of the words *πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως* to *πρὸς νότον*, and the appearance of a relation between them, is, if in fact there is no relation, a flaw in composition which would not have been passed by a pupil of Isocrates. But to Thucydides such a standard is surely inapplicable. Facility was not even his aim; and in such a context as this he may well have been more than commonly blind to an ambiguity. At all events the

clause must bear some meaning consistent with the passage as a whole, and can lend no countenance to the identification of his 'sanctuary of Zeus Olympios' with the temple of Pisistratus. That Athens should have contained more than one such sanctuary, and more than one *Pythion*, is as little surprising as that in a mediaeval city there should be more than one church of St. Mary. The caprice of ruin, which has made the Pisistratean foundation so signally conspicuous, seems to have been the chief cause of a supposition not reconcilable either with the natural course of the city's development or with the general purport of the historian.

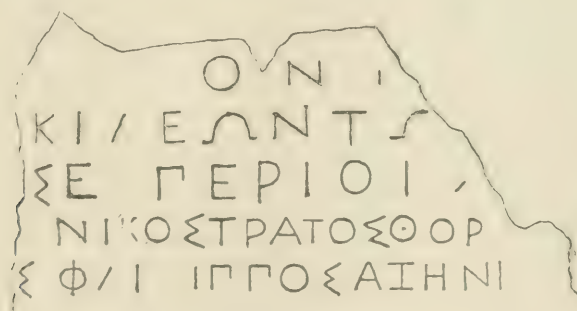
A. W. VERRALL.

ATHENS AND OLYNTHOS IN 384-3 B.C.

THE inscription no. 105 in the second volume of the Attic Corpus was dated without hesitation by the editor to the 107th Olympiad, and within that period to the year of the archon Theöllos (B.C. 351-0). Köhler has been followed by Hicks (*Greek Historical Inscriptions*, no. 106) and Ditten-

berger (*Sylloge*, ed. 2 no. 121). The latter editor however has seen the difficulties attaching to this date; difficulties which seem to me to justify an attempt to find another solution of the question.

As a good deal depends on the length of the lines, I give a facsimile of the first five lines, from an impression kindly procured for me by Mr. R. C. Bosanquet.



Köhler's restoration of the whole is as follows:—

[Ἐπὶ Θεέλλου ἀρχ]ον[τος].
[τοῖς Χαλ]κι[δ]έων τῶ[ν]
[ἐπὶ Θράικη]ς ἐ[σ]περίοις.
5 [— — — — —], Νικόστρατος Θορ[ίκιος vel -αιεύς],
[— — — — —]ς, Φαι[ν]ιππος Ἀζηνι[εύς],
[— — — — —], Θρασυκλῆς Παλλην[εύς],
[— — — — —], Ἐρ[μ]ιππος Πόριος,
[— — — — —], Ἀθηνίων Ἀ[ρ]α[φ]ήνιος.
[— — — — —]ς ἐπρυτάν[ευε]. [Κ]αλλιᾶδης ἐγ[ρα]-
10 [μύα]τενε. — — — — — Εὐων[υ]μεύς ἐπεστάτει[ν]. [· · ·]
[— — — — —] εἶπεν· ὅπως ἂν ἀπ[ολάβω]σ[ι] τ[ὸν]-
[ς ὄρκους κ.τ.λ.]

It is clearly established that the inscription relates to a treaty between Athens and Olynthos; and the ten names, of which five are preserved, were those of ten commissioners proceeding to Thrace to swear in the new allies. Lines 1-3 are in larger letters than the rest. Lines 9 foll. are *στοιχηδόν*. From the facsimile it will be seen that about 8 letters of lines 2 and 3 fill the space of 13 in the succeeding lines. The average number of letters required for one name + demotikon in lines 4-8 is 17; we may therefore assume 34 letters as the average length of each of these lines, and 21 letters as the average length of lines 2 and 3. (The corresponding *maximum* lengths would be 38 and rather more than 23 letters respectively). The letters of line 1 appear to have been a little more widely spaced, but as there is considerable irregularity in the spacing of the heading as a whole, and as the remains of that line are so scanty, we are justified in assuming that it contained about the same number of letters as the two that follow. These details are necessary to show that Köhler's restoration hardly employs enough letters. Feeling this, and also objecting to the formula restored, Dittenberger alters lines 2 and 3 to [Συμμαχία Χαλκιδέων τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης τοῖς ἐσπερίοις, retaining Köhler's restoration of the first line, *ut in re obscurissima*. If the estimate just given of the spacing of the lines is correct, the first line must also be emended. And a graver reason compels us to reject the archonship of Theillos; Philochoros (quoted by Dion. Hal. *ad Ammaeum* I. 9. 1 = *F.H.G.* I. p. 405 frag. 132) distinctly assigns the treaty of Athens with Olynthos, which we know to have been concluded about this time, to the year of Kallimachos (349-8 B.C.). Yet we cannot restore ἐπὶ Καλλιμάχου in our inscription (as does von Scala, *die Staatsverträge des Altertums* I. no. 200), since the secretary for Kallimachos' year was not Kalliades, as in our inscription, but Dieuches son of Demarchos of Phrearrhioi. (See Dittenberger, *Add. to Vol. I.* p. 642.)

Beloch (*Gr. Gesch.* II. p. 500 note 2) meets the difficulty by reading ἐπὶ Θουδήμου ἄρχοντος (B.C. 353-2), and referring our document not to the alliance mentioned by Philochoros, but to the peace which preceded it. This solution does not commend itself as highly probable, and has not been noticed by Dittenberger in his *addenda*. The name, written with the full diphthongs, is only one letter longer than Θεέλλου.

We are, I think, justified in going further

afield. Dr. Wilhelm, who was kind enough to examine the stone for me in company with Mr. Bosanquet, sees no epigraphical objection to assigning the inscription to a considerably earlier date. Now we know from Xenophon (*Hellen.* V. 2. 15) that in 383 B.C. Athens and Olynthos were engaged in negotiations for an alliance. Kleigenes, the envoy of Akanthos, who was present at Sparta in the spring of that year, mentioned the fact in his speech complaining of the aggressive policy of Olynthos: κατελίπομεν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν πρέσβεις ἥδη αὐτόθι. ἡκούομεν δὲ ὡς καὶ αὐτοῖς Ὀλυνθίοις ἐψηφισμένον εἶη συμπέμπειν πρέσβεις εἰς ταύτας τὰς πόλεις περὶ συμμαχίας. Supposing matters to have followed their ordinary course, the envoys from Olynthos could have come to Athens, the terms of the treaty been arranged, and the Athenian commissioners despatched to swear in the Olynthians, before the end of the official year 384-3 B.C. The archon for this year is Dietrephes, and his name therefore I would restore in line 1 in the form ἐπὶ Διειτρέφους ἄρχ[ον]τος.

A second decree (*C.I.A.* II. 105*b*) has been brought into connexion with the one which I have discussed. It reads:

[Ἐπὶ]ς ἄρχ[οντος]
[ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγῆς]δος ὀγδ[όης π]-
[ρυτανείας]· ἐδοξεν τῇ βου-
[λῇ καὶ τῶ]ι δήμῳ· Αἰγῆς [ἐ]-
5 [πρυτάνει]· Καλλιᾶδης Εὐώ-
[νυμεὺς ἐγραμμά]τευ· Τιμ[.].
[— — ἐπεστάται κ.τ.λ.]

The fact that the secretaries in the two inscriptions bear the same name Kalliades makes it tempting to suppose that they are the same man, and that both documents belong to the same year. If that is so, then, since [ἐπὶ Διειτρέφους] exactly fills the gap in line 1, we have an additional confirmation of the reading proposed for no. 105. At the same time it is only fair to say that the identification raises further difficulties. Since, in the period under discussion, the secretary held office not for a year, but for a prytany only, we must, if we accept the identification, restore Aigeis as the prytanizing tribe in no. 105 from no. 105*b*. This gives us for lines 9, 10, in the former inscription:

[Αἰγῆς ἐπρυτάν]ευε, [Κ]αλλιᾶδης ἐγ[ρα]-
[μμάτευε, . . Εὐών]υμεὺς ἐπεστάται, [.]

(which leaves only two letters for the name of the epistates!). It is true that the

decree begins abruptly, and that we should expect the formula $\epsilon\delta\omicron\epsilon\tau\eta\iota\beta\omicron\lambda\eta\mu$ (if not more) to begin it; but this again yields a line of 42 letters at least, which is not supported by the evidence of the stone. The $\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\chi\eta\delta\omicron\nu$ portion of the inscription is in fact more widely spaced than that which immediately precedes. I am compelled, therefore, however reluctantly, to reject the theory which assigns *C.I.A.* 105 and 105b to one and the same year.

It may be doubted whether Dittenberger's reading of lines 2, 3 in no. 105 above, is an improvement on Köhler's, except in so far as the number of letters is concerned. The name of the Athenians could hardly have been altogether omitted in such a formula. In the parallel inscription recording the alliance between Amyntas and the Chalkidians (Dittenberger, *Sylloge* ed. 2, no. 77), the 'short title': $\Sigma\nu\nu\theta\eta\kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\rho\delta\ \text{'}\text{Αμύνταν τὸν Ἐπριδαίου}\text{'}$ is immediately followed by: $\Sigma\nu\nu\theta\eta\kappa\alpha\iota\ \text{'}\text{Αμύνται τῷ Ἐπριδαίῳ καὶ Χαλκιδεῦσι}\text{'}$. But I have nothing better to propose.

G. F. HILL.

FITZSIMON AND FITZSIMON'S GODS OF OLD.

The Gods of Old; and the story that they tell. By the Rev. J. A. FITZSIMON and V. A. FITZSIMON, M.D. London: Fisher Unwin, 1899. Pp. xxiv. 456. 10s. 6d. net.

THIS work, valuable though it is, may be said to have appeared too late. If only the authors had lived at the time of the Renaissance, what labour they might have saved! For centuries, the Newtons, the Lyells and the Faradays have been patiently accumulating the results of so-called modern science, while all the time, if there had been a FitzSimon to solve the enigma, those results lay ready to their hand in the pages of Hesiod, Ovid, or Apollodorus. The nebular hypothesis, the laws of gravitation, the geological periods, Jupiter's satellites,—all were there, though unfortunately those misinterpreted philosophers had hidden the light of science under the bushel of mythology. Why have we been so slow to guess the truth that underlies these simple words of Hesiod?—

$\tau\omega\nu\ \epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\nu\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \chi\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon\varsigma\ \alpha\pi'\ \omicron\mu\omega\nu\ \alpha\iota\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu\tau\omicron$
 $\alpha\pi\lambda\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\iota,\ \kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\ \delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\omega\ \pi\epsilon\nu\tau\eta\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$
 $\epsilon\acute{\xi}\ \omicron\mu\omega\nu\ \epsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}\phi\upsilon\kappa\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\pi\iota\ \sigma\tau\iota\beta\alpha\rho\omicron\iota\sigma\iota\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota\nu.$

That is the poet's provoking way of saying that attraction varies inversely as the square of the distance.

Who would have thought of geology in connexion with Horace? Yet the story of Rupilius Rex is but an accurate description of the formation of the earth's crust, and in *ius acres* *procurrunt* must for the future be translated 'to viscous paste the edges run.' For *acres* in this sense you will kindly compare the Greek $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\iota\varsigma$, and, we might add, this use of *ius* will recall Verres and devilled kidneys.

Quid fles, Asterie? sings the lyric scientist. Messrs. FitzSimon supply us with a paraphrase of the first stanza: 'Lament not, O Metamorphic rocks, for the Devonian formation. When Cyclical time will bring round the spring, then will the prodigal return, freighted with mollusks and crustaceans, with the ganoids and the placoids.'

Students of Greek religion will be glad to have their minds set at rest as to those mysterious personages the Idaean Dactyli. They are Carbon, Oxygen and Hydrogen. Their title obviously means 'the ternary group,' for does not $\iota\delta\epsilon\alpha$ mean 'a class, a group,' and have not fingers three joints? Their mythological names are Celmis, Damnameus and Aemon. Κέλμης means 'noble strength' ($\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \iota\varsigma$, the μ being inserted for euphony), and is identical with adamant or diamond. The last link in the chain of proof is exceptionally strong; 'If Celmis, then, be the diamond—pure carbon—what else can his brother Dactyli be except oxygen and hydrogen?'

But the charm of the book lies not so much in the interpretation of the myths—though it is interesting to know, for instance, that Actaeon's dogs are the oxides, or that Pegasus is evaporation—as in the rich treasures of etymological fancy with which it abounds. Τιτάν is derived from $\tau\iota$ and $\tau\alpha\nu$, and therefore signifies 'something stretched, substance with magnitude, and so molecular matter.' The giants are the igneous rocks. 'The difference is but a seeming one to the eye, for the Latin *ignis* and *gigas* are equally related to $\gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\mu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, the initial γ in the one and the ν in the other being omitted.' $\chi\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\iota\alpha$, chemistry, is by transposition from $\mu\eta\chi\omicron\varsigma$, which, being derived from $\mu\eta\ \epsilon\acute{\chi}\omega$, signifies 'that which is really not, artificial.' Venus is probably $\epsilon\upsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$, union; Minerva is $\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\ \nu\epsilon\upsilon\rho\alpha$, 'the very nerves'; Mulciber signifies 'the director of matter' ($\mu\upsilon\lambda\eta\ \kappa\upsilon\beta\epsilon\rho\nu\acute{\alpha}\omega$, the μ being euphonic). 'The nymphs ($\nu\acute{\upsilon}\mu\phi\alpha\iota$) are the quiddities, or essences of things,—the final answer to repetitions of $\nu\acute{\upsilon}\nu\ \phi\eta\varsigma$;

'what then?' or as the Latin has it *quid est? quid nunc?* There are hundreds of such gems scattered throughout the pages of this work. Could not Mr. Fisher Unwin give us a FitzSimon birthday book, with one rollicking etymology for each day in the year?

Our authors have made only a sparing use of the anagram; which is to be regretted, for in such hands it might have proved a powerful instrument of exegesis. We quote two instances, which will probably revolutionise the current views of scholars on Greek religion and philosophy. 'The Theogony begins thus: ἦτοι μὲν πρότειστα χάος γένηται.' Transposition alters it to Χριστός γὰ ποιμήν ἐν τῷ Α τε Ω τε; 'Christ, indeed, the shepherd, is both the Alpha and the Omega.' In the same fashion does the celebrated dictum of Parmenides ὃν ἔστι, μὴ δὲ οὐκ ἔστι become τὸ μείον κέντ' Ἰησοῦς 'Jesus is called the Lamb.' Now we know what powerful intellects can do when withdrawn from the discussion of the Baconian authorship of Shakespeare or the identification of the ten-horned Beast and applied to the elucidation of classical literature.

J. H. VINCE.

HUISH'S GREEK TERRACOTTA STATUETTES.

Greek Terracotta Statuettes. By MARCUS B. HUISH, LL.B. London: John Murray. 1900. Small 4to. Pp. 251 and 75 Plates. 21s.

NEXT to a book on Greek vases, a work on terracottas was perhaps the most notable desideratum for English Classical Archaeology. Two such works have now appeared, Miss Hutton's brief but trustworthy manual, and the work before us. The merits and shortcomings of Mr. Huish's work are alike noteworthy. After discussing the origin and course of development of the Greek statuette, Mr. Huish pursues a geographical arrangement, taking up district after district of the Greek world, and giving an account of the statuettes there found. This is probably the most scientific, as well as the most satisfactory method of procedure. At any level below that of the highest sculpture and painting, localities and local conditions exercise a most important influence on all works of art. And as the terracottas found in a particular region belong usually to one or two periods of art, it is quite possible to retain a roughly chronological without departing from a geographic order. The de-

scription of the finds in various places has given Mr. Huish the opportunity, of which he has diligently availed himself, of presenting his readers with a summary of the accounts of excavation and discovery given by the archaeologists who made the finds. Such summaries of papers by Heuzey, Furtwängler, Martha, Reinach, and others, are the most important part of the present book, and a valuable boon to all except the best-informed specialists, who alone will be familiar with the works summarized.

Mr. Huish rightly dwells carefully on the researches of Messrs. Pottier and Reinach at Myrina, which give the real clue to most questions as to the terracottas of Asia Minor. At Tanagra unfortunately most of the figurines were discovered before method was introduced into the search for them, or the process of discovery recorded. From some sites, such as Corfu, Iutepe, and Melos, we have definite groups of terracottas which lie like stones ready to the hand of anyone who means to construct the history of the art of moulding clay. To some groups however Mr. Huish does not pay the attention which they deserve, for instance to the interesting group of figures discovered by Sir Charles Newton in the precinct of Demeter at Cnidus (*Hist. Disc.* Pl. LIX. LX.).

It appears then that Mr. Huish's book has decided utility. And as he had no predecessors, but was compelled to collect the materials himself from a great variety of books and journals, he can claim the more merit. It is by its solid merits that a book should be judged, rather than condemned for its defects in scholarship or its deficiencies. But unfortunately what is good in Mr. Huish's book is balanced by very grave defects. His knowledge of ancient art is scarcely sufficient to bear him through, and the result is not only many mistakes in detail, but a radical misunderstanding of the principles of Greek art as applied to clay figurines.

We might gather a large assortment of slips in detail: but will content ourselves with pointing out a few as examples. In several places we notice Thespies written for Thespia or Thespieae; on p. 173 Pl. LXXIV. should be LXXI.; on p. 201 Etche appears for Elche. Mr. Huish's English is sometimes worse than slipshod, as when he writes (p. 159) of the Myrina figures that they shew 'a spirituality (!) sometimes too exuberant'; or says of The Etruscans (p. 194) that in their copies they 'keep as close as possible to originality' (the originals?); or talks (p. 207) of 'the solution

to their shape,' when he means the explanation of their shape.

More serious are mistakes which appear to arise from want of familiarity with Greek ways. At p. 70 Schliemann's 'horned Hera' at Mycenae is revived. At p. 103 occurs the altogether erroneous statement that all wine in Greece was drunk from earthen cups: the cups were very commonly of metal. At p. 194 we read that the Greeks 'seldom made what we would term a portrait in the narrow sense of the word'; whereas a great series of portraits of the Hellenistic age are among the most powerful and characteristic likenesses which the world has ever produced. At p. 215 we have a dissertation on dress which is quite inadequate: to say that the chiton 'combined a bodice and a petticoat' is decidedly misleading. At p. 122 Mr. Huish attempts to give an account of the development in style of terracottas. Here we reach the head and front of his offending; for the examples which he cites and engraves, and on which his views are founded, are in many cases not merely suspicious, but evidently of modern origin. His book is a proof how strongly tainted many of the most noteworthy collections of terracottas are with works which please the modern eye by a graceful sentimentality, but which have no claim to be regarded as productions of Greek art.

Everyone accustomed to works of ancient art knows that of late the forger with great persistency and constantly increasing skill has been pouring into the market imitations so clever as sometimes to deceive even good judges. Probably no middle-aged archaeologist has been so fortunate as wholly to escape either the buying or the publication of some forgeries. All the great museums of Europe have in greater or less degree suffered. Terracottas have been the favourite field of the bolder class of forger, until unfortunately private collections need most careful weeding. And since neither collector nor dealer likes to confess to having been deceived, there is now a strong vested interest on the side opposed to truth at all costs.

Mr. Huish shews alike modesty and ingenuousness. He confesses that his powers of discernment are limited, and in some cases he points out that doubts have arisen as to the authenticity of the figures he cites or engraves. But the fact remains that many of the wells from which he draws are polluted. No archaeologist will go through his plates without finding that a large num-

ber of the terracottas which he publishes are not merely modern, but quite unlike true Greek works. The trained archaeologist may be deceived by a clever imitation of what is Greek: but an untrained amateur nearly always prefers what is essentially modern to what is really Hellenic, and to this taste the forgers of figurines have adapted themselves. Thus it comes about that if a student wishes to spoil his eyes for ancient art, he will find Mr. Huish's plates very effective for the purpose. While in many cases, no doubt, only a very careful examination could determine whether a given example is true or not, it may be taken as certain that many of Mr. Huish's most striking examples are not merely forgeries, but forgeries without any likeness to what is Greek. The student must turn for an antidote to the more cautious pages of Miss Hutton, from which modern inventions are carefully excluded.

PERCY GARDNER.

MONTHLY RECORD.

ITALY.

Rome.—An interesting fragment of a bronze military diploma has been found, dating from the time of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, the year being A.D. 162. It has reference to a soldier of the Rhaetian army, apparently of barbarian origin, as his name reads *Asuodane*. It is very similar to a diploma of A.D. 166 published in *C.I.L.* iii. p. 1991, which mentions like this the two *alae*: *Flavia fidelis milliaria* (in the other called *gemellaria*), and *Flavia singularium*; a third *ala* here mentioned is the *Flavia Auriana civium Romanorum*. It mentions as consul of the year, M. Insteius Bithynicus, whose epitaph has been found at Salerno (*C.I.L.* x. 522).¹

A new fragment of the *Acta* of the Frates Arvales has been found, which follows on to *C.I.L.* vi. 2109: it contains parts of two columns, the first referring to the solemn ceremonies of the second day, sacred to Dea Dia, the second to an expiatory sacrifice. It appears to date from B.C. 219.²

In the part of the Forum now in course of excavation an inscription has come to light which runs as follows: NVMINI DEAE | VIENNAE | EX D D | M NIGIDIVS PATERNVS | II VIRAL PON CVR. The expressions *ex d(ocurionum) d(ecreto)* and *dumviralis* show that the inscription was originally set up not at Rome but in a *municipium*, and that this place is Vienna (Vienne in France) is clearly shown by the dedication to the tutelary goddess of the city. The name of this local deity also occurs on a vase found at Vienne, inscribed *Vienna felix* (*C.I.L.* xii. 5687, 43).³

In the course of the same excavations a marble pedestal has been discovered, erected to Fl. Valens

¹ *Notizie degli Scavi*, June 1899.

² *Ibid.* July 1899.

³ *Ibid.* August 1899.

by Placidus Severus, *agens* *vice* *praefecti* *praefectio*). On the right side is a patera; on the left, in place of the usual jug, the inscription PETRONIVS MAXIMVS | V · C · ITERVM · PRAEF · VRB · | CVRAVIT. Petronius was prefect of Rome in 420-1, and consul in 433, but it is not known when he was prefect for the second time. It must of course, have been between these two dates. Two other bases with the same man's name have recently been found, one with an original inscription of A.D. 242 having been used again.⁴

Within the limits of the Basilica Aemilia a fragment of the *Fasti Consulares* has come to light, which originally contained a list of the military tribunes with consular power from B.C. 380 to 376, and the consuls from B.C. 332 to 321. The block with the inscription had been torn from the walls of the Regia and used as the threshold of a public office on the site; only about one-fifth remains. The tribunes here mentioned are only otherwise known from Diodorus (xv. 50) and Livy (vi. 27), both of whom give the names inaccurately. The former gives seven, the latter six, but the new fragment nine, with names and genealogies in full; it also states that at the end of the year T. Quintius Cincinnatus Capitolinus was elected Dictator *rei gerundae causae*, with Aulus Sempronius Atratinus as head of his staff. There is another mention of the election of Cnaeus Quintius Capitolinus to the dictatorship, *clavi figendi causae*, on an occasion of a great mortality among the patrician families.⁵

The recently cleared pavement of the Comitium shows three (if not four) different levels, each with traces of the special arrangements of the period. On the third are signs of a line of columns or pedestals and a marble screen (*transenna*), separating the steps from the public part. On the highest floor are traces of a fountain, the basin of which was found in 1544, set up in 1593 near the temple of Castor, and in 1817 placed on the Quirinal.⁶

On the Via Domenico Fontana numerous sepulchral edifices of tufa, of the last century of the Republic, have come to light. It was apparently a burial-place for wealthy tradesmen; the name occurs of one C. Vergilius, a butcher: LANIVS · AB · LVCO · LVBENT (i.e. Libitinae).⁶

Pompeii.—Further details are published of the temple excavated in 1898. The stylobate rested on a bed of *opus incertum*; the cella was entered by a sort of vestibule. Certain facts seem to point to its having been in course of demolition at the time of the eruption. Among the architectural fragments are three Corinthian capitals of Luna marble, a column and bases, and part of an architrave. The inscriptions extend over the period B.C. 25 to A.D. 40, and seem to show that the building was an often mentioned *aedes ministrorum Mercurii Maiae postea Augusti*.⁷

In Insula N. the atrium of a house has been brought to light containing interesting paintings. In the middle is a niche represented as in an *aedicula*, with a wreath and patera on the pediment, on either side of which is an eagle with palm-branch. On either side of the niche are Fortune, and Venus with Cupid; beyond these, Jupiter, and Bacchus giving drink to a panther. Below is a frieze with Minerva, Hercules crowned by Victory, and Mercury, a boar for sacrifice, a cock, and an *omphalos* with serpent. Other paintings represent a Nereid on a sea-cow,

Narcissus, Ariadne in Naxos found by Dionysos, and various deities. In another house were paintings, chiefly hunting-scenes and landscapes; among them are Europa on the bull, Daedalos with Icaros, and a landscape representing a lake in which floats a wooden construction like that found at Nemi (*Notizie*, 1895, pp. 361, 471).⁴

Piperno (Priverium in Latium).—Polygonal constructions of early date have been unearthed, including a *tholos* which contained a few primitive vases and two bronze daggers. The structure suggests a comparison with the Mycenaean bee-hive tombs. There were also some remains of the Roman period, including Republican *asses* and *denarii*, and Imperial bronze coins. A fragment of a circular altar of white marble had ox-skulls and festoons sculptured in relief and was inscribed CARMEIVS · N...; this is probably of the Republican period. A fragment of a slab of black basalt had imitations of Egyptian hieroglyphics and designs, and was probably connected with the worship of Isis.⁸

Civita Castellana.—A votive inscription has been found, beginning: C · VARIUS HERMES | SANCTO · SORANO | APOLLINI · PRO · SAL, etc. This is the first epigraphical mention of Soranus, but his cult at Soracte is well attested. He is designated Apollo as a solar deity, and was also identified with Dispatier (see Serv. ad *Aen.* xi. 785).⁹

Asciano (Etruria).—A large and splendid mosaic, with remains of baths, has been discovered, but as it lies under a house only parts have been dug out. It is composed of fine marble *tessellae* of various colours, and belonged to a hall of considerable size; it is in excellent preservation. It consists of two parts, the one with rosettes and various vegetable patterns, the other with eight-point stars and squares of guilloche between them. The colours used are white, black, grey, blue, red, pink, green and yellow. The extent of the edifice cannot as yet be ascertained. Discs of terracotta ten inches in diameter were found, which had apparently been exposed to heat, and therefore must have formed part of a *suspensura*. The date of this pavement is the first century of our era.⁷

Turin.—Some interesting epigraphical discoveries have been made, including three fairly complete inscriptions. One of these contains the names of Cottius (cf. *C.I.L.* v. 7296) and Donnus (*C.I.L.* v. 7232); the third has that of Stellatina, a *turarius* or seller of incense, this name being fairly common locally (cf. *Notizie*, 1884, p. 338). This man was one of the *seviri* (cf. *C.I.L.* v. 7020 ff.).¹

SICILY.

Syracuse.—Dr. Orsi has been exploring Plemmyrium, and has excavated numerous tombs of early date, containing however but few objects. In one were a votive bronze weapon, a necklace of 140 beads, in amber and vitreous paste, and an ivory comb, probably of the Mycenaean period. They resemble objects found at Ialysos; for the comb, compare one found at Spata, *Bull. de Corr. Hell.* ii. (1878), pl. 17. These tombs seem to belong to the second Siculan period, about the eleventh century B.C. On the top of Plemmyrium is a circular construction, which Dr. Orsi has been investigating. It was at first supposed to be a military structure of some kind, either a tower or beacon, but is more probably a sepulchral monument. It may be the place where the Syracusans publicly buried the bones of the defenders of their country at Himera in 407 B.C. (Diod. Sic. xiii. 75), thus resembling the well-known *σάρος* at Marathon.⁷

⁴ *Notizie degli Scavi*, Sept. 1899.

⁵ *Athenaeum*, 17 March, 1900.

⁶ *Athenaeum*, 14 April, 1900.

⁷ *Notizie degli Scavi*, Jan. 1899.

⁸ *Notizie degli Scavi*, March 1899.

⁹ *Ibid.* Feb. 1899.

GREECE.

Athens.—The front part of the Stoa of Attalos has now all been laid bare; eleven new chambers have been cleared out, and 21 in all now lie open. The whole of the inner row of columns can now be certainly traced, also the foundations of a second *exedra*, showing that the three northernmost chambers with part of the hall adjoining and the present northern *exedra* do not belong to the original building, though they are not much later. A helmeted head of Athena and numerous architectural fragments have been found. The excavations are now nearly completed.¹⁰

H. B. WALTERS.

Journal international d'archéologie numismatique. (Athens). Part 4, 1899.

M. P. Vlasto. 'Les monnaies d'or de Tarente.' Vlasto contributes a carefully compiled list of the gold coins of Tarentum, fully illustrated in five plates. He follows Evans (*Horsemen of Tarentum*) in making the first issue coincide with the alliance between Tarentum and Sparta under Archidamos, B.C. 340–338. This may be correct, but it would perhaps have been worth while to discuss the alternative date suggested by me in the *Num. Chron.* for 1899, p. 86, namely B.C. 334, the year when Alexander of Epirus brought aid to the Tarentines. The beautiful head wearing an ornamented stephane and diaphanous veil (e.g. *Num. Chron.* 1899, pl. vii. 5) has been called Aphrodite, Hera, Persephone (Evans) and Amphitrite (P. Gardner). There is something to be said for each of these identifications. Vlasto is in favour of Hera or of Amphitrite.—J. N. Svoronos. Βυσαντιακά νομισματικά ζητήματα. Pages 341–401 with 70 vignettes.

Coins of Cleopatra. To the *Revue belge de*

Numismatique for the present year, Mr. L. Forrer contributes some articles on the coins struck by, or connected with Cleopatra (B.C. 52–30). His list is no doubt fuller than any previously published and is illustrated by some engravings of coins in the Paris and Vienna collections, though reproductions by photography would have been more satisfactory. This paper must be used with caution as some of Mr. Forrer's descriptions certainly need revision. In the account of the important coins struck at Ascalon (p. 25, no. 1; p. 27 no. 3) some confusing misprints occur, though, at that point in his paper, Mr. Forrer correctly states (after De Sauley and Head) that these coins were dated according to the Era of Ascalon, B.C. 104. Unfortunately, later on (p. 149), Mr. Forrer withdraws this Era in favour of an Era B.C. 81 formerly suggested by M. Feuadent, the well-known coin-dealer, in a paper in the *Revue numismatique* for 1874–77. Mr. Forrer (somewhat rashly) assumes that this paper has never been seen by the numismatists of the British Museum while he at the same time asserts that Feuadent's Era is incontestably right ('ce savant établit sans l'ombre d'un doute que l'ère' &c.). As a matter of fact Feuadent's era has long been known to be based on his mistaken reading of two coins of Ascalon engraved by De Sauley. These coins—i.e. the identical specimens—are now, and have been for the last twenty-five years, in the British Museum and the date that they bear is '55' and not '50' as Feuadent supposed. Now if we subtract year '55' from Feuadent's Era B.C. 81 we arrive at B.C. 26 as the date of the coins, which is absurd, because Cleopatra had then been dead for several years. The tetradrachm on p. 158 cited by Forrer from De Sauley is also now in the British Museum; the description AIMA=LHA should be corrected to IMA=LMA (i.e. year 41). On p. 152, no. 5, Λ has been printed instead of ΛϚ (year 6); on p. 27 for VΣYAΘY read AΣYAΘY. 'Alchibus' (p. 16) should be Archibius.

WARWICK WROTH.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

American Journal of Philology. Vol. xx. 4. Whole No. 80, 1899.

Servius and the Scholia of Daniel, part ii., R. B. Steele. *The Catalogues of Victors at the Dionysia and Lenaea*, C.I.A. ii. 977, E. Capps. *New Readings from the Freising Fragments of the Fables of Hyginus*, G. D. Kellogg. *Rhythmic Accent in Ancient Verse. A Reply*, C. E. Bennett. *Comment on Professor Bennett's Reply*, G. L. Hendrickson.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES. John's P. Cornelius Tacitus, *Dialogus de Oratoribus* (G. L. Hendrickson). Levi's *La doctrine du sacrifice dans les Brâhmanas* (H. Oertel). Lebreton's *L'adjectif verbal latin en -ndus and Studien zur Geschichte der lateinischen Wortbildung. Das Suffix -do* (E. W. Fay).

Mnemosyne. Vol. 28. Part 2. 1900.

Ad papyrus Græcos, H. van Herwerden. Critical remarks on the Oxyrhynchus papyri and the Berlin papyri. *Emendatur A.P.* vii. 495. 3, H. v. H. For *ἡθέων* proposes *ἡθελών*. *De provinciis consularibus*, §4, J. v. d. V. On the very rare use of *vis*=multitudo in Cicero without an epithet. *Ob-*

servationes Miscellaneae ad Plutarchi Moralia, (continued), S. A. Naber. *Babriana*, H. van Herwerden. Critical notes with reference to Crusius' edition. Remarks on the metre of Babrius. Notes on the restoration of the lost fables from the words of the periphrast. *De variis lectionibus a Rutherfordio e scholiis Aristophaneis erutis*, J. van Ijzeren. *Ad Aristophanis Equites observationes*, J. v. Leeuwen. *Ad Tacitum*, C. M. Francken. In Ann. i. 2. (Augustus) *consulem se ferens et ad tuendam plebem tribunicio iure contentum proposuit aut et* on the ground that A. was not consul and exercised trib. pot. at the same time. *Pro. M. Caelio* §5, J. v. d. V. *Read's fundamenta defensionis meae, quae firmissima sunt, si <quidem> nitentur iudicio suorum.* *De Heliaeis Atheniensibus*, J. Vürtheim. No reliance can be placed on Schol. ad Ar. Plut. 277, where it is stated that the ten sections of jurymen were drawn respectively from the ten tribes. It appears moreover that the number of tribunals is uncertain as δέκα is only supplied by conjecture in Rep. Athen. 63 §2. ΠΟΛΥΤΡΟΦΟΣ—ΠΟΛΥΦΟΡΟΣ, J. v. L. In Athenaeus i. (10a) we must read πολυφόρον as an

¹⁰ *Athen. Mittheilungen*, 1899, pt. 4, p. 487.

epithet of *αἶψα* (quippe qui multam aquam ferret admixtam) and not *πολύτροφος*, cf. Ar. Plut. 853.

Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, etc. Vol. 5. Part 1, 1900.

Das sogenannte Theaion und sein plastischer Schmuck, W. Amelung. A review of Sauer's work with this title. Though Sauer has not succeeded in his main object—that of determining from sculpture the former inhabitant of the temple—which is something impossible, yet he shows that the reconstruction of the frieze and metopes brings us to the school of Critios and Nesiotes. Remarks are made on two plates here given. *Altische Liebestheorien und die zeitliche Folge des Platonischen Phaidros sowie der beiden Symposien*, I. Bruns. A comparison of the theory of love in the Phaedrus and Symposium with that put forward in the 8th book of the Laws (837A–D). The latter work, it must be remembered, had a practical educational object while the former writings were scientific. *Die gegenwärtige Krisis in der Auffassung der älteren römischen Geschichte*, O. E. Schmidt. Most of this art. is a review of the first vol. (in 2 parts) of Pais' *Storia di Roma*, with special reference to the recent archaeological discoveries in Rome. Among German scholars H. and A. Nissen and E. Meyer are likely to follow them up.

Burekhardt's *Griechische Kulturgeschichte* (3rd edition by J. Oeri) is reviewed by F. Koepf.

Part 2. *Das Fortleben des Chors im griechischen Drama*, A. Körte. Even in the Hellenistic period comic as well as tragic choruses were usual. The comic choruses having only a slight connexion with the piece were not kept in editions of the text and the Roman adapters of the New Comedy rejected them. We may infer therefore that in the Hellenistic as well as in the classical period the actors had their place in the orchestra, not on the high narrow proscenium. *Römisch-germanische Forschung in Nordwestdeutschland*, C. Schuckhardt. Many remains of bridges and fortifications formerly thought to be Roman are now seen to be of Carolingian times or of the middle ages and this applies to many of the so-called Roman forts on the Hase and Lippe. Even Knoke's 'camp of Varus in Habichtswald' turns out to belong to the 17th century. On the other hand excavations near Haltern on the Lippe have disclosed a real Roman fort which can hardly be any other than Aliso. The old-German Teutoburg is to be recognised in the Grotenburg near Detmold. *Die Arbeitsweise der Naturvölker*, A. Vierkandt. Criticizes Bücher's *Arbeit und Rhythmus* and remarks that in antiquity the accompaniment of the work of slaves by music was a regular phenomenon. The object was to provide an incitement to the work. *Eine moderne französische Bearbeitung des Euripideischen Ion*, E. Ernateringer. A comparison between Leonote de Lisle's *Apollonide* and the *Ion* of Euripides. The former is rather Sophoclean than Euripidean, and in many places shows a finer psychological motive than its original.

Part 3. *Zum Kapitulinischen 'Aischylos'*, P. J. Möbius and F. Studniczka. From measurements of the head Möbius concludes that this represents some great mathematician, and suggests Archimedes. Studniczka considers that it cannot be later than B.C. 300 and suggests Xenocrates, the successor of Plato. *Die Bestattungsspende bei den Griechen*, W. Barth. In ancient Greece burial was accompanied by libations to the dead. This is shown by the custom still surviving in modern Greece, and we gather from the Antigone and Iph. in Tauris that the burial was

not considered complete without the libation. *Die grammatischen Kategorien*, K. Goebel. *Über die Entstehung des Bellum Gallicum*, F. Vogel. The eighth book of B. G. can hardly be the work of Hirtius, for (1) Antonius is therein praised and Hirtius was on bad terms with him, (2) from August to December of 44 B.C. H. was seriously ill and so had neither time nor power to write such a work; (3) H. did not take part in the Spanish war while the unknown writer did. It is shown that Caesar's work was not written at one time but gradually by the evidence of contradictory statements in different books. Passages that point in the opposite direction are probably later additions.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1900.

21 March. E. Lange, *Xenophon. Sein Leben, Seine Geistesart und Seine Werke* (O. Güthling), favourable. H. Schiller, *Ueber Entstehung und Echtheit des Corpus Caesarianum* (B. Kübler), very favourable. J. Imelmann, *Donec gratus eram tibi* (O. Weissenfels). 'Will please all readers of Horace.' E. Bennett, *What was Ictus in Latin prosody?* (H. Draheim). 'His assertions cannot be maintained.'

28 March. E. Audouin, *De la déclinaison dans les langues indo-européennes* (Bartholomae). 'An excellent collection of material.' E. Kautsch, *Die Apokryphen und Pseudopigraphen des Alten Testaments*. Lief. 15–34 (R. Neumann), very favourable. F. Studniczka, *Die Siegesgöttin* (B. Sauer), very favourable. R. Pappritz, *Marius und Sulla* (A. Höck), favourable. O. E. Schmidt, *Ciceros Villen* (O. Weissenfels). 'A valuable contribution to the appreciation of Cicero and Roman life at the close of the Republic'. D. Detlefsen, *Untersuchungen über die Zusammensetzung der Naturgeschichte des Plinius* (J. Müller), favourable. A. Üppgren, *De verborum peculiaribus et propriis numeris*. I (H. Draheim), unfavourable.

4 April. B. Apostolides, *Essai sur l'Hellénisme Égyptien* (A. Wiedemann), unfavourable. J. Bocquet, *Principe de phonétique grecque* (F. Müller). 'The plan of the book to be commended, but there are many mistakes.' *Herodotus*, Buch V–IX von A. Fritzsch (W. Gemoll), favourable. Senofonte, *Le memorie Socratiche* comm. da A. Corradi e C. Landi (O. Güthling), favourable. *Levi a. u. c. lib. xxxv*, ed. W. Pflüger (A. Reckzey), favourable. G. Richter, *Kritische Untersuchungen zu Senecas Tragödien* (W. Gemoll), favourable. F. Stolz, *Über die Entwicklung der indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Bartholomae), unfavourable.

11 April. R. Hirzel, *Ἀγραφο νόμος* (O. Weissenfels), favourable. P. E. Legrand, *Quo animo Graeci praesertim Vet IV saeculis tum in vita privata tum in publicis rebus divinationem adhibuerint* (W. Kroll). 'A well-arranged collection of material.' C. Niebuhr, *Einflüsse orientalischer Politik auf Griechenland im 6 und 5 Jahrhundert* (V. Prášek), favourable. A. Jeremias, *Hölle und Paradies bei den Babyloniern* (V. Prášek), favourable. O. Gradenwitz, *Einführung in die Papyruskunde I* (C. Wessely), very favourable. *Δεσβώνακος περί σχημάτων* rec. R. Müller (W. Schmid), favourable. O. Weise *Charakteristik der lateinischen Sprache*. 2. A. (H. Ziemer), very favourable. *Lucreti de rerum natura libri sex*, rec. C. Bailey (O. Weissenfels). 'The editor offers an edition that contains all that is essential.' A. Schöne, *Die Weltchronik des Eusebios in ihrer Bearbeitung durch Hieronymus* (F. Rühl), favourable.

18 April. J. Nicole, *Les papyrus de Genève; Papyrus Grecs*, 2 fasc. (C. Wessely). This part contains about 60 new pieces. A. Billerbeck, *Der Festungsbau im alten Orient* (V. Prášek), favourable. C. Hert-

ling, *Quaestiones mimicae* (C. Haebelin). 'Shows diligence and acuteness.' *Vocabularium iurisprudentiae Romanae*, I. contin. B. Kübler et R. Helm. Fasc. III. *amitto-ceterum* (W. Kalb). *Latin Literature of the Empire*, selected and edited by A. Gudeman. II. *Poetry*, (F. Harder). 'This excellent book has attained its object.'

25 April. E. Martini, *Analecta Laertiana* (C. Haebelin). 'These are prolegomena to an edition which it is to be hoped will soon appear.' C. Denig, *Mittheilungen aus dem griechischen Miscellancodex 2773 des Grossh. Hofbibliothek zu Darmstadt* (C. Haebelin), favourable. B. Maurenbrecher, *Forschungen zur lateinischen Sprachgeschichte und Metrik*. 1. Hiatus und Verschleifung im alten Latein (Th. Birt), unfavourable. J. Sommer, *Die Komparations-suffixe im Lateinischen* (H. Ziemer), very favourable. M. Niedermann, *Studien zur Geschichte der lateinischen Wortbildung* (H. Ziemer), very favourable. M. Leopold, *De orationibus quatuor, quae iniuria Ciceroni vindicantur* (C. Fries). These are 'post reditum in senatu, post reditum ad Quirites, de domo sua, de haruspicum responso.' Does not make out his case. *Livi ab. u. c. libri*, ed. A. Zingerle, vii. 1 (lib. 41). Ed. mai. (W. Heraeus), very favourable.

2 May. Platon's *Gorgias* von J. Stender (H. Draheim), favourable. P. Masqueray, *Traité de métrique grecque* (C. Haebelin). 'Can be recommended.' E. Kind, *Quaestionum Philarchearum capita tria ad Marii et Sullae vitas pertinentia* (A. Hück), favourable. M. Holleaux, *Sur un passage*

de Flavius Josephus (J. Dräseke). On Ant. Jud. xii. 4. 155. *Didascaliae Apostolorum fragmenta Veronensia latina*, primum ed. E. Hauler. I (J. Dräseke), very favourable. *Inschriften des Mainzer Museums*, zusammengest. von K. Körber (M. Ihm). These are Roman, Greek, and of the middle ages.

9 May. C. Wendel, *De nominibus bucolicis* (M. Rannow). 'The fruit of earnest and thoughtful study.' Pausanias, *Beschreibung von Griechenland*, herausg. von H. Hitzig, mit Anm. von H. Hitzig und H. Blümner. 2. Halbband, Buch II. und III. (Fr. Spiro). 'A monumental edition.' K. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Alterthumskunde*. 4. Band, 2. Hälfte (U. Zernial). Contains the conclusion of the commentary on Tacitus' *Germania*, very favourable. E. Schill, *Anleitung zur Erhaltung und Ausbesserung von Handschriften* (C. Haebelin). P. Cauer, *Wie dient das Gymnasium dem Leben?* (O. Weissenfels). A defence of a training in the classics.

16 May. J. Stöcklein, *Bedeutungswandel der Wörter* (K. Schmidt), favourable. E. Preuner, *Ein Delphisches Weihgeschenk* (L. Urlichs), very favourable. R. Dimitrijević, *Studia Hesiodica* (C. Haebelin), very favourable. Bericht der Vereins *Carnuntum 1897/98* und *Der Römische Limes in Österreich* Heft I. (M. Ihm). F. Hueppe, *Über antike und moderne Gymnastik* (J. Küppers), favourable. W. Gemoll, *Die Handschriften der Petro-Paulinischen Kirchenbibliothek zu Liegnitz* (H.D.). O. Posse, *Handschriften-Konservierung* (C. Haebelin). 'Very important for all libraries that possess manuscripts.'

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

- Aristophanes*. Vahlen (J.) *Quaestiones Aristophanae alterae*. 4to. 17 pp. Berlin.
Augustinus. Kuhlmann (H.) *De veterum historicorum in Augustini de civitate dei libro primo, altero, tertio vestigiis*. 4to. 20 pp. Schleswig.
Böhtlingk (O.) *Zum lateinischen Gerundium und Gerundivum*. 8vo. 2 pp. Leipzig.
Brugmann (K.) *Der Ursprung der Barytona auf -os*. Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der sogenannten Kurzformen des Griechischen. 8vo. 42 pp. Leipzig.
Caesar. Frese (R.) *Beiträge zur Beurteilung der Sprache Caesars mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des bellum civile*. 8vo. 72 pp. München.
Cicero. Ausgewählte Briefe, für den Schulgebrauch erklärt von K. Schirmer. 8vo. xv, 191 pp. Paderborn, Schöningh. 1 M. 60.
— Vahlen (J.) *Quaestiones Tullianae*. 4to. 19 pp. Berlin.
— Vahlen (J.) *Zu Ciceros philosophischen Schriften*. 4to. 22 pp. Berlin.
— Zingler (J.) *De Cicerone historico quaestiones*. 8vo. 38 pp. Berlin.
Democritos. Dyroff (A.) *Demokritstudien*. 8vo. 48 pp. München.
Gudemann (Alfr.) *Latin literature of the empire*, selected and edited with introductions. 2 vols. 12mo. New York, Harper. Each vol. \$1.80.
Herodotus. Book 2. Translation with test papers by J. F. Stout. Crown 8vo. 98 pp. (Univ. Tutor. Series.) Clive. 3s. 6d.
Hertling (C.) *Quaestiones mimicae*. 8vo. 44 pp. Strassburg.

- Hoffmann*. Zur Methode des griechischen Grammatik-Unterrichts. 4to. 16 pp. Gross-Strehlitz. 1 M.
Homer. *Iliad*, Books 22-24. Translated with test papers by W. Woodhouse and R. M. Thomas. Crown 8vo. 72 pp. (Univ. Tutor. Series.) Clive. 2s. 6d.
— Ludwig (A.) *Zwei byzantinische Odysseus-Legenden*. 4to. 20 pp. Königsberg.
Hubel (K.) *Die Brieffragmente der Cornelia der Mutter der Gracchen*. 8vo. 76 pp. Erlangen.
Ignatius. Amelung (A.) *Untersuchungen über Pseudo-Ignatius*. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte einer litterarischen Fälschung. 8vo. 82 pp. Marburg.
Lermann (W.) *Athenatypen auf griechischen Münzen*. 8vo. v, 92 pp., 2 plates. München, Beck. 3 M. 50.
Livy, Book 9. Literally translated by J. A. Prout. Crown 8vo. 70 pp. (Kelly's Keys.) Cornish. 1s. 6d.
Ludwig (A.) *Kritische Beiträge zu den poetischen Erzeugnissen griechischer Magie und Theosophie*. 4to. 24 pp. Königsberg.
Monumenti antichi pubblicati per la cura della r. accademia dei Lincei. Vol. ix. fasc. 1. 2. 4to. 540 columns, 22 plates. Milan, Hoepli. 66 lire.
Nageldinger, *Berührungspunkte der griechischen und französischen Syntax*. 4to. 20 pp. Zabern.
Nicolaus Damascenus. Witte (Guil.) *De Nicolai Damasceni fragmentorum romanorum fontibus*. 8vo. 50 pp. Berlin, Mayer & M. 1 M. 20.

- Ovid.* Elwald (R.) Exegetischer Kommentar zur XIV. Heroide Ovids. 4to. 26 pp. Gotha.
- Palladas.* Franke (A.) De Pallada epigrammatographo. 8vo. 100 pp. Leipzig.
- Platon.* Hirmer (J.) Entstehung und Komposition der Platonischen Politeia. 8vo. 55 pp. München.
- Holsten (R.) Platos Ethik in ihren Verhältnissen zum griechischen Volksglauben. 4to. 40 pp. Stettin.
- Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften.* Herausgegeben von H. Collitz und W. F. Bechtel. Vol. iii, 2. Fasc. 2: Blass (F.) Die Inschriften von Thera und Melos. 8vo. Pp. 147 to 226. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & R. 2 M. 80.
- Schröder* (B.) Romanische Elemente in dem Latein der Leges Alamannorum. 8vo. 72 pp. Rostock.
- Seneca.* Richter (G.) Kritische Untersuchungen zu Senecas Tragödien. 4to. 47 pp. Jena.
- Uhl (A.) Quaestiones criticae in L. Annaci Senecae dialogos. 8vo. 54 pp. Strassburg.
- Septuagint.* Nestle (E.) Septuagintastudien III. 4to. 35 pp. Maulbronn.
- Sophocles.* Stahl (J. M.) De vaticiniorum in Sophoclis Trachiniis vi et sententia. 4to. 16 pp. Münster.
- Stahl (J. M.) Emendationes Sophocleae. 4to. 22 pp. Münster.
- Staignüller* (H.) Beiträge zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften im klassischen Altertume. 4to. 40 pp. Stuttgart.
- Suetonius.* Körtge (Gust.) In Suetonii de viris illustribus libros inquisitionum capita tria. (Dissertationes philol. Halenses, Vol. xiv, pars iii.) 8vo. 98 pp. Halle, Niemeyer. 2 M. 40.
- Tacitus.* Zöschbauer (F.) Zur Germania des Tacitus. 8vo. 36 pp. Wien.
- Terentius.* Tschernajew (P.) De sermone Terentii plebeio aut quotidiano. 8vo. 78 pp. Casani.
- Theodotus.* Ludwig (A.) De Theodoti carmine Graeco-Judaico. 4to. 8 pp. Königsberg.
- Theophrastus Eresius.* Wirtz (P.) De Theophrasti Eresii libris phytologicis. 8vo. 62 pp. Strassburg.
- Tragici graeci.* Riedel (C.) Alliteration bei den drei grossen griechischen Tragikern. 8vo. 124 pp., 3 plates. Erlangen.
- Vintscher* (J.) Die *avro*-Composita sprachwissenschaftlich klassifiziert. 8vo. 19 pp. Gmunden.
- Wilde* (Sam.) Geometrische Vasen aus Griechenland. [Aus Jahrbuch des kais. deutschen Archaeologischen Institutes.] 4to. v, 62 pp., engravings. Berlin, Reimer. 3 M.
- Wilpert* (Osc.) Das Schema Pindaricum und ähnliche grammatische Constructionen. 4to. 11 pp. Oppeln. 1 M.
- Wissmann* (F.) Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Auswahl lateinischer Musterbeispiele. 4to. 22 pp. Alzey.
- Xenophon.* Schurr (F.) Xenophon quo consilio commentariorum Socraticorum prioribus libris tribus adiecerit quartum et qua ratione ipsius libri quarti argumentorum ordinem excogitaverit. 8vo. 20 pp. Erlangen.
- Zucker (A.) Beobachtungen über den Gebrauch des Artikels bei Personennamen in Xenophons Anabasis. 8vo. 67 pp. Nürnberg.

CORRIGENDA.

The readers of the *Classical Review* are asked to correct the following errata:—

- P. 104a, l. 28 (March) for ἀπόντων read ἀκόντων.
 P. 105b, l. 22 for 'befel' read 'befal.'
 P. 154a, l. 36 (April) for 'Patruvius' read 'Palinurus.'
 Ib. b. end of second par., for 'Avisanctus' read 'Amsanctus.'

The Classical Review

JULY 1900.

THE first simultaneous appearance in this journal of brief reports of meetings of the Oxford and Cambridge Philological Societies suggests that some account of the sister societies may interest readers of the *Classical Review*. For the following notice of the elder society, as it would appear to be, we are indebted to its Honorary Secretary, Mr. J. L. Myres, of Christ Church.

'The Oxford Philological Society was formed in 1870 'for the purpose of mutual help in the study of the Greek and Latin language and literature,' and usually meets two or three times a term in the evening for the discussion of papers. Provision has always been made for the discussion of philological papers 'not immediately concerned with Greek or Latin;' and since the decease of the Ancient History Society, a number of papers have been presented dealing with historical and archaeological subjects. The membership has fluctuated between fifty and one hundred; and the first and only President is the present Provost of Oriel. From 1879 to 1890 the Society published annual Transactions in demy 8vo. form, containing the abstracts, and in some cases the full text, of the papers which were read before the Society. The first number contains also the titles of the papers which had been already read before the Society since its foundation, and a reference to those which are published elsewhere in full.

'By a resolution carried in January 1900, there will in future be *six* meetings in the Michaelmas and Lent terms; of which two will be devoted exclusively to philological and literary papers, two to papers on ancient philosophy; and two to papers on ancient history and archaeology.'

NO. CXXV. VOL. XIV.

The published records of the Cambridge Society begin abruptly with the mention of a meeting on February 23, 1872 when, Professor Cowell being President, a Council was elected, and Mr. Jebb (now Professor of Greek) retired from the office of Secretary. It appears to have been an enlargement of a smaller society which met for the purpose of discussing philological, that is to say etymological questions. It is not limited to Cambridge men, it admits ladies to membership, and consists largely of non-residents. It publishes both Proceedings annually, and Transactions from time to time; and as it takes a copy of the *Journal of Philology* for each of its ordinary members, who number about 140, it must rank as the most important supporter of that publication. It possesses a small library, consisting chiefly of periodicals and books acquired by exchange. The Presidency is now practically a biennial office. Its present holder is Dr. C. Taylor, Master of St. John's College; and the Secretaries are Mr. J. A. Nairn, Trinity, and Mr. H. M. Chadwick, Clare.

The proposals of the Cambridge Board of Classics for the improvement of the first part of the Classical Tripos were adopted, not unanimously indeed, but without serious opposition. Their effect for good or ill cannot however be seen for some time as detailed regulations will have to be framed and due notice given of the changes.

We regret that by an oversight in the notice of Dr. P. Shorey's Odes and Epodes of Horace, the editor was taken to task for the phrase 'the blushful Hippocrene,' instead of the prime offender, John Keats.

THE TEXT OF THE *ILLIAD*—II.

IN a previous paper (March 1899) I endeavoured to show that the existing MSS. of the *Iliad* constitute a vulgate, with two exceptions, the Ptolemaic fragments of papyrus and one minuscule family, *h*. The place that the Ptolemaic fragments hold in Homeric tradition is still a mystery,¹ and is likely to remain so, until Teptunis or some yet more fertile site enlighten us. I proceed in this article to elucidate the mediaeval family *h*.

The peculiarity of this family is that, compared to any other group of MSS., it is overwhelmingly Aristarchean. This fact, and its importance, were first brought out by Dr. Leaf, *Journal of Philology* xviii. p.

181 sq. While the other Homeric MSS. certainly have the same origin, whatever it be, these characteristics of *h* suggest that it may be an exception to the vulgate, and really represent some distinct current of descent. Whether this expectation is justified will I think appear from the figures that follow. I have for convenience sake dealt only with the Italian MSS. of the family, viz., M 1, 12, Vat 3, 6, 19, 23, Ven. 2, 4, and I have not been over-careful in determining the archetype, but whenever an ancient reading appears in one member, I have taken that as the reading of the family. For the purpose of this paper it was well to give *h* every advantage.

	A	B	Γ	Δ	E	Z	H	Θ	I	K	Λ	M	N	Ξ	O	Π	P	Σ	T	Υ	Φ	X	Ψ	Ω
Peculiar readings	0	8	3	7	5	4	9	9	10	10	13	12	11	15	7	14	12	9	4	9	16	10	9	15
Aristarchus ...				3	3	1	3	3	6	3	3	3	2	5			2	1	1	2	2			1
Aristophanes ...							1				1			1	1	1	1				1			
Zenodotus ...																	1	1						
Ancient (non-Ar.)	1	1					1				2	2	1			4		1	2	3		1		
No anc. authority	7	2	4	2	3	4	6	4	7	9	7	7	8	7	13	4	7	2	5	10	10	8	14	

TOTALS.

Peculiar readings ...	...	...	221
Aristarchus...	...	...	44
Aristophanes ...	...	...	7
Zenodotus ...	...	...	1
Ancient (non-Ar.) ...	...	...	19
No ancient authority	...	...	150

Expressed in percentages, of every 100 peculiar readings in *h*, 20 are Aristarchean, 12 are ancient but non-Aristarchean, and the remainder, 68, have no known source.

What conclusion upon the origin of the family do these figures indicate? Two hypotheses naturally present themselves:

¹ The fragments published by Professors Mahaffy and Nicole contain no clue to any ancient connection; the Geneva MS. on A 814, 822 has coincidences with mediaeval MSS. and (822) with an *ἐν ἄλλω* of Ven. A, but nothing further can be inferred. Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt's pieces have two superscribed variants at φ 397, 398, one of which, *ὑποπόσιον*, is known to be Antimachus' reading, the other (*ἐμέ* for *διὰ*) may belong to Antimachus also. If these variants, as is most probable, were added out of curiosity, then at all events we know that the edition to which the fragments belong is not that of Antimachus: it is less likely, but still conceivable, that they are intended as real corrections of actual errors of the scribe. Then the edition would be that of Antimachus. The other peculiarities lead nowhither.

There is, of course, a strong likeness between all these fragments and the copies used by Aeschines, Plato (in the II. Alcibiades), and Plutarch. Unfortunately these variants also are all but isolated and

the family may be either a recension, or a survival more or less direct of an ancient edition. The former is the suggestion which *prima facie* most commends itself: we are familiar with attempts upon the Homeric text for at least six centuries, and there would seem nothing to hinder the view that towards the decline of the ancient world, about the period when the Viermännercommentar was reduced to scholia, and when so many Latin authors underwent revision, a grammarian should have improved the common text by the fruits of his reading.

Natural as the view is, it seems at once set aside by the results given above. A

connect with no known ancient source. One possibility has not been noticed. One of the passages in which Aeschines' copy departs from the common text is ψ 77 sq. His substantial differences—the addition of 81a, 83a b, and the new versions of 82 and 84 are nowhere else alluded to, but his verbal variant in 77, *οὐ γὰρ ἔτι* for *οὐ μὲν γὰρ* is quoted by schol. A as *ἐν τισὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν*. It is possible, considering how defective our knowledge of the *πολιτικά* is, that the additions also may have come from the same copy—one of the *κατὰ πόλεις*. (Aeschines also appears to omit 92, a verse athetised by Aristarchus, and of which we are told *οὐκ ἦν ἐν πάσαις*.) It is perhaps not too much to assume that Aeschines' quotations are made from the same book. (Plato also, *Ion* 538 D, reads *πῆμα* in Ω 82, with *ἐνταὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλεις*.)

Given therefore the general resemblance in character between the papyrus-variants and the quotations there is this faint connection between the Ptolemaic papyri and the *πολιτικά*.

certain amount of eclecticism may be allowed to a commentator, but it is too much to suppose that any Graeculus could have made so eccentric a choice of readings as results from this table: not only are the readings chosen without regard to their intrinsic merit (the consideration of *merit* as such is foreign to my plan, but any one who includes that side of the question will find that survival is in no sense dependent on it), but the supposititious editor leaps at will from Aristarchus to his adversaries, and in one book and another ignores both. Nothing can be more evident than the absence of plan or intention from *h*.

If the family is not a recension, is it the descendant of an original ancient, probably prae-Aristarchean edition? This certainly daring view has met with the qualified approval of Dr. Leaf (*l.c.* p. 204). We are however met with (1) the difficulties of the readings offered by *h* that are given above: the motley, inconsistent and arbitrary selection of the lections themselves. An 'edition' which was *ex hypothesi* the source of these readings would be a marvel. (2) We actually know a considerable number of prae-Aristarchean editions, the πολιτικάί, the κατ' ἄνδρα, etc. The coincidences between these and *h* are negligible. (3) That there were other texts in existence before Aristarchus besides these appears clearly from the Ptolemaic fragments: but these fragments stand in no relation to *h*. Their characteristic is the omission or addition of lines: *h* deals very slightly in this sort of variant. Its peculiarities are verbal. (4) We have to add the great improbability of an edition, unmentioned in our scholia, and at least prae-Christian, propagating itself in obscurity and emerging in three or four copies in the 13th century. The catena of papyri is now fairly continuous and becomes every day stronger. No mediaeval family, at all, one may say roughly, is continued backwards by them: but no papyrus, Ptolemaic, Roman, or Byzantine, has yet been found which bears the faintest relation to *h*. Its disappearance and emergence would be an unparalleled literary katavotbra. (5) Lastly, as against both the recension and the survival theory, we must set the extreme imperfec-

tion of the Aristarchean tradition offered by the family. Compared with any single family, the proportion of Aristarchean readings peculiar to *h* no doubt is large (*e* 3, *f* 4, *g* 2, *h* 44); but in relation to the total recorded number of Aristarchus' lections (664), or even the total number of those which have found a place in MSS. whether few or many (495), such a total of peculiarities is trifling; and suggests that the phenomenon does not stand apart, but is only a slightly special case of the conditions under which Aristarchean readings have survived generally.

The nature of the peculiarities of *h*—that the ancient readings vary in number from book to book (Aristarchean readings being entirely absent from A, B, Γ, O, II, X, Ψ), belong to different and contrary sources, and in all cases are merely a tithe of what we know from other authorities to have existed, seems to require an origin which shall not involve purpose, but which shall provide for the free working of chance. I can think of no other than the adscription and absorption of marginal readings. This process takes us into the region of semi-conscious graphical phenomena, in which the incalculable and the casual is the rule. I suppose the ancestor of *h*, a MS. of some not very ancient period, certainly Byzantine, to have exhibited a vulgate text with a copious selection of variants in the margin, variants not chosen as proceeding from one or another critic, but as alternatives to the text. Successive copyists allowed their eye to be caught now by one now by another of these marginalia and transferred them to the book in hand. Result, the fine sprinkling of Aristarchean, anti-Aristarchean and merely ancient readings which we see.

I will not develop this suggestion further at present: but I would point out that it implies a process which is independent or almost independent of design, operates in the case of all authors without exception, is the cause of most textual variation, and involves the minimum of presupposition. It explains I think the characteristics of this family, and has an even wider application.

T. W. ALLEN.

A NEW SYSTEM OF ANALYSING GREEK LYRIC STANZAS.

GREEK Lyric poetry permits the formulation of so few rules which do not present unimpeachable exceptions that Westphal's temerity in asserting that the internal structure of stanzas *must present symmetry* is at once apparent. He ought not to have ventured further than 'the internal structure of stanzas very often presents symmetry.' No unbiassed analyser could find internal symmetry in the Epode of Pindar *Nem.* 8; while J. H. H. Schmidt's analysis, *Ol.* 7, Strophe, of six verses into six periods is enough to discredit his method at once.

It is obviously safer and more scientific not to propound dogmatic rules, but to note the comparative rarity or frequency of various forms and methods, and to expect exceptions to be discovered even if we do not know of any. Surely it was a surprise to find syncopated feet corresponding to unsyncopated feet (*vv.* 11, 26) in Bacchylides V. 51, 66, 91, 106, etc.

The analysis of true choral odes is mainly concerned with the division of such stanzas as exhibit symmetry of internal structure into *kôla*, or rhythmical sentences, arranged so as to form not only verses but also symmetrical periods in which corresponding or equated *kôla* contain an equal number of feet and frequently also present similar characteristics.

Sometimes, however, symmetrically equated *kôla* present contrast instead of similarity as to the character of the component feet, e.g., Soph. *Trach.* 893f. = ἔτεκεν ἔτεκε δὴ μεγάλην = ἄ νεόρτος ἄδε νύμφα. Soph. *Oed. R.* 172, 177 (dactylic), κλυτὰς χθονὸς αὖξεται οὔτε τόκοισιν = ἀκτὰν πρὸς ἐσπέρου θεοῦ (epitritic) cf. *Trach.* 1004f.

Noticeable is the frequent equation of a choreic verse having anacrusis with a logaoedic verse without anacrusis—e.g., Soph. *Oed. Col.* 186 τέτροφεν ἄφιλον ἀποστυγεῖν, of which case of anacrusis Schmidt offers no explanation. That this frequent form of correspondence must not tempt us to formulate a general rule is shown by Soph. *Trach.* 893f. cited above.

When two or more *kôla* or verses are equated with the same number of *kôla* or verses in a period there is sometimes an inversion of characteristics;—e.g. if *vv.* 1, 2, 3 = *vv.* 7, 8, 9 of a period, *vv.* 1, 3 and 8 only may have anacrusis, or *vv.* 2, 7, 9 may be acatalectic, the others being catalectic,

or be logaoedic the rest being choreic. The Parodos of the *Antigone* offers a good case of inversion: where two second glyconics, one second glyconic, and one third glyconic are answered by two third glyconics, one third glyconic and one second glyconic.

The two forms of contrast in correspondence which have just been mentioned, viz. contrast of choreic preceded by anacrusis with logaoedic without anacrusis, and inversion of various kinds, furnish the key to the analysis of many stanzas, and the observation of them has contributed to the evolution of the system which is here indicated.

It is abundantly clear that periodology or *kôlometry* can not be regarded as an exact science; but whenever the analyst, in presence of an alternative, chooses the less usual rather than the more usual, or makes assumptions, he must in each individual case put forward reasons for so doing and must endeavour to take into account every distinctive feature of the stanza and its component elements. Hitherto analysts have failed in these particulars more or less as compared with the present treatment of the subject, and have counted feet in too off-hand and arbitrary a manner. By counting, combined with arbitrary assumptions of syncope and pause, it is sometimes possible to produce two or more analyses between which there is little to choose. This at once recommends a system which restrains freedom of choice. Several important limitations are imposed by the system embodied in the following statements which I claim to have proved by examination of all extant melic Greek verse and all the true choral odes of Greek tragedy—not to mention kommoi and lyrics for actors to which some of the statements do not so generally apply.

(1) A stanza (strophe or epode) generally consists of one or two periods only.¹

(2) The end of a period generally coincides quite or nearly with a pause or break in the sense.

(3) In the most usual case of two

¹ Pindar has a few stanzas made up of three symmetrical periods and a few unsymmetrical stanzas in which division into periods cannot be determined with any approach to certainty. In Pindar's *Olympian Odes* instead of J. H. H. Schmidt's 94 periods I find only 27.

constituent periods to a stanza which is not a single period, the number of feet in the two periods often present a simple ratio, e.g. $\frac{1}{1}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{2}{1}$, $\frac{2}{3}$ or $\frac{3}{2}$, $\frac{3}{4}$ or $\frac{4}{3}$, $\frac{4}{5}$ or $\frac{5}{4}$ etc., $\frac{1}{3}$ or $\frac{3}{1}$, $\frac{2}{5}$ or $\frac{5}{2}$, $\frac{3}{7}$ or $\frac{7}{3}$, etc., $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{4}{1}$, $\frac{1}{5}$ or $\frac{5}{1}$ etc. etc.

(4) Symmetrical periods can sometimes be divided into sections or into symmetrical hypo-periods.

(5) The incidence of anacrusis must be carefully considered.

(6) The evidence of *MSS.* must be taken into account, though its value varies and is especially poor as to the division of long verses.

(7) The characteristics of *kôla* must be carefully considered as well as the number of feet.

(8) The assumption of syncope or pause must be made with reserve and caution, and justified by intelligible reasons besides the production of arithmetical symmetry.

(9) Symmetry in periods or internal symmetry of stanzas is not to be invariably assumed.

(10) A division of verses which places important words, having ictus on an inflexional syllable or no ictus at all, at the beginning or end of a verse is *ceteris paribus* preferable.

(11) The occurrence of inverted correspondence of characteristics is to be observed.

An analysis which falls in with more of the above eleven conditions than other

analyses is to be preferred as most likely to interpret the poet's structure of the stanza.

I agree with Westphal and Moris Schmidt in disregarding equality or uniformity in the distribution of corresponding *kôla* into verses, respect for which seems to be one reason why J. H. H. Schmidt sometimes divides up a stanza into so many periods. I proceed however, on totally distinct lines. M. Schmidt for example in the Strophe of Pindar *Nem.* 1 equates five verses with two, thus ignoring an excess of at least one verse-pause. Those who hold that verses often end in the middle of a word, cannot object to my analysis on this score.

Examples of my treatment of verse-division are Pindar *Ol.* 9, Strophe, where a verse 43 is equated with two verses 4, 3; and in the epode three verses, 4, 4, 2, with one verse, 244. The equation of 3, 35 with 5, 33 in the Strophe is not quite the same, but is a case of *inversion* of the verse-distribution of *kôla*.

In O. 1, 4, 332, 33=332, 334. In P. 2, 4343=43, 43 and 53=5, 3. In P. 1, 2, 53, 44=443, 52; P. 3, 542=2, 54 and 5, 2=25; P. 7, 23=3, 2; P. 10, 3, 332=3332; P. 11, 42=2, 4; O. 6, 45=54. With equal number of verse-pauses, O. 1, 43, 35=533, 4; O. 10, 42, 42=4, 242.

The following are simple and not exceptionally favourable illustrations of my system.

SOPH. *Trach.* 956-961 AND 965-970

II. (4) a4	str.	τὸν Ζηγὸς ἄλκιμον γόνον	}
„	antistr.	πᾶ δ' αὖ φορεῖ νιν ; ὥς φίλου	
{ (5) a3a	str.	μὴ ταρβαλέα θάνοιμι	}
„	antistr.	προκηδομένα. βαρεῖαν	
{ (6) 4	str.	μόνον εἰσιδοῦσ' ἄφαρ	}
„	antistr.	ἄψοφον φέρεi βάσιν.	
(7) a4	str.	ἐπεὶ ἐν δυσπαλλάκτοις ὀδύνας.	}
„	antistr.	αἰαῖ, ὅδ' ἀναύδατος φέρεται.	
{ (8) a3a	str.	χωρεῖν πρὸ δόμων λέγουσιν	}
„	antistr.	τί χρὴ θανόντα νιν ἢ καθ'	
{ (9) 4	str.	ἄσπετόν τι θαῦμα.	}
„	antistr.	ὑπνον ὄντα κρίναι ;	

The Arabic numbers indicate the number of feet in a *kôlon* (which is often also a verse). Anacrusis is denoted by 'a,' catalexis by a. Period II. 4, 3, 4, 4, 3, 4=22. Palindoric with prelude and mesode (v. 7). The tripodies and mesode (Third Glyconic) are logaedic, the rest choreic. As Period

I. has 16 feet, I should like Period II. to have 24 feet, but I dare not assume catalexis in v. 5 and v. 8.

As v. 8 in the antistrophe is a First Pherecratic, *θάνατον* (Bothe) should perhaps be read for *θανόντα* which may be due to *όντα* in the next verse.

SOPH. *O.C.* 668 FF.

- | | | |
|------|----------|------------------------------|
| (1) | 4a | εὐίππου, ξένε, τᾶσδε χώρας |
| (2) | a4a | ἴκου τὰ κράτιστα γὰς ἔπανλα, |
| (3) | a4 | τον ἀργῆτα Κολωνόν, ἐνθ' |
| (4) | 4 | ἡ λίγεια μινύρεται |
| (5) | a4a | θαμίζουσα μάλιστ' ἀηδὼν |
| (6) | a3 | χλωραῖς ὑπὸ βάσσαις, |
| (7) | a4a | τὸν οἰνωπὸν ἔχουσα κισσὸν |
| (8) | a3 | καὶ τῶν ἄβατον θεοῦ |
| (9) | 4a | φυλλάδα μυριόκαρπον ἀνήλιον |
| (10) | a4 chor. | ἀνήμερόν τε πάντων |
| (11) | a4a | χειμώνων ἔν ὃ βακχιώτας |
| (12) | a4a | ἀεὶ Διόνυσος ἐμβατείνει |
| (13) | 4a | θεαῖς ἀμφιπολὼν τιθῆναις. |

Logaoedic except *v.* 10. Mesodic.

Vv. 1, 13 are Second Glyconics, similar except that *θεαῖς* is a syncopated foot; *vv.* 2, 12 are similar First Glyconics; *vv.* 3, 11 are Second Glyconics with syncope of the first foot, similar except that *v.* 3 is catalectic; *vv.* 4, 10 present the contrast of a logaoedic verse without anacrusis and a choreic verse with anacrusis and with syncope of the third foot; *vv.* 5, 9 present a somewhat analogous contrast, and the first foot of *v.* 5 is syncopated; *vv.* 6, 8 are catalectic First Pherecratics, the second foot of *v.* 6 being syncopated; *v.* 7, the mesode, is a Second Glyconic.

Observe that *vv.* 3 and 11 contain the transition from Colonus to the nightingale and her bower and therefrom to Bacchus respectively, while the mesode gives the first Bacchic note. Professor Jebb does not print in his text J. H. H.

Schmidt's six long verses with a tetrapodic epode which are not even justified by the MSS. placing *ἀεὶ* in *v.* 11 thus making a hexapody with a corresponding error in the antistrophe, as Schmidt ends his *kôlon* after the third syllable of *βακχιώτας*. His solitary choreic tetrapody *ιον ἀνήμερόν τε πάντων* with a solitary instance of acatalexy is taken as a matter of course. The 'falling rhythm' which Schmidt assumes is not appropriate to this chorus. The MSS. version of *v.* 11 seems due to equating *Διόνυσος ἐμβατείνει* with *ἀνήμερόν τε πάντων*. It is fair to say that according to the MSS. *Vv.* 1-7 and 8-13 might possibly be two mesodic periods, *v.* 8 being a prelude and perhaps a tetrapody with initial syncope, as *v.* 6 would necessarily be. I prefer to reject the MS. hexapody for *v.* 11.

SOPH. *Phil.* 676 FF.

- | | | |
|------|--------|--|
| (1) | I. a6 | λόγῳ μὲν ἐξήκουσ' ὅπωπα δ' οὐ μάλα |
| (2) | 5 | τὸν πελάταν λέκτρων ποτὲ τῶν Διὸς |
| (3) | a5, 3a | κατὰ δρομάδ' ἄμπυκα δέσμιον ὡς ἔβαλεν παγκρατῆς Κρόνου παῖς. |
| (4) | a3, 5 | ἄλλον δ' οὔτιν' ἔγωγ' οἶδα κλύων οὐδ' ἐσιδὼν μοίρα |
| (5) | 5a | τοῦδ' ἐχθίονι συντυχόντα θνατῶν |
| (6) | a6 | ὅς οὔτ' ἔρξας τιν' οὔτε νοσφίσας, |
| (7) | 4 | ἀλλ' ἴσος ὦν ἴσοις ἀνὴρ, |
| (8) | II. 4 | ὄλυθ' ὅδ' ἀναξίως. |
| (9) | a2a | τόδε θαῦμ' ἔχει με |
| (10) | 5 | πῶς ποτε, πῶς ποτ' ἀμφιπλάκτων, |
| (11) | a3, 5 | ῥοθίων μόνος κλύων, πῶς ἄρα πανδάκρυτον οὔτω |
| (12) | a2a | βιοτὰν κατέσχευ; |

Period I. 6, 5, 53, 35, 5, 6, 4=42. Inverted with epode. Note inversion of acatalexy in *vv.* 2-5. The syncopes of the first and second feet of *v.* 6 are effective, as is the falling rhythm produced by syncope before catalexis in *vv.* 10 11.

The hexapodies are choreic or iambic

verses. Period II. 4, 2, 5, 35, 2=21. Mesodic with prelude. The pentipodies have a dactyl for first foot like Period I. *v.* 2. In the antistrophe the second foot of *v.* 9 is resolved and the first irrational. The mesode is an adherent *kôlon*. I follow L except as to dividing *v.* 3, *v.* 4, and *v.* 11,

and avoid equating *vv.* 7 and 8 which are dissimilar, and the syncope of inflexional syllables which are penultimate in *v.* 3 (680, 695). Note the double anacrusis to the mesode and the dipodies.

Considering the symmetry suggested by

L, the discovery of 4 possible First Glyconics in one long verse at the end of the stanza hardly justifies the ignoring of L where comparatively short verses can be presented.

C. A. M. FENNELL.

TIBULLIANA.¹

I. 5. 65 *sq.*

pauper ad occultos furtim deducet amicos
uinclaue de niueo detrahet ipse pede.

In the context of this distich from line 61 onwards Tibullus is describing the attentions which a lover of humble means can render to his mistress. He will be the first to greet her when he meets her abroad, he will keep close by her side in the hustling street (61 *sq.*). He will elbow her a way through the crowd (63 *sq.*) and finally he will not shrink from the task of himself removing her walking shoes (66). In the middle of the recital of such humble services comes the verse whose meaning we have to consider, 'the poor man will stealthily take her home to the houses of secret (or unacknowledged) friends.' Whose friends? Hers or his? Male or female? What is the purport of the secrecy so pointedly insisted on? If Tibullus had said 'The rich man will be ashamed of you: he will take you to his friends' houses, it may be, but only secretly, and by stealth; but with the poor man you will go openly,' we should have had an intelligible antithesis. But the text suggests the exact opposite. To the criticism of Baehrens that in itself the line is unintelligible I can find no sufficient reply. But it is hardly less strange in its environment. Do we expect to find among humble and almost menial services which the rich lover cannot or will not render but the lover of modest means can and will, that of taking her to the houses of friends? Granted that he would not walk with her; but would not the lady prefer to drive?

The senseless *amicos* has been long ago condemned, and the corrector of the now discredited Wolfenbüttel codex (Baehrens' G) substituted *amictus*, a change accepted by Statius, by Heyne and by Baehrens, of whom the last named writes 'rara igitur felicitate hic uerum uidit g 'amictus' repo-

nendo.' I agree with these three scholars in welcoming *amictus*, a word which scribes often confuse with *amicus*, and in condemning *occultos*, a condemnation in which, as Baehrens saw, *furtim* also is necessarily involved. But I cannot find any more probability in the latter's reconstitution 'pauper *ad hoc cinctos raptim* deducet amictus' than its author did in Statius's 'et *ex cultos* furtim deducet amictus' or in Heyne's 'et *excussos* furtim deducit amictus'; and I think my three predecessors have, very naturally, misunderstood the meaning of *amictus* here. *amictus* are not the outer garments but the leggings or stockings (*fasciae crurales* or *tibiales*), the *fasciae* 'quibus crura uestiuntur' Quintilian 11. 3. 144 and which every woman who respected her personal appearance must have worn when walking through the muddy streets of Rome. In this connexion I need only quote Propertius 2. 23. 15 'cui saepe *imundo* Sacra conteritur Via *socco*' and Juvenal 3. 247 'pinguia crura luto' (with Mayor's note).

Directly this is observed the correction of the line will present little difficulty; *ad occultos* is *adhuc luteos* but thinly disguised. The same confusion of *c* and *e* has turned *aenique* into *cuique* at III. (Lygd.) 4, 47; *furtim* is an attempt which *occultos* very obviously suggested to make something out of *uris* which had lost its first letter through haplography. It is unfortunately true that wanton alteration must be recognized as a cause of corruption in the text of Tibullus. It is not necessary to examine disputed passages. Two instances from the Panegyric where Scaliger has recorded readings from the excellent Cujacian fragment (F), unfortunately now lost, are sufficient to show this. Pan. 2 *nequeant* F, *ualeant* our MSS. 96 *ueniat gravis* F, *grandis uenit* our MSS. The line then will run

pauper *adhuc luteos* suris deducet amictus,
and its sense will be 'The poor man will

¹ Read before the Cambridge Philological Society on May 31, 1900.

remove from your calves the leggings still plastered with mud.'

I. 9. 69.

ista persuadet facies auroque lacertos
vinciat et Tyrio prodeat apta sinu.

This is the reading of the MSS. Strange as it may appear, I cannot find that *ista <ne>* has been proposed; *ne* fell out before *pe*.

Pan. Messallae 39 *sqq.*

nam quis te maiora gerit castrispue foroue?
nec tamen hic aut hic tibi laus maiorue
minorue;
iusta pari premitur veluti cum pondere
libra,
prona nec hac plus parte sedet, nec surgit
ab illa:
qualis inaequatam si quando onus urget
utrimque,
instabilis natat alterno depressor orbe.

The writer of this composition is comparing the equality of his patron's merits in the arts of war and peace to the equality of a perfect balance; and he spends four lines upon the comparison. Line 41, with which he begins his simile presents no difficulty. It regards a balance which is perfectly true and sensitive (this is the full meaning of *iusta*) and which is loaded with equal weights. He might have stopped here; but the enchantment of his notion

carries him on, and he describes at length the behaviour of such a balance. Now every one knows what that is. The scale pans swing up and down alternately, oscillating to the least impulse.

This then is the meaning of 44 '*instabilis natat alterno depressor orbe*'; and it shows that '*inaequatum*—*onus urget utrimque*' means the same as '*pari premitur—pondere*', and that '*inaequatum*' does not mean '*inaequale*', as the commentators and lexicons say, but '*aequatam*', being the participle of the verb used by Caesar, B.C. J. 27. 4 '*haec leuibuscra-
tribus terraque inaequat*.' Recognizing then that it is the sense of *iusta* which is expanded in the couplet '*qualis—orbe*,' we see that line 41 is out of place and does not belong to the description of the *libra*. It completes the simile and should accordingly be placed after 44, and it is to be understood thus: your merits in camp and forum balance exactly, neither turning the scale; thus when a true balance is loaded with equal weights, we see the scale pans swinging up and down alternately, the fall and rise of both being exactly equal.

In the two following places the manuscript reading should be restored. II. 6. 49 *leg.* '*mihi promissa est*.' And in IV. 6. 15 '*praecipit et natae mater studiosa quod optet*' a comma being placed at the end of 14.

J. P. POSTGATE.

PROLEGOMENA IN M. MANILII ASTRONOMICA.

Cum Astronomicon poeta a nemine ueterum scriptorum commemoratus sit,—neque enim *uss.* I. 692 ad 694, quos scriba codicis Lipsiensis '*Priscianum in exemplum ducere*' in margine adnotat, apud eum leguntur—nomen eius e codicum testimoniis eruatur necesse est. Qua in re male accidit, quod membranarum uetustissimarum, nimirum Gemblacensis saec. X. uel XI. et Lipsiensis saec. XI., tituli genuini coloris rubri rasura deleti, subscriptiones autem, quae poetae nomen contineant, his in codicibus omnino omissae sunt. Quae libri Gemblacensis rasura eo damnosior est, quo diligentius scribam eius ut totum carmen, ita inscriptionem quoque exarauisse ueri est simile, cum titulum Prisciani carminis in eodem uolumine ab eodem descripti plenissimum hunc exhibeat:

INCIPIT PERIEGESIS PRISCIANI GRAMMATICI
et in fine carminis :

FELICITER EXPLICIT PERIEGESIS ID EST
DESCRIPTIO ORBIS TERRARVM ET MARIS
PRISCIANI GRAMMATICI SECVNDVM
D I O N I S I V M

Nunc Gemblacensis a manu saec. XV. prae se fert hanc inscriptionem: *Malius poeta*, contra Lipsiensis, quocum Cusanus et Vossianus l consentiunt :

ARATI. PHILOSOPHI. ASTRONOMICON.
LIBER. PRIMVS. INCIPIT. PRELIBATIO.

Haec falsa poetae appellatio aut inde nata est, quod in illo libro, unde Lipsiensis eiusque affines manauerunt, ante hoc carmen Aratei quoque carminis uersio aliqua Latina inerat, aut quod scriba similitudine rerum ab utro-

que poeta descriptorum perductus nomine genuino in archetypo omissio nomen astrologi notissimi de suo praefixit. Manu tamen recentiore inductis *Arati philosophi* uocibus in Lipsiensi et Vossiano 1 supra scriptum est: *Marci Manilii*. Ac primum quidem in *praenomine Marco* omnes nostri libri manu scripti consentiunt, qui omnino praenomen exhibent. Unus Casinensis perditus Laurentio Bonincontrio teste *Gai* praenomen in fronte habebat; cui tamen codici ne nimiam tribuamus auctoritatem, sectiones ex ipso prolatae admonent, bonitatem nostrorum librorum superioris classis minime aequantes.

Deinde *gentilicii* nominis tres formae sollemni illa uarietate confusae in libris exstant: *Manilius*, *Manlius*, *Mallius*; quae forma eligenda sit, statim patebit. Etenim non solum illud uetustum exemplar a Poggio in monasterio Sangallensi inuentum, in quo praeter huius poetae *Astronomica* etiam 'Q. Asconii Pediani fragmentum cum parte C. Valerii Flacci balbi setini Argonauticon et Statii Siluarum libri' inerant,¹ sed etiam ueterrimus ille codex, qui ut sibi describatur Gerbertus² a Rainardo monacho in epistula (cxxx.) 78 petit, *Marci Manilii* nomine insignitus erat. Decimo igitur saeculo exeunte, quo *Astronomica* huius poetae ab obliuione uindicata et denuo legi uidentur coepta esse, carmen illud sub *Marci Manilii* nomine in bibliothecis condebatur; qua in appellatione quoad fontes melioris notae detecti erunt acquiescendum censeo. Neque uero ullius est momenti illa adnotatio ad Cusani codicis titulum a recentiore manu adscripta: 'hic liber non potest antiqui arati esse qui fuit tempore antighoni et machabeorum ut patet hic ex septimo uersu quia auctor fuit tempore augusti. sed fuit marcellus.'—Neque magis premendum est *Boeci cognomen* codicis Urbin. 668 aliis in libris in *Boeni* uel *Poeni* formas deprauatum. Quam uocem qui primus nomini poetae ignoti addidit, meminerat fortasse Anicii *Manlii* Seuerini *Boetii* philosophi etiam astronomiae studiosi.

Antiochi denique agnomen in Vossiani perditum inscriptionem ex eis Plinii Nat. Hist. xxxv. 199 uerbis irrepsit (unde nomen *Manilii* supposititium in codices *Astronomicon* omnino inigrasse et *Bentleius* et

Otto Ribbeck opinantur), quibus *Manilius* *Antiochus* astrologiae conditor inter alios uenales una cum *Staberio Erote* Romam nauae aduectus esse narratur. Attamen hunc Plinii *Manilium* ne quis *Bonincontrium* secutus, qui poetam ab *Antiochenis* oriundum facit, pro eodem habeat atque *Astronomicon* poetam, uel temporum rationes impediunt. *Staberium* enim *Erotem* *Bruti* et *Cassii* fuisse magistrum *Sullanisque* temporibus proscriptorum liberos gratis in disciplinam recepissee *Suetonius* de gramm. 13 narrat. Atqui *Astronomicon* conditor post cladem *Varianam* scribens nondum senex erat precans:

i. 114

faueat magno *Fortuna* labori,
annosa et molli contingat uita senecta,
ut possim rerum tantas emergere moles.

Hanc temporum repugnantiam ut tollat *Carolus Mueller*, Geogr. Gr. min. ii. p. xvii. hunc poetam ab illo *Manilio* seruo genus duxisse suspicatur. Neque huc facit ille mathematicus, qui teste *Plinio* Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 72 ab *Augusto* iussus in campo *Martio* ad deprendendas solis umbras diurnaeque ac nocturnae magnitudines apici auram pilam addidit; in optimo enim codice ille mathematicus *Nouius*, in deterioribus libris *Manilius* uel *Manlius* nominatur.

Peregrinum eum fuisse *Lilius Gyrardus* in quarto de poetarum historia dialogo docet inquinato, quod ei uidetur; poetae genere loquendi offensus. *Carthaginensis* uidebatur esse *Huetio*; *Bentleio* fortasse ex Asia peregrinus, concludenti peregrinitatem cum e singulari eius quorundam uerborum constructione, tum inde, quod *Romani* adeo mature arti siderali operam non dedefint. Pro *Poeni* etiam *Fridericus Jacob* (Progr. Luebec. 1832, p. 14 sqq.) eum habet nisi potissimum in titulo illo *Vossiani* 1, in orationis quadam ubertate, in praepositionum usu, quem dicit, laxiore, in particularum aliqua paupertate, in uerbis eisdem ad fastidium repetitis, in rebus denique *Africis* studiosius commemoratis.—Singulari esse *Manilii* genus dicendi, modo aenigmatum subtilitate obscurum, modo diffuens nimia uerbositate, nunc exile et aridum, nunc tumidum uerborumque iteratione molestissimum nec raro colore poetico destitutum haud negauerim, ut mirum non sit, inueniri, qui eum poetae nomine indignum esse iudicent. Sed consideres, quaeso, asperitatem ne dicam ieiunitatem materiae, quam ille uersibus persequendam sibi proposuit a laetis uerae poesis pratis toto caelo di-

¹ Cf. *Mauricius Krohn* in praef. Stat. Silu. ed. Frid. Vollmer, p. 39, et A. C. Clark, 'The Literary Discoveries of Poggio' in the *Classical Review*, xiii. (1899), p. 119 sq.

² Cf. *Oeuvres de Gerbert* Pape sous le nom de Sylvestre II, par A. Olleris, Clermont et Paris, 1867 p. 45 et préface p. li.

stantem, id quod poeta ipse sentit, cum monet :

iii. 38

nec dulcia carmina quaeras.

ornari res ipsa negat contenta doceri.

Idem tamen cum in amoeniores intrat campos,—prooemia maxime dico et digressiones, e quibus Ariadnae fabula Ovidianis coloribus splendens egregie perlucet, uariorumque sub singulis sideribus morum ac studiorum descriptiones—et ingenium et sermonem declarat uere poeticum. Itaque non omni ex parte Scaligeri nimiam Manilii aestimationem probo cum Ouidio suauitate parem, maiestate superiorem esse existimantis atque ingeniosissimum nitidissimumque appellantis scriptorem, in quo excepta illa uitiosa uerborum iteratione nihil ad perfectionem absoluti operis requiratur. Suus igitur esse Manilius in loquendo nobis quoque uidetur, barbarus non item.—Huc accedit obseruantia legum metricarum Manilii diligentissima, quae una res de homine peregrino cogitari uetat.

Ad alterum autem Bentlei argumentum infringendum, quod nititur in Romanorum illius aetatis rerum caelestium inscitia, C. Sulpicii Galli, M. Terentii Varronis Reatini, P. Nigidii Figuli studia astrologica attulisse sufficiat. Immo ex ipsius poetae uerbis elucet ei Romanorum scriptorum libros artis astronomicae pedestri quidem sermone conscriptos haud ignotos fuisse, cum de suo carmine dicit :

i. 113

hoc mihi surgit opus non ullis anto sacratum carminibus,

unde simul id apparet, cum Manilius haec scriberet, Germanici Arateorum Phaenomenon uersionem nondum esse editam.

Sed ipsum poetam audiamus Romanam suam originem apertis uerbis profitentem. Duodecim enim caeli stationum uires et effectus describens de undecima, quam felicem appellat, poeta haec addit :

ii. 888

cui titulus felix, censum sic proxima Graiae nostra subit linguae uertitque a nomine nomen

i.e. sic nostra Latina lingua ad notionem linguae Graecae proxime accedit.

Neque minoris momenti est alter locus, quo idem ineuitabilem fati necessitatem etiam in ea re cernit, quod post praeclaras illas Hannibalis ad Trasimenum et ad Cannas uictorias tamen Carthago perierit, et uictor Poenus a Romanorum catenis ex-

spectatus tandem ei morti succubuerit, quam ut noxius et fugitiuus promeruisset; quid referam, inquit,

iv. 40

accepisse iugum uictae Carthagini arces? speratum Hannibalem nostris cecidisse catenis

exiliumque rei furtina morte luisse?

Quorum locorum Bentleius neque illum silentio transire neque hunc ut barbarum delere debuit, quod uersibus 40–42 eiectis totius sententiae acumen corrumpit. Iacobum autem miror illos uersus Manilianos esse iudicantem nihilo setius poetae peregrinitatem imponere.

Quibus tamen in uerbis si quis ullam persuadendi uim inesse negauerit, quippe cum quilibet homo peregrinus, speciem cuius Romani ut indueret, sic loqui potuerit, audias uelim dictionem poetae animum hominis uere Romani spirantem. Hinc iusta eius admiratio magnitudinis imperii Romani e minimis initiis ad summum rerum fastigium adaucti; hinc tanta eius rerum Romanarum aestimatio, ut rei publicae Romanae fortunam eandem esse praedicet atque caeli fortunam; hinc crebrae eius laudes Romanorum uirorum fortium; hinc praeferuida eius in Germanos ira; hinc denique singularis eius atque recondita rerum Romanarum et ad publicam et ad priuatam uitam pertinentium scientia multiplex, speciosior illa quidem, quam ut homini peregrino tribui possit.

Sequitur quaestio difficillima: qua aetate Manilius floruerit uel potius, quo annorum spatio carmen suum composuisse et utri principi, Octauiano Augusto an Tiberio, dedicasse existimandus sit. Atque in tres potissimum sententias uiri docti discesserunt. Namque Geuartii quominus assentiatur opinioni falsissimae, quamuis aliquamdiu etiam G. I. Vossio probatae: Theodosianis poetam uixisse temporibus eundemque esse atque Flauium Manlium Theodorum ob sideralem scientiam a Claudiano xvii. 100 sqq. 253 laudatum, uel ars metrica Manilii impedit cf. supra dicta.

Iosepho igitur Scaligero et Richardo Bentleio Octauianus Augustus electus carminis patronus uidetur esse, cui opinioni felicissime Augustus Kraemer suffragatus est. Neque aliter Rudolphus Merkel cogitasse uidetur Astronomicon poetam sub Ibidis nomine latere ratus.

Contra Carolus Lachmann Augusto demum mortuo opus a poeta et inceptum et confectum esse ut sibi, ita etiam Bertholdo Freiero et Ribbeckio et Schanzio atque

nuperrime Felici Ramorino persuasit; quorum Freier ullum Astronomicum esse uersum negans, ex quo pateat Augustum poeta scribente inter uiuos fuisse, Manilium, quem una cum Germanico in Asia peregrinantem facit, carmen intra annos p. Chr. n. 17 et 22 partim Romae partim in Asia scripsisse comprobare studet.

Mediam denique quandam uiam ingressus Fridericus Iacob quattuor prioribus libris Augusto regnante conditis quintum post theatrum Pompei anno p. Chr. n. 22 restaurari coeptum accessisse uult probante praeter G. Lansonem imprimis A. Cartaultio, nisi quod hic quartum quoque librum Tiberii temporibus adscribit ita quidem, ut totum opus Tiberio demum imperante editum sit eis omnibus locis postmodo immutatis, quibus Octauiani Augusti laudes continerentur.

Iam nostram de poetae aetate sententiam proponamus. Ex duobus carminis locis is terminus definiri potest, post quem Astronomica scripta esse debent. Quorum alter in ea libri quarti parte exstat, ubi poeta docet, quae terrae sub singulis zodiaci sideribus iaceant; ibi de Virgine haec dicit:

iv. 763

Virgine sub casta felix terraque marique
est Rhodos, hospitium recturi principis
orbem,
tumque domus uere solis, cui tota sacrata
est,
cum caperet lumen magni sub Caesare
mundi.

Quae uerba conspicuae adulationis ad Tiberii secessum Rhodium spectare patet, qui erat inde ab anno a. Chr. n. 6 usque ad annum p. Chr. n. 2. Atqui Tiberius 'recturus princeps' ante annum p. Chr. n. 4 appellari non potuit, quippe qui tunc demum ab Augusto adoptatus et in regni successionis spem ingressus sit. Ex clade autem Variana i. 896 sqq. commemorata sequitur, ut illa quidem primi libri pars anno p. Chr. n. 9 peracto composita sit.

Neque minus certo alterum illum terminum constituere licet, ante quem saltem quattuor priores libros scriptos esse necesse est—quintum omni huius quaestionis disceptandae ansa carere infra elucebit—nimirum ante obitum Octauiani Augusti, cui poetam Astronomicam dedicasse persuasum habemus. Quod ut probemus, demonstrabimus ad unum hunc principem omnes illos locos esse referendos, quibus Augusti nomen occurrit, ab eis quidem libri primi uersibus exordientes, quibus poeta uim

cometarum mala rei publicae imminentia praesagiendi exemplis illustrat e recenti eius rerum memoria petitis, quorum ne uno quidem, id quod nemo casui tribuerit, res post Augusti annum emortualem gestae tanguntur. Philippensi enim pugna allata, qua eisdem in campis atque Pharsalico proelio imperium Romanum cum suis uiribus conflixisse Manilius Vergilium secutus (Ge. i. 487 sqq. cf. Ou. Met. xv. 823 sqq.) queritur, sic pergit:

i. 913

perque patris pater Augustus uestigia uicit.
necum finis erat: restabant Actia bella
dotali commissa acie, repetitaque rerum
alea, et in ponto quaesitus rector Olympi.

De caeli igitur fortuna ad Actium secundum Manilii opinionem pugnatum est, cf. v. 52; qua ex pugna uter superior discessit, hunc quamquam etiam tunc in terra uersantem simul rectorem Olympi esse factum animo ille sibi fingit. Sane nouum poetae Augustei, quod fertur, aevi genus adulandi neque uero inauditum in ea ciuitate, a qua iam aliquot annos uiuo imperatori diuini honores tribuebantur.

Quae interpretatio egregie fulcitur eis eiusdem libri uersibus, quibus gens Iulia, ut de caelo descenderit, ita caelum repleuisse a poeta dicitur Ioue Augustum imperii socium sibi adiungente:

i. 798

Venerisque ab origine proles
Iulia descendit caelo caelumque repleuit,
quod regit Augustus socio per signa.
Tonante.

Atque Augusti sub imperio poeta sperat fore, ut caelum, scilicet supra Romanum orbem terrarum sese pandens, maius crescat:

iv. 933

ne dubites homini diuinos credere uisus;
iam facit ipse deos mittitque ad sidera
numen,
maius et Augusto crescet sub principe
caelum.

Augusti autem appellatione Octavianum Augustum significari euidentissime eis uerbis probatur, quae illius thema, quod astrologi dicunt, continent. Etenim poeta de sideribus se inuicem uidentibus audientibusque disserens de Capricorno in se ipsum oculos conuertente haec docet:

ii. 507

contra Capricornus in ipsum
conuertit uisus. quid enim mirabitur ille
maius, in Augusti felix cum fulserit ortum?

Atqui Augustus M. Tullio Cicerone C. Antonio cons. VIII. Kal. Octob. natus est (Suet. Aug. c. 5 et 31), ut Libra eius sidus natalicium esse necesse sit. Sed eodem Suetonio (*ib.* c. 94) teste Augustus ipse Theogenem mathematicum de genitura sua consulturus sub Capricorno se natum esse professus fausto responso reddito nummum argenteum nota Capricorni insignem percuti iussit. At Capricornum sol etiam tunc mense Decembri pereurrebat. Quem nodum iam Michael Pnyus in sua Astronomicon editione et Fridericus Anton propria quaestione felicissime ita expediuerunt, ut Augustum singularem quandam astrologorum morem secutum non tam ad nascentiam suam *i.e.* τὴν ἐμφανῇ γένεσιν quam ad conceptionem *i.e.* τὴν ἐν τῇ μητρὶ γένεσιν in themate constituendo respexisse demonstrarent. Capricorni autem sidus propterea illo procul dubio Librae praetulit, quod Capricornus regibus potissimum principibusque procreandis fauere putabatur. Cf. Firmic. Math. viii. 28. Gardthausen, Augustus und seine Zeit ii. 1, p. 16 sqq.

Ergo si tibi persuasero illos tres locos i. 913 sqq. 798 sqq. iv. 933 sqq. de Octaviano Augusto eoque etiam tunc uiuo esse interpretandos, multo promptius de reliquis locis mecum facies.

Nam de austrinis signis disserturus Manilius breuem comparisonem hemisphaerii meridionalis cum nostro septentrionali instituens, non minor, ait, illis est mundus nec peior lumine, nec minus numerosa illic oriuntur sidera :

i. 384

cetera non cedunt ; uno uincuntur in astro Augusto, sidus nostro quod contigit orbi, Caesar nunc terris, post caelo maximus auctor.

Itemque de uiuo etiam tunc Augusto uelim interpreteris ultimos primi libri uersus, quibus post bella ciuilia tandem finita aeternam pacem a dis petit :

i. 922

iam bella quiescant,
atque adamanteis Discordia uincta catenis
aeternos habeat frenos in carcere clausa.
sit pater inuictus patriae, sit Roma sub
illo ;
cumque deum caelo dederit, non quaerat in
orbe.

pater Augustus (u. 913), inquit, quoad uiuet, uiuat inuictus, idemque simulatque caelo redditus erit, urbi Romae praesens adsit, ne Romani unquam numen eius desiderent. Sic poeta ultimis primi libri uerbis quodammodo

ad eiusdem libri exordium redit, ubi eandem pacem carminis sui fautricem praedicat eundemque Caesarem pari patris patriae appellatione exornat :

- i. 7 hunc mihi tu, Caesar, patriae princeps-
que paterque,
qui regis augustis parentem legibus
orbem
concessumque patri mundum deus ipse
mereris,
10 das animum uiresque facis ad tanta
canenda.
13 hoc sub pace uacat tantum.

Quodsi quis contra dixerit fieri non potuisse, quin animus Caesaris ualde offenderetur suprema eius hora bis (i. 387, 926) quamuis leniter tacta, uereor ne illi nimis mollibus ueteres fuisse animis uideantur, quos his de rebus multo fortius sensisse praeter alios testes—cf. Verg. Ge. i. 24 sqq.—Ouidius et Lucanus declarant :

Ou. Met. xv. 868

tarda sit illa dies et nostro serior aeuo,
qua caput Augustum, quem temperat, orbe
relieto,
accedat caelo faueatque penatibus absens.

Luc. i. 45

te (scil. Neronem), cum statione
peraeta
astra petes serus, praelati regia caeli
excipiet gaudente polo.

Restat ut Iacobi sententiam, quam neque pauci neque mediocris auctoritatis critici secuti sunt, reiciamus. Docet igitur quintum librum sub Tiberio esse scriptum, 'Pompeia monumenta ueteris triumphi semper recentia flammis' (v. 513 sq.) de theatro Pompei flammis absumpto interpretatus, quod se restitutum esse Tiberius promiserit ; quod opus etsi imperator imperfectum reliquerit (Suet. Tib. 47), tamen nihil poetam impedire potuisse, quominus hanc in eum laudem poetarum more conferret. Itaque cum illud aedificium anno 22 restitui coeptum esset, librum quintum post hoc tempus esse compositum.—Neque uero de aedificio ullo ibi omnino agitur, sed de auri artificibus, gemmarum sculptoribus musuariisque sub Cassiope procreatis, ut illa 'Pompeia monumenta ueteris triumphi' de operibus bratteatorum inauratorumque arte ornatis atque de gemmis uario colorum splendore renitentibus intellegenda sint, quibus artificibus Pompeius teste Plinio Nat. Hist. xxxvii. 12 sqq. uim maximam ex Asia in Urbem translata deis sacrauerat. Quo argumento reiecto ne unum quidem remanet

indiciū, quo Tiberii demum temporibus hoc carmen conditum esse euincatur.

Ceterum, ut hoc addamus, carmen imperfectum est; etenim non solum finis libri quinti desideratur, sed etiam tota ea pars facile integrum completura librum, quae poeta post orientium occidentium quoque siderum zodiacorum partus describere debuit, de quibus se uerba esse facturum v. 27 sq. pollicetur; praeterea omnis planetarum doctrina ii. 965 ab eo promissa deest. Utraque pars utrum temporum iniquitate nobis erepta, an poeta ad has res tractandas omnino non adgressus sit, equidem diiudicare non ausim; hoc certum est Firmicum octauum praecipue Matheseos librum conscribentem, nisi ex eodem hauserit fonte atque poeta, id quod ueri esse similis nobis uidetur, pleniore esse opere Maniliano quam nos usum.

Atque Graecis potissimum auctoribus, quod per se consentaneum et iam ueteribus interpretibus perspectum est, poetam sideralem suam debere scientiam, praecipue quatenus ad terrae atque caeli naturam et imaginem depingendam spectat, ut ex ipsius uerbis concludere licet, cf. e.g. ii. 897, 909, 916, 937, iv. 818, ita argumentis ad persuadendum aptissimis demonstraerunt Hermannus Diels, *Doxogr. gr.* p. 196 adn. 3 et *Mus. Rhen.* xxxiv. 1879, p. 490 sq. et Franciscus Malchin praeclara sua dissertatione anni 1893, quae est de auctoribus quibusdam, qui Posidonii libros meteorologicos adhibuerunt. Arateae autem doctrinae uestigia in Manilii opere apparentia Ernestus Maass in editione sua *Arati Phaenomenon* praestantissima diligentissime denotauit. Examines etiam uelim, quae Georgius Thiele¹ doctissime de caeli signis disputat imprimis pp. 46, 61, 148.

De *codicibus* breuis esse possum nonnulla ex eis repetens, quae in dissertatione de M. Manilii emendandi ratione fusius disputaui. Eos ex uno archetypo atque eo lectionibus deprauatis ualde corrupto et uersibus primi, tertii, quarti libri de sede sua amotis perturbato lacunisque aperte hiantibus uitato defluxisse, accurata librorum manu scriptorum collatio euidentissime ostendit. Qua collatione simul hoc si non demonstrandi necessitate certissima, at probabilitate tamen ratiocinandi satis ualida indagasse nobis uidemur exemplar illius archetypi fuisse minimum xcviii. foliorum in ternionum speciem complicatorum singulisque in paginis, id quod iam Fr. Jacob uidit, uersuum uicenorum binorum cursiuis quidem litteris

¹Georg Thiele, *Antike Himmelsbilder*. Berlin, 1898.

exaratorum. Inde igitur hi cōdices originem ducunt: I. Codex quondam *Gemblacensis* (G) nunc Bruxellis inter libros bibliothecae ducum Burgundionum numero 10012 notatus, 18, 5 × 11 centm., membranaceus saeculi X. exeuntis uel xi. ineuntis foliorum 125 (numerus 75 bis appictus est), quorum folia 1–996 carmen Manilii, reliqua ‘Prisciani Grammatici Periegesin secundum Dionisium’ continent. De inscriptione supra p. 296 dictum est. Circum titulum ‘Mālius poeta’ litteris haud ita claris haec scripta sunt: ‘Liber hic. a. 1678 cōmodatus D. Sherburno per (?) D. Samuelem Carr. Bibliopolam Londinensem a P. Daniele Papebrochio Soctis Iesu Antuerpiae. eidem restitui debet. co (?) stitutus est’; in margine: t. m. 8°.—Eduardus ille Sherburnus professor Oxoniensis, hoc ut in transursu moneamus, uersionem Anglicam Manilii commentario addito Londini a. 1675 confecit.—Ceterorum librorum et tituli et subscriptiones poetae nomen exhibentes desunt. Sub *Astronomicon* fine manu saeculi XIV. haec scripta sunt: ‘Liber iste pertinet monasterio Gemblacensi’; atque sub fine Prisciani carminis: ‘Lib. S. Petri. Gemblacens.’

Scriba codicis, qui raras rasuras rarasque praebet emendationes ab ipso librario inter scribendum factas, ut in ductibus litterarum pingendis per totum carmen admodum et eleganti et constanti, quae codicum antiquorum propria esse solet, manu usus est, ita compendius scribendi nisi in usitatissimis uoculis uocabulorumque consociationibus abstinuit, uerba singula bene distinxit, falsum aut obscurum siquid ei esse uidebatur, requirendi signo y in margine appposito denotauit, capitula tantum non semper intra ipsum uerborum ordinem scripsit. Quindecim fere locis duae manus saeculi XV. uel XVI. occurrunt, quarum altera imprimis lacunas uersuum nonnullorum suppleuit. In singulis paginis uiceni singuli uersus leguntur, qui numerus inde a folio 49 constanter ad uicenos binos auctus est. Hunc librum olim a Francogallis Lutetiam Parisiorum esse translatum, hoc sigillum et in prima et in ultima eius pagina impressum declarat: BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE.

Atque primus Iacobus Susius hunc codicem contulit, qui *Astronomicon* curans editionem, quam tamen non perfecit, discrepantes huius libri scripturas in margine exemplaris sui adnotauit. Eidemque libro multas et optimas lectiones debet Ludouicus Carrio, nonnullas non sine aliqua magniloquentia pro suis uenditans emendationibus. Attamen sospitator demum ille Manilii Iosephus Scaliger tertiis curis

Astronomica editurus hunc thesaurum Gemblacensem aperuit apertumque poetae reddidit. Etenim hic heros philologorum admirabili rerum caelestium exstructus scientia operibusque poetarum maxime Latinorum et recensendis et interpretandis vere natus illo Susii adiutus subsidio tot et tanta uitia vulgati textus sustulit, tot locis ad id usque tempus obscuris lucem attulit splendidissimam felicissimae ductus sagacitate remotissima quaeque indagauit, ut tunc demum Manilius sui ipsius similis fieri coeperit. Atque Bentleius quoque, qui Astronomicon editionem praeclarissimam exeunte saeculo xvii. susceptam anno demum 1739 Londini in lucem prodire iussit edendi munere ob aetatem prouectam ad fratris sui filium delato, primo loco Gemblacensem librum ut 'longe optimum et antiquissimum' in eo poeta emendando sequendum censet, qui 'omnium scriptorum quotquot sint corruptissimus sit, adeo ut uariae in eo lectiones uerborum fere exaequent numerum, uersuum certe longe exsuperent.' Quas tamen lectiones saepius uel in optimis codicibus ita esse ineptas cum iudicet, ut omnem paene fidem eis abrogare, ita inter se contrarias et plane oppositas, ut coniecturis uel maxime a recepta lectione distantibus locum dare uideantur (praef. p. xv.), haud raro factum est, ut summus ille Anglorum criticus singularis profecto diuinationis, qua etiam post Scaligeri curationes efficacissimas permulta carminis membra etiam tunc grauiter aegrotantia uel aperte contorta felicissime sanauit, tamen quasi effrenato perductus aliquo corrigendi impetu uel optimas huius codicis scripturas audacissime mutaret uersusque haud paucos sententiarum conexui minime aduersantes e textu eiceret.

Iam uero Fridericus Iacob, nouissimus Astronomicon editor, Gemblacensem codicem, cuius memoriam e Scaligeri et Bentlei notis et ex Iacobi Susii ad Nicolaum Heinsium delatis excerptis nouerat, 'antiquitate quidem et lectionibus praestantem iudicat librum, sed aperte interpolatum eoque cautius adhibendum, quanto speciosiores pleraeque interpolationes a prudenti admodum homine profectae sint.'

ii. Hoc codice quinquaginta fere annis recentior est codex *Lipsiensis* 1465 (*L*) in Italia, ut uidetur scriptus, membranaceus, in universitatis bibliotheca conditus, 24, 5 × 18 centm. 96 foliorum duodecim quaternionibus complicatorum; folium primum abscissum, unum folium ultimo quaternioni agglutinatum est; in singulorum quaternionum primae et ultimae paginae margine ima custodes,

qui dicuntur, appicti sunt: numeri continui litteraeque secundum alphabeti ordinem.

In singulis paginis constanter uiceni terni uersus scripti sunt; compendia, si ab usitatissimis recesseris, desunt. Ab eodem scriba, qui etiam rubricandi officio uidetur functus esse—littera *C* initialis totius carminis egregie ornata est—et pleraeque emendationes factae et capitula minutissimis quidem characteribus in margine notata sunt, unde postea rubris litteris exarati in ipsum uerborum ordinem migrare debebant, ubi nunc uersus aut singuli aut bini hiant; itemque subscriptionibus titulusque efficiendis in fine librorum singuli uel bini uersus uacui relictus sunt; uersibus plane corruptis γ signum appositum est. Secundi libri capitula et huic libro praemissa sunt et suo loco in margine redeunt.—Raro altera manus emendatrix occurrit eaque haud mala, sed ob atramentum pallidissimum difficillima lectu.—De genuina inscriptione erasa uide supra p. 296; a principio ibi similem fuisse titulum testatur *NOMICON* fragmentum, quod infra *ASTRONOMICON* uocem etiam nunc e uestigiis rubris quamuis tenuibus erui potest. Recentior manus, quae compluria scholia nullius fere pretii in margine adscripsit, in fine carminis haec addidit:

Carmina praeclaras signant caeli regiones
Fistula quas cecinit Christiani docta magistri.

Hunc non esse eundem atque Germanicum illum codicem, quem Scaliger manibus tenuit (prol. 5), utriusque libri lectiones docent. In Bentlei usum eum contulerunt Ioach. Fridericus Feller anno 1693 et Godofr. Richter a. 1709; deinde Iustus Vierschrodt medio saeculo XVIII. Manilium editurus et abhinc annos fere LX. Fridericus Iacob eum inspexerunt.

iii. Codex olim *Cusanus* (*C*) nunc *Bruxelensis* 10699 saeculi XII. membranaceus 27 × 19 centm., sedecim foliorum duobus quaternionibus complicatorum in singulis paginis habet binas columnas, quarum singulae sunt uersuum septuagenorum tam minutis litteris pictorum, ut minima uersus longitudo sit 3, 5 centm., maxima 4, 5 centm. De inscriptione supra p. 296 diximus; subscriptiones desunt, quae quidem poetae nomen prodant., Capitula plerumque in margine apposita sunt; finem autem libri primi excipit continuo conspectus capitulorum libri secundi sua sede redeuntium, qui conspectus pariter atque in *L* spatium quindecim uersuum complet.

iv. Codex quondam *Vossianus* 390 (*V*₂), nunc in bibliotheca *Lugdunensi* *Batauorum*

sub numero 3 asseruatus, chartaceus 22 x 24 centm. 165 foliorum, quorum folia 1 ad 68 Manilii carmen continent manu et negligentissima et ineleganti scriptum, ut difficillime legatur. Verba saepissime male distincta; compendia liberiore scribae arbitrio usitata sunt, ut uera lectio interdum dubia sit. Numerus uersuum inconstanter a uersibus 24 ad 28 in singulis paginis procedit. Capitula intra uerborum ordinem leguntur, nonnulla spatio relicto ommissa sunt; conspectus capitulorum libri secundi in fronte huius libri exstat. Titulus praefixus est hic: M. Mallii eqom astronomicon || diuo oct quirino aug proemium lib'. pr. subscriptiones, quibus nomen poetae declaratur, habet hasce: Marci Mallii astronomicon liber primus (tertius) explicit Secundus (quartus) incipit. M. mallii boeni astronomicon liber II explicit feliciter incipit tertius. Sub fine carminis: Deo graecias anno 1470 finitus Ianuario.—Hunc librum primus Bentleius ad Astronomica emendanda adhibuit ea usus collatione, quae orae editionis Scaligeranae anni 1600 adscripta nunc in bibliotheca Gottingensi asseruatur. Fridericus autem Iacob hoc codice quasi fundamento in poetae uerbis constituendis usus est.

v. Codex **Matritensis M**, 31 bibliothecae¹ nationalis saeculi XV. a Gustavo Loewe 1879 Matriti repertus et ab eo posteaque a Robinsone Ellis collatus cf. *The Classical Review* uol. vii. 1893, p. 310–11, 356–58, 406–9; *ib.* uol. viii. 1894, p. 4–6, p. 138–41, p. 289–92. Quo de libro Alfredus Klotz amicus meus in suae Statii Siluarum editionis p. viii. haec praefatur: “constat codex foliis chartaceis 115 altis 30,5 cent., latis 20,7 cent. quorum duodena cohaerent, primum autem primi seniores folium abscissum est . . . quadrageni ferme uersus in singulis paginis scripti sunt. inuolucrum non ab initio adfuisse et primorum foliorum sordibus demonstratur et schedulis typis inscriptis, quae ad tergum fulciendum glutino sunt insertae. Continentur autem codice sicut in tergo scriptum est: Manilii Astronomicon et Statii Papini Syluae M.S.—eadem manu utrumque opus conscriptum est; ac Manilii quidem i. 82—v. 745 leguntur fol. 1^a–54^a; I. 1–81 folio primo . . . abscisso perierunt . . . supra primos Manilii uersus manus recentior . . . scripsit ‘Manilii Astronomicon et Statii Papinii Syluae et Asconius Pedianus in Ciceronem Flacci nonnulla’ (‘et Valerii

Flacci nonnulla’ Ellis), uerba Asconius et q.s. expuncta sunt.” Ceterum utrum codices M 31 et X 81, in quo Asconius et Valerii Flacci I. 1—IV. 317 insunt. olim unum effecisse librum, id quod nonnullis uiris doctis uisum est neque, disceptari non potest nisi codice utroque diligenter inspecto. Nomen poetae his in subscriptionibus commemoratur: M. MANILII ASTRONOMI CON LIBER PRIMVS EXPLICIT INCIPIT SECVNDVS. M. MANLII BOENI ASTRONOMICON LIBER II. etc. M. MILNILI ASTRONOMICON LIB. III. etc.

vi. Codex **Florentinus (F)** bibliothecae Medic. Laurentianae plut. 30, 15 forma quaternaria saeculo XV. nitide scriptus in foliis membranaceis 93, uicenis quaternis uersibus in singulis paginis redeuntibus. Tituli et subscriptionis species est haec: Marci Manilii poetae clarissimi astronomicon ad Caesarem Augustum liber primus. Marci Manilii Astronomicon ad Augustum liber finit. Folium 92 Marci Manilii mathematici uitam exhibet, qua poeta cum Pliniano illo Manilio mathematico confunditur. folium 93 continet capitula singulorum librorum uno conspectu proposita.²

His chartis uisum est adicere recentiorum observationum Manilianarum summarium, lectorum huius Ephemeridis commoditatis, ut speramus, inseruiturum:

Lachmann, Carolus, de aetate Manilii. Diss. inaug. Gottingae, 1815, cf. Kleinere Schriften II. 42 sqq.

Jacob, Fridericus, de Manilio poeta. Progr. Luebeck 1832, 1833, 1834, 1835, 1836.

Haupt, Mauricius, Opuscula II. 341 sqq. III. 43, 106, 473, 583.

Breiter, Theodor, de emendatione Manilii. Progr. Hamm 1854.

— Zu Manilius in Fleckeiseni Annal. Philol. (u. 139), 1889, p. 193 sqq., 693 sqq., 845 sqq.—*ib.* (u. 147) 1893 p. 417 sqq.

Anton, Aug. Friedr., de sideribus Augusti nataliciis. Progr. der Klosterschule Rossleben. Halle 1861.

Bechert, Malwin, de M. Manilii emendandi ratione. Diss. inaug. in Stud. Lips. uol. I. (1878) p. 1 sqq.

— de M. Manilio Astronomicorum poeta. Progr. Lipsiae 1891.

Freier, Bertholdus, de M. Manilii quae feruntur Astronomicon aetate. Diss. inaug. Gottingae 1880.

¹ Cf. W. v. **Hartel** Bibliotheca patrum Latin. Hispaniensis, p. 454 sq. et Sitzungsberichte der philos.-hist. Classe der kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften. Wien 1886, uol. 113, pp. 240 et 276.

² Collationem huius codicis debeo benignitati Curtii Fischeri nonnullosque locos Iohannes Ilberg denuo contulit; utrique amico gratias ago quam maximas.

- Woltjer, J.**, de Manilio poeta. Progr. Gymnas. Groningae 1881.
- Cramer, Adolfus**, de Manilii qui dicitur elocutione. Diss. inaug. Argentorati 1882.
- Der Infinitiv bei Manilius in Commentationibus in honorem Guilelmi Studemund. Strassburg 1889 p. 61 sqq.
- Ueber die aeltesten Ausgaben von Manilius' *Astronomica*. Progr. Ratibor 1893. Cf. censura Theodori Breiter in *Wochenschr. für klass. Philol.* 1893, No. 29, 802 sq.
- Lanson, G.** de Manilio poeta eiusque ingenio. Paris 1887. Cf. A. Cartault, *Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature* 1888 No. 15, p. 283 sq.
- Rossberg, Konrad**, Zu Manilius in *Fleckeiseni Annal. Philol.* (u. 139), 1889, p. 705 sqq.—ib. (u. 145) 1892 p. 74 sqq.
- Thomas, Paul**, *Lucubrationes Manilianae*. Inest codicis Gemblacensis collatio in *Recueil de travaux publiés par la faculté de philosophie et lettres 1^r fascicule*, Gand 1888. Cf. censura Conradi Rossberg in *Berlin. Philol. Wochenschr.* 1889 No. 34, 1074 sqq. et Bertholdi Freier in *Wochenschr. für klass. Philol.* 1889, No. 34, 923 sqq. et A. Cartault in *Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature* 1889 No. 10, p. 193 sq.
- Notes et conjectures sur Manilius. Extrait du tome XLVI des *Mémoires couronnés et autres Mémoires publiés par l'Académie royale de Belgique* 1892. Cf. censura A. Cartault in *Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature* 1892 No. 28, 28 sq.
- Notes critiques sur Manilius IV. 37 sqq. Extrait des *Bull. de l'Acad. roy. de Belgique*, 3^e sér., t. XXIX. No. 4, p. 548 sqq. 1895.
- Kraemer, Augustus**, de Manilii qui fertur *Astronomicis*. Diss. inaug. Marburgi 1890.
- Ellis, Robinson**, *Noctes Manilianae siue dissertationes in Astronomica Manilii*. Accedunt coniecturae in Germanici Aratea. Oxonii 1891. Cf. censurae Pauli Thomas, *Revue critique* 1892 No. 17, 324 sqq. et A. Cartault ib. No. 28, 25 sqq., et Conradi Rossberg in *Berlin. Philol. Wochenschr.* 1892, No. 7, 205 sqq.
- The Madrid MS. of Manilius, *Hermath. uol.* [VIII. No. XIX. 1893, 261 sqq.
- The literary relations of 'Longinus' and Manilius. *Classic. Review uol.* XIII. 1899, 294.
- Tappertz, Eduardus**, de coniunctionum usu apud Manilium quaestiones selectae. Diss. inaug. Monasterii Guestfalorum 1892.
- Postgate, Joh. P.**, *Silua Maniliana*. Cantabrigiae 1897. Cf. censurae E. J. Webb in *Classical Review uol.* XI. 1897, 307 sqq. et Iohannis Tolkiehn in *Wochenschrift für klass. Philol.* 1897, No. 37, 1011 sqq. et R. Helmii in *Berlin Philol. Wochenschr. für klass. Philol.* 1897, No. 40, 1229 sqq. Cf. censura Ellisii in *Hermath. uol.* X. No. XXIV. 1898, 122 sqq.
- *Siluae Manilianae appendix in Journal of philol. uol.* XXV. 1897, 7-1, 266 sqq.
- Upon Manilius in *Classical Review uol.* XII. 1898, 292 sqq. ib. XIII. 1899, 402. XIV. 1900, 63.
- Housman, A. E.**, Emendations in the first book of Manilius, in *Journal of Philol. uol.* XXVI. 1898, p. 60 sqq.
- Ramorinus, Felix**, Quo annorum spatio Manilius *Astronomicum* libros composuerit, Firenze-Roma 1898. Cf. censurae R. Helmii in *Berlin. Philol. Wochenschr.* 1899, No. 10, 303 sq. et Theodori Breiter in *Wochenschr. für klass. Philol.* 1898, No. 51, 1410.
- v. Voigt, W., Unter welchen Gestirnen wurde Caesar, Agrippa und Tiberius geboren? *Philol. uol.* LVIII. 1899, 170 sqq.

MALWIN BECHERT.

NOTES ON SILIUS ITALICUS, IX.—XVII.

IX.

143 sic fatus, galeam exuit atque
rigentis
inuadit nati tremebundis colla lacertis
attonitoque timens uerbis sanare
pudorem
uulneris impressi, telum excusare
laborat.

This is Bauer's text (with S) and punctuation. The words 'timens . . . sanare pudorem,' suit so ill 'telum exc. lab.' that most edd. of recent date read 'nitens' for 'timens' and change 'que' to 'et' for metre.

I would suggest 'mentis' for 'timens.' In copying the former word 'mētis' would easily become 'mens,' the stroke being ignored, and 'ti' read 'n'—an extremely common blunder in these MSS. When this was corrected by writing 'ti' over 'n,' 'timens' might easily result. 'Que' may be dropped (a colon being put at the end of 144) as a metrical addition by S similar to 'iamque' for 'iam iam' 8. 624, and the flagrant case of 2. 534 *sqq.* where the original of S, by careless omission, has run four lines into one, of seven feet, and S has restored the metre by omitting 'stadium.'

Schrader's 'et' after 'impressi' is easy and desirable.

229 subiere leues quos horrida
misit
Pyrene populi uarioque auxere tumultu
flumineum latus

This, the reading of S, seems to me impossible, as it necessitates the rendering of 'auxere' as if it could = 'impleuere.'

Heinsius proposed 'et uario cinxere,' which gives a very good sense. Instead of 'cinxere' I would suggest 'clausere,' the sense being rather 'closed the way to the river side,' (cf. Liv. 22. 47 'nullo circa ad euagandum relicto spatio hinc amnis hinc peditum acies claudebant' of this very part of the field). I can only imagine that the 'i' got read as 'h,' and 'hausere,' becoming as often 'ausere,' was altered to 'auxere.' The change of 'et' before 'uario' to 'que' after it was no doubt metrical.

650 sed comprimit ensem
nescio qui deus et meme ad grauiora
reseruat.

'Meme' seems to occur nowhere else. The line calls to one's mind Virgil's

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nam quid dissimulo aut quae me ad maiora
reseruo?

Can the reading be?—

at quae me ad grauiora reseruat!

The god prevents me slaying myself—but for how much worse a fate is he keeping me alive. 'At quae me,' would become 'atque me,' 'et me,' and then, possibly, 'me' would be doubled for the metre's sake.

579 passimque uolanti
celsus telorum fundit Libys aggere
nimbum.
stat niueis longum stipata per agmina
uallum
dentibus, atque ebori praefixa comminus
hasta
fulget ab incuruo directa cacumine
cuspis.

Thilo has shown the absurdity of the old explanation, that the *hasta* referred to in 582 was fastened to the howdah, which involves taking 'incuruo cacumine' as the elephant's curved back (so Cellarius, cited by Ruperti without comment, and Lewis and Short s.v. *cacumen*). Thilo, however, believes that both the men who are killed by the elephant were killed by its tusks, and reading 'utque' renders 'the point of its tusk shines as though a spear were fixed in front of the ivory.'

Surely there is no need to alter the MSS., no objection to taking the passage to mean that to each tusk a spear was fastened—so that what the tusks failed to pierce, the spear might reach. Ufens is clearly killed by the 'sceleratum dentem,' but Tadius is pierced by the 'spicula dentis,' which I take to mean the spears attached to the tusks. The singular 'dentis' will not cause any difficulty, as the word is simply added to define 'spicula.' This rendering alone gives *derecta* its true force: at the end of the curving tusk is the straight spear. 'Comminus' must, I suppose, draw attention to the fact that the spear is for thrusting. 'Incuruus' really applies to the 'dens,' of which the 'cacumen' is part.

X.

157 *sqq.*
hunc sude quam raptam Libyci per terga
iacentis
armiger obtulerat monstri, super inguina
fixum

obtruncat quercuque premit uiolentus obstus.
 Temptarat precibus saeuum lenire furorem,
 sed Stygii primos impleuit feruor hiatus
 et pulmone tenuis demisit anhelitus ignem.

'super inguina fixum' is obviously wrong. The lines immediately following show clearly the man was wounded in the face. 'Fixam' should be read: the stake had been planted above the elephant's groin. 'Per' must mean that he passed it to Hannibal *over* the fallen elephant.

273 cape quaeso hunc, unice rerum
 fessarum, cape cornipedem.

What kind of genitive 'rerum' is here I do not understand. Burmann saw that 'unica spes' was required, though he unfortunately supplied it in place of 'quaeso,' which is metrically impossible. It should be read in place of the second 'cape': the common confusion of 's' and 'c' would cause the last letter to drop out before 'cornipedem.' Sil. uses the phrase elsewhere: 10. 48 'Latio sp. un.' (of Paulus, as here), 7. 1 'trepidis sp. un. rebus' (Fabius), cp. 4. 815.

290 perge atque hinc cuspidē fessum
 eripe quadrupedem propere.

This is the vulgate, though Ch and F have 'erige.' 'Propere' is a little tautological after 'eripe': Heinsius suggested 'exige.' I think 'cuspidē' (which can hardly go with 'fessum') supports 'erige,' and would compare two passages of Silius where the idea of 'lifting' is used in connection with a galloping horse: 4. 144 (of a charge) 'suspendunt frenis sublime reductos cornipedes,' 16. 394 (of a spurt) 'tollit se sonipes.' Cp. also 4. 195 'cuspidē flammā equum.'

420 dux erat exilio collectis Marte Metellus
 sed stirpe haud parui cognominis.

Metellus is leader of the young Romans who wish to abandon Italy. How they can be called 'collecti Marte' is not clear, and 'sed' introduces no real contrast. The only conj. that tries to meet both points is Livineius' *exilis*, but (1) the word is not very likely in this sense, (2) 'Marte' is too far separated from it, (3) 'collectis' is otiose.

I propose for 'collectis' 'non laetus' (cp. 8. 615 O (? V) 'laetos' for 'lectos.' For the phrase 'laetus Marte,' cp. 'laetus bello' 10. 54 'nec bello prospera' 16. 597, and for its appropriateness to Metellus, cp. 47 'pauidi Metelli.' Compare Varro's character in 8. 261, and esp. Fulvius' in 12. 469 'non sollertior ense sed genus insignis.'

XI.

453-458.

iamque chaos, caecam quondam sine sidere
 molem
 non surgente die, ac mundum sine luce
 canebat.
 tum deus ut liquidi discisset stagna
 profundi
 tellurisque globum media compage locasset;
 ut celsum superis habitare dedisset
 Olympum
 castaque Saturni monstrabat saecula patris.

These lines doubtless come from Silius: they contain a favourite phrase of his, an example of syncope dear to him, and a specimen of rhythm far too common in his poem. But they can hardly stand here, in Teuthras' song concerning the lyrists Amphion, Arion, Chiron and Orpheus. In connection with each of the other 3 lyrists, the song mentions at least one celebrated event in which the lyre played a part. But of Chiron's it only says that it could subdue the anger of the sea or even of hell. Then come these lines, which could only mean that the *theme* of Chiron's song was the creation. But (1) we are not told what was the theme of the other lyrists' songs (2) as no special event is mentioned in connection with Chiron (as there is in the other cases) no one song of his could be specially selected here. The edd. who read 'iamque' at the beginning of the passage do not mend matters, for (1) Teuthras cannot here be subject to 'canebat' as the story of Orpheus is told (459 sqq.) in Oratio Recta and (2) it would be ridiculous to represent him as introducing a cosmogony in the midst of a poem on the lyre.

Where then must the lines be read? In 291 sqq. Teuthras sings of Jove and his descendants, the ancestors of Capys. If we insert these 6 lines before 291 all will run smoothly: the harper sings of Chaos, of Saturn and his 'casta saecula' and passes thence to Jupiter and his 'laetos per furta amores.' The only difficulty is 'namque' in 291 where 'iamque' must be read (as, curiously enough, many edd. do now, though it makes nonsense with the lines as at present printed. I imagine 'iamque' got altered, on the analogy of Vergil's 'namque canebat uti' etc., *after* the lines got displaced. The displacement was doubtless due to the similar beginnings 'namque' and 'iamque.' How they got into their present position, in Teuthras' second song, I cannot imagine: it would be too ingenious to suppose that the similarity of the endings

of 452 and 459 which come together by my hypothesis offended an interpolator.

XII.

242 spoliatque uidentem

In the face of Aen. 10. 462 'cernat semineci sibi me rapere arma,' I think 'uidentem' may stand.

468 sqq.

bis septem demissa neci (nec substitit agmen)

milia: bis septem quae...ducebat...

Fulvius.

Silius has just told us how Centennius got annihilated by Hannibal. With the punctuation given above, that of the vulgate, the words 'bis...milia' refer to this disaster. The next clause, beginning 'bis septem' clearly refers to another event, the defeat of Fulvius.

Against this punctuation I would observe (1) the introduction of this second disaster comes very abruptly, (2) the supplying of 'milia demissa neci' from the other clause is rather awkward, (3) Livy says Centennius had 8,000 men of whom 'uix mille' escaped, Fulvius 18,000, of whom 2,000 escaped. Sil. is not a historian, or this point would be final.

I believe then the fresh disaster begins at 468, and that 'bis septem' in 469 is merely a repetition to prepare the way for the relative clause 'quae...ducebat'—a presumptive use exceedingly common after proper nouns but not confined to them, and very natural after a parenthesis. Cp. in particular 3. 426 ('deus' repeated after parenthesis 'si credere fas est'), 11. 463 ('mater' after an abl. absolute).

479 sed non, ut scitum celerare ad moenia
Poenum,
astabat res ulla loco.

On these words follow a description of the haste with which the various generals came to Rome's relief. That the idea is 'nothing remained as it was,' is supported by the words 'Nola uis omnis et Arpis...Fabius...arma ferebat.'

'Astat' cannot stand, and Bauer's 'abstat' (= abstat) apart from its rarity does not seem to me to satisfy the context. Heinsius conjectured 'restabat spes' and, though 'spes' is quite unnecessary, 'restabat' would be acceptable if nothing better could be got. I would suggest 'nunc' for

'non'—a very easy correction¹—and 'haud stabat' in 480. 'Haud' has become 'ad' in another passage which has given much trouble, 11. 164, where Burmann's 'haud uersam' for 'aduersa(m)' of MSS. is certainly the best correction yet made.

684 rursus in arma uocat clipeoque tremendum
increpat atque uenus imitatur murmura
caeli.

For 'uenus' the vulgate is 'armis,' though (1) 'arma' precedes in 684 and (2) 'clipeo' makes it unnecessary. The Vergilian parallel (6. 590 demens qui nimbos et non imitabile fulmen aere...simularat) points to 'amens.'

XIII.

261 mussat perfidiae ductorque caputque senatus

Virrius a Poeno nullam docet esse salutem.

The usual punctuation is a comma after Virrius, so that Virrius is subject of 'mussat.' If we put the stop after *senatus* the construction is eased a good deal, and I would suggest this if the text be kept.

Nevertheless, I cannot but suppose 'perfidiae ductor' does refer to Virrius, being a reproduction of Livy's 'Virrius defectionis ab Romanis auctor' in the corresponding passage of his work (26. 13). If that passage be read I think it will be seen that

mussat perfidiae ductor, coetumque senatus
Virrius, etc.

is at least a plausible conjecture, cp. 11. 67 'coetu patrum ingentique senatu.' If 'coetu' became *coeptu*, mere transposition would produce *caput* (cp. *ceptantis* LFO *captantis* V for *coeptantis* 2. 275).

673 cuncta mihi calcata meoque subibat
germano deuexa iugum Tartessia tellus.

Surely 'deuexa' is meaningless here. Read 'deuicta'; the mere reading of 'i' as 'e' ('deuecta') would lead to the reading of the MSS. Cp. 16. 646 'tota subisset Sidonium possessa iugum Tartessia tellus.'

799 heroum effigies maiorisque accipit umbras
ire uiro stupet Aeacide.

So the MSS. Most edd. put a stop at 'umbras' and read 'inde uiro.' To me the addition of 'uiro' to 'Aeacide' seems un-

¹ 'mox' is a little further off the MSS., or I should prefer it.

likely. I would put the stop not after *umbras*, but before *'stupet'* and read *'uiros.'* *'Maioris umbras uiros'* will be an apposition quite in the manner of Silius. Cp. 1. 621 *'hic Punica bella Aegatis cernas,'* 7. 434 *'Atlantem et Calpen extrema habitabimus antra,'* 11. 191 *'aderat'* (so all MSS.) *Autoles numerosa cohors.'*

XIV.

307 *pascitur adiutus Volcanus turbine
venti
gliscentemque trahens turris per uiscera
labem
perque altam molem et toties crescentia
tecta
scandit ovans.*

In 309 Cm's *'crescentia'* is universally read. S has *'nascentia,'* which I prefer. If Silius were describing the gradual growth of the building *'crescentia'* would be in place, but he is here describing the standing tower in which each story as it comes to an end, sees the beginning of a new one. In all the exx. cited for *'cresco'* (in connection with a bird-catcher's rod, a heap of dead, a series of tumblers standing one above the other) the act of growing is emphasised. This theory is supported by line 301 *'tabulata decem cui crescere Graius fecerat,'* where the act of building is described. The presence of the word in line 301 is at once an argument against its use in 309 and an explanation of its being substituted here for *'nascentia.'* Its substitution *might* be due to the first letter of *'crepitantia'* immediately under it. *'Nascentia'* seems to me *'exquisitius';* it is paralleled by 3. 530 where *'nascitur altera moles'* is used of the fresh ridges of the Alps appearing as one is surmounted.

568 Europe niuei sub imagine tauri
uecta Ioui

So most edd., though LFO have *'Ioue,'* which I would keep as (1) Sil. uses the abl. of the agent rather freely (cp. Mayor on Plin. ep. 3. 19. 6 and esp. 6. 642 *'turbatus Ioue'*) and (2) in any case the analogy of *'uectus equo'* makes the abl. as easy.

XV.

467 tunc Alabim, Murrum atque Dracen
demisit ad umbras.

I have searched in vain for a parallel in Sil. to this use of *'atque'* with the third name, the first two being unconnected. I

would read *'Maurumque Dracen,'* In 1. 457 S had *'mauroque'* for *'murroque'*—a more natural mistake.

XVI.

41 subitoque tumultu
caeduntur passim coepti munimina
ualli
imperfecta super contexere herbida
lapsos
pondera.

So all recent edd. taking *'caeduntur'* in sense of *'demolished.'* But (1) in that case the clause beginning with *'super contexere'* tells us of the men's burial without first mentioning their death. (2) caesura distinctly requires *'super'* to belong to the previous sentence. Translate *'they are cut down right and left, on the incomplete rampart, and as they fell the masses of turf covered them over.'* A rather pathetic touch for Silius.

320 *pronique ac similes certantibus ore
secuntur
quisque suos currus magnaue uolanti-
bus idem
uoce locuntur equis. quatitur certamine
circus
certantum ac nulli mentem non abstulit
ardor.
instant praeceptis et equos clamore
gubernant.*

Though in 12. 268–274 Silius has *certamine*, *certatim* and then *certamine* again, it is hardly possible to suppose he wrote *'certamine certantum.'* Bentley conjectured *'hortantum,'* which I believe is in the right direction. I would, however, suggest *'spectantum,'* as *'hortantum'* anticipates *'instant praeceptis'* of the next line. That *'praeceptis'* (the reading of S) is right there I have no doubt, and Bentley himself approved of it. *'Praecipites'* (apparently a correction of Modius, but see Blass p. 204) is generally read, but the whole context suggests that the spectators, not the drivers, are meant.

468 subit aspersus prima lanugine
malas
Baeticus : hoc dederat puero cognomen
ab amne
Corduba, et haud paruo certamina laeta
fouebat.

470 is explained to mean *'haud paruo sumptu pueri certamina sustentauit ut cum aliis ciuitatibus praestantia et sumptu sui athletae certaret.'* But would not one

expect details to be given of the splendid 'equipment' given by Corduba to its favourite. The other readings 'parco certamine' (based on the 'parto certamine' of S) and 'parce certamina' (Modius' suggestion) have the same meaning.

If C's reading be kept, I should prefer to take 'haud paruo' metaphorically—'at no small cost to their peace of mind.' I do not think this very likely, and would therefore suggest 'a paruo': Baeticus began the career of victory early.

XVII.

176 se, triste profatu,
uidisse, arderent cum bina in nocte
 silenti
castra.

The MSS. have 'profatur.' Is it not simpler to read

se triste profatur

uidisse :

'They (legati 171) proclaim that they have seen a mournful sight'? Sil. has 'profor' c. Acc. and inf. 2. 384.

349 ipsa malorum
non plus Carthago tulit exhaustique
laboris
quam pro Cadmea† tulisti exercita
gente.

'Tulisti' is perhaps the clearest trace we have of a gloss in the archetype of our MSS. If so there is no need to attempt to follow it in emending. I have thought 'coniux tu' would make a suitable stop gap. Curiously enough coīux tu is not so far from tulisti, when we bear in mind how often c = t, o = u, i = l, and x = s.

WALTER C. SUMMERS.

THE CENSUS OF SULPICIUS QUIRINIUS.

WE learn from recently discovered papyri that in Roman Egypt a census was regularly held every fourteen years. The origin of the practice is not known. We might *a priori* suppose that it existed under the Ptolemies, like most institutions of Roman Egypt, but no proof of this has yet been found nor anything approaching a proof. The earliest case of the fourteen-year census which is at present proven by direct evidence belongs to A.D. 48: an imperfect record from Oxyrhynchus very probably refers to A.D. 20 and another, also imperfect, to A.D. 34 or 20. For the period before A.D. 20 we have no precise evidence, though Wilcken argues from two documents of B.C. 19-18 that the fourteen-year census had not been instituted by that date. It is obviously not improbable that the census was instituted previous to A.D. 20 and indeed by Augustus. If that be so, we should expect its first instance to be in A.D. 9 or B.C. 8 or possibly B.C. 23, as I gather that Mr. Grenfell would prefer (*Oxyrh. Papyri* ii. 209.)

So far, the question concerns only the internal arrangements of one province. Width of interest has been lent to it by Prof. Ramsay's conjecture that the system of a fourteen-year census obtained also in Syria and was in fact the system producing the census which St. Luke synchronizes with the birth of Christ. Of that census St. Luke observes αὕτη ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου.

That is to say, the census of the Nativity was the first of its series and was held while Quirinius was governor of Syria. I do not wish to discuss Prof. Ramsay's theory in general. But I should like to observe that if his preliminary conjecture be true and the fourteen-year census did obtain in Syria under Augustus, some very curious coincidences result. We know, firstly, that Quirinius governed Syria in A.D. 6: we know also that he then held a census of some sort; we know also that A.D. 6 is a proper year for a fourteen-year census, and lastly St. Luke tells us that the census of Quirinius which he mentions was the first of its kind. If coincidences mean anything, they mean here that the fourteen year census was instituted or at least first carried out in A.D. 6. This is, of course, an impossible date for the Nativity, but it is not otherwise unsuitable. Considerable financial and other changes were then made elsewhere in the Empire, and in the East a Roman Procurator came to rule Judæa in lieu of the native prince Archelaus. The whole idea rests, of course, on the assumption already mentioned, that the Egyptian fourteen-year census obtained in Syria under Augustus. That has yet to be proved and we must wait for more papyri of the Augustan era. Meanwhile the simple, unstrained and easy coincidences which I have noted seem to deserve attention.

F. HAVERFIELD.

NOTES AND REPORTS.

ON JUVENAL, *Sat. I. 106*.—Against Mr. Vlachos (*Classical Review*, May), I wish to defend the accepted reading, *purpura maior*, taking up his objections by numbers.

(1). The reference to income rather than to capital or estate means, I believe, 'I am a knight several times over, for five of my taverns alone bring me in the *census* of a knight.' He has already hinted that he might not admit a humble Oriental origin were it not that the *fenestrac* rendered denial of such origin useless.

(2). A writer, particularly a poet, must not be expected always to use the conventional adjective. *Purpura maior*, instead of *p. latior*, puts no hard strain either on the Latin or on the reader's comprehension. Besides, Statius uses *maioris clavi*. (Cf. Mayor on the passage.)

(3). A living knight who is rich through his own abilities is better than a (financially) dead ex-senator. 'A sorrow's crown of sorrow is remembering happier things.'

(4). According to Mr. V.'s own theory and showing, any comment by the scholiasts was rather unnecessary. The one who comments on *purpura* by the explanatory word *laticlavius* may easily have meant to explain the unusual adjective. Of course

it would have been more logical and explicit to have mentioned both words. But the remarks of scholiasts are not always as clear or as extensive as could be wished.

Self-made men often worship their maker, and those who have advanced to a higher rank and fortune boast even of humble origin, especially if that origin cannot be concealed.

JOSEPH F. PAXTON.

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA,
June 3rd, 1900.

* * *

ON JUVENAL, *Sat. I. 106*.—That "*purpura maiorum*," the reading of one MS, supplies a most appropriate sense, Mr. N. P. Vlachos, at page 217 of the current Volume of *The Classical Review*, has I think, satisfactorily, shown; but the *hypermeter* offends me. May not "*maiorum*" have been a gloss on "*aurum*"?—a word which written "*auol*" may also perhaps, as easily as "*maiorum*" written "*maiol*," have been corrupted into "*amor*," i.e. "*amator*," the reading of other MSS.

SAMUEL ALLEN.

6 JUNE, 1900.

* * *

CAMBRIDGE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

At a meeting held on May 31, 1900, at 4.45 p.m., Mr. J. M. SCHULHOF, Trinity College, was elected a member.

Prof. SKeat read notes, of which the following is an abstract:—

The phrase *mean it*, in Merch. Ven. iii. 5. 52, hitherto unexplained, signifies, 'bemoan it, lament it,' or simply, 'lament, sorrow.' We can substitute 'sorrow' without injury to the metre. The *it* occurs as in *foot it*, and similar phrases. Shakespeare has *means* in the same sense elsewhere, M. N. D. v. I. 330, and the M. E. *menen*, to lament, is common, being correctly formed from the sb. now spelt 'moan,' with the usual mutation.

The phrase in *the quill*, 2 Hen. vi. i. 3, near the beginning, means 'in the coil,' i.e. collectively. *Coil*, Shropshire *quoil*, *quile*, means a heap or collection, and is ultimately a derivative of L. *colligere*. Compare *quoil* for *coil*, *quoin* for *coin*.

Scotch'd in Macb. iii. 2. 13, is Theobald's correction for *scorch'd*, which happens to be correct, and occurs again in Com. Errors, v. 183. *Scotch'd* is a later spelling of the same, and occurs in Cor. iv. 5, 198, and in the modern *hopsotch*, for which see the New

Eng. Dict. *Scorch* meant to score upon the surface, as in The Babees Book, p. 80, and Wyclif, 3 Kings, v. 18; being a derivative of *score*, to incise, and confused with *scorch*, to excorticate or flay, which is the sense of O. F. *escorcher*.

Subdue represents the Anglo-French *subdūt*, originally a past participle; it answers to a Late L. *subdūtus* for *subdītus* like Ital. *perduto* for *perditus*. Hence *subdue* is a derivative of L. *subdere*; not, as absurdly said in the dictionaries, of L. *subducere*.

In the A. S. poem entitled Judith, l. 47, occurs the curious word *fleohtnet*, a fly-net. Warton's History of English Poetry rightly explains it by mosquito-net, but wonders how it found its way into the poem. It is a mere translation of *conopeum*; Judith, x. 19; xiii. 10 (Vulgate). And *conopeum*, as occurring in the very same passages, is the well-known origin of our modern *canopy*, an error for *conopy*.

Dr. POSTGATE read a paper of suggestions upon the text of Tibullus.¹

¹ See above, p. 295.

OXFORD PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

A meeting was held on Friday June 1, at Oriel College.

Mr. E. M. WALKER read a paper upon the Thessalian Expedition of Leotychides, the object of which was to show that, if the trial and deposition of Leotychides be assigned to B.C. 469, the winter of 479-8 is the most probable date for his Thessalian expedition. In the first part of the paper an attempt was made to prove that 469 as the year of the deposition follows from the data furnished by the list of Spartan reigns in Diodorus; in the latter part it was sought to be shown that an examination

of the famous story in Plutarch *vita Themist.* ch. 20 rendered the winter after Mycale the only possible period for the expedition.

Mr. G. C. RICHARDS read a paper 'On the Stage of Aeschylus.'

A meeting was held on Friday June 15, at Exeter College.

Mr. L. R. FARNELL read a paper 'On points of topography and religion in Athens, with reference to Thucydides ii. 15, and the views of Dr. Dörpfeld,' which will appear in a subsequent number of the *Classical Review*.

REVIEWS.

CURTZE'S *ANARITIUS ON EUCLID*.

Anaritii in decem libros priores Elementorum Euclidis commentarii. Ex interpretatione Gherardi Cremonensis in codice Cracoviensi 569 servata edidit MAXIMILIANUS CURTZE, Professor Thoruniensis. Lipsiae in aedibus B. G. Teubneri, MDCCCXCIX. 6 m.

THE full name of the author of these commentaries was apparently Abū'l 'Abbās al-Faḍl ibn Ḥatīm an-Nairīzī. He flourished about 900 A. D. and wrote astronomical works as well as commentaries on the *Syntaxis* of Ptolemy and on Euclid. The commentaries on Euclid were added to a second edition of the *Elements* (shortened and corrected from the first edition) by the first translator of Euclid into Arabic, Ḥajjāj ibn Yūsuf ibn Maṭar who lived in the time of the Caliphs Ḥārūn ar-Rashīd and al-Mamūn, and whose date may therefore have been about 786–836 A. D. Of this edition of Ḥajjāj the first six Books, with the commentary of an-Nairīzī thereon, are preserved in the Codex Leidensis 399, 1, which is being brought out, with a Latin translation, by Besthorn and Heiberg. Only two instalments of this work however (published in 1893 and 1897 respectively) have yet appeared, bringing it no further than to the end of Book I; hence Professor Curtze's edition of the translation by Gherard of Cremona (1114–1187 A.D.) of the commentaries of an-Nairīzī, apart from the text of Ḥajjāj, would be welcome even if it merely anticipated the appearance of the rest of Besthorn and Heiberg's edition. But it has a special value of its own in that it includes (1) the commentaries on Books VII–X and also (2) the notes on the first 22 definitions of Book I (corresponding to the first 34 in Simson's edition) which are not found in the Codex Leidensis, several leaves being missing at this point. An-Nairīzī included in his notes selections from other writers who had commented on Euclid, and among those from whom he is able to quote extensively are Heron and Simplicius. That Heron wrote a commentary on Euclid is indicated by references to him in Proclus; but we are now able to identify as Heron's much that is given by Proclus without any mention of his name, while at least one extremely interesting note of Heron's (on I. 47) is new, as well as, of course, everything

quoted from his notes on Books later than the first. From the fact that two additions of Heron's to Book VIII are given, it may be inferred that his commentary extended at least as far as that Book. The quotations from Simplicius relate exclusively to the introduction to Book I, the definitions, postulates, and axioms, and particularly postulate 5 (generally known as Axiom 12, or the Axiom of Parallels), in connection with which he gives a full account (purporting to be in its author's own words) of the attempt of Geminus to *prove* the Postulate by starting from a different definition of parallels. The discussion of this subject by Geminus is one of the most interesting parts of the whole work. The names of Greek writers appear in the Arabic in curious forms. Thus Simplicius is Sambilichius, Archimides is Aximithes or Asamithes, Heron is Yrinus, Geminus is Aganis. Pappus is referred to in Gherard's translation as 'Quidam,' though Besthorn and Heiberg read Pappus. Other names afford considerable scope for speculation, e.g. 'Heromides' and 'Herundes,' mentioned in the authorities for certain definitions of a point and a line respectively; perhaps Heronas may be meant. 'Aposedanius' can hardly be any one but Posidonius; but 'Abthiniathus' seems to baffle conjecture. The latter is mentioned by Simplicius along with Diodorus as having made another attempt to explain Postulate 5 by means of 'many and various propositions.' Regard being had to the fact that 'p' in Simplicius becomes 'b' and 'd' in Archimedes 'th,' is it a permissible conjecture that 'Abthiniathus' may also represent Posidonius? Proclus tells us expressly of a definition by Posidonius of parallels as 'straight lines in one plane which neither converge nor diverge but have all the perpendiculars drawn from points on one to the other equal'; and he explains that those straight lines which give smaller and smaller perpendiculars in one direction converge in that direction and diverge in the opposite direction. Or can 'Abthiniathus' possibly be *Pitho* of *Antinoeia* whom Serenus of the same place defends, as a friend of his, against those who ridiculed an explanation about parallels contained in a tract which Pitho, not

being satisfied with Euclid's treatment of the subject, wrote thereon? The most interesting extracts from Heron seem to us to be: (1) the alternative proof, with introductory lemma, to I. 19; (2) the lemmas leading up to, and the proof of, the theorem that, in the figure of Eucl. I. 47, if the two acute angles of the right-angled triangle be joined respectively to the opposite corners of the squares on the opposite sides, these straight lines and the perpendicular from the right angle on the hypotenuse of the triangle meet in a point; (3) the alternative proof of III. 10 by means of III. 9, the claim to which by Heron shows that it was interpolated in the text of Euclid; (4) the extension of III. 11 to the case of external contact, which Heron gives as his own, whence it may be inferred that III. 12 was also interpolated; (5) the extension of III. 20 (In a circle the angle at the centre is double of the angle at the circumference standing on the same base) to the case where the angle at the circumference is obtuse and therefore the 'angle' at the centre is greater than two right angles, and the proof, by means of this extension, of the proposition III. 22 (The opposite angles of a quadrilateral inscribed in a circle are together equal to two right angles). It is hardly necessary to say that the 'angle' at the centre in the case referred to is, for Heron, not an *angle* at all, but is described as the sum of three angles, viz. the angle vertically opposite and therefore equal to the angle subtended at the centre by the arc

of the segment less than a semicircle, and two angles each of which is the supplement of the said angle. The portions of the commentary which are of Arabic origin are not, as it seems to us, so interesting as the extracts from Greek writers; but we may mention that the well-known alternative proof of I. 47, effected by placing the two smaller squares contiguous, with their bases in one straight line, then cutting off two triangles and replacing them in other positions so that they make up the largest square, is given as the discovery of Tābit ibn Kurra (836–901 A.D.). An interesting construction for dividing a straight line into any number of equal parts by once opening the compasses, and by means of Book I. only, may perhaps have been derived from a Greek source, possibly Heron. A very valuable feature, to our mind, of Prof. Curtze's work is the citation of the Euclidean enunciations, not from the Greek text of Heiberg, but according to the version of Campanus from the Arabic as first published by Erhard Ratdolt at Venice in 1482. The version of Campanus shows considerable variations from the Greek text and in many places bears traces of a purer origin, and we are grateful for such considerable quotations from a version otherwise inaccessible to the ordinary reader. Altogether the volume before us is a worthy supplement to the complete edition of Euclid's works by Heiberg and Menge included in Teubner's texts.

T. L. HEATH.

PATIN'S POLEMIC OF PARMENIDES AGAINST HERACLITUS.

Parmenides im Kampfe gegen Heraklit, von Prof. Dr. A. PATIN (Teubner, 1899). 5 m.

STUDENTS of early Greek philosophy are acquainted with the studies on Herakleitos in which Patin has emphasised a side of the Ephesian doctrine that is apt to be overlooked, the 'Einheitslehre,' which lies behind the war and discord that it uses to explain the world of flux. In his former writings Patin expounded the monism of Herakleitos; he has now turned his attention to the dualism of Parmenides. He does not mean, of course, that Parmenides was really in any sense a dualist. His argument concerns the second part of the poem alone, and he seeks to show that the

view taken of this by Aristotle and Theophrastos is substantially correct. 'In truth,' of course, 'It is,' and we must accept all the consequences of that fact, seeing that it is impossible for our thought to do otherwise. But for all that, the appearance of the world to men is as Herakleitos had described it. There is an illusion—like the Hindu Mâyâ—which we cannot escape, and of this an intelligible account can be given, and must be given, even although it can be clearly proved that there is no truth in it at all.

To this it will be objected that it anticipates the Platonic distinction between the *νοητόν* and the *αἰσθητόν*, and it is difficult for us to express the theory except in these

terms. But, Patin argues, the view of Parmenides is not so developed as this. He offers no explanations; he merely states the fact that the world necessarily *is* one, and just as necessarily *appears* many. To make it credible that Parmenides intended this, we have only to antedate by a little the distinction of φύσις and νόμος or θέσις. If we do this, a new light is thrown on such lines as—

τοῖς δ' ὄνομ' ἃ ἄνθρωποι κατέθεντ', ἐπίσημον
ἐκάστω

and we can better understand how Empedokles came to say—

νόμῳ δ' ἐπίφημι καὶ αὐτός.

This view of Parmenides, then, stands in sharp contrast to all recent accounts of him. Zeller held that the views expounded in the Δόξα of Parmenides were those of ordinary people. This, however, proved difficult to maintain; for they form a regular cosmological system far removed from everyday opinion. Diels, accordingly, propounded the thesis that the Δόξα was a sort of 'catechism' of the philosophy to which Parmenides was opposed, intended mainly as a school-exercise. Later writers went further and boldly identified the Δόξα with the Pythagorean cosmology. It must be admitted, however, that Patin's arguments have shaken the foundations of this view, and that certain chapters in recent works will have to be re-written.

It is an essential part of the argument before us that Parmenides wrote with Herakleitos in view. Hegel, as is well known, makes Herakleitos come after Parmenides, and Zeller followed this arrangement, though he attached no importance to the question of priority. The chronological evidence is not conclusive; but Patin shows, as I had done, that it is on the whole in favour of the view that Parmenides is of a later date than that commonly given. As he does not appear to have seen what I wrote, the confirmation is all the more striking. He is less successful, I think, in detecting reminiscences of Herakleitos. Those he believes he has found are enumerated on p. 650, and most of them seem to be phrases that any writer might have used. On the other hand, he seems to miss what I still regard as the decisive instance. The παλίντροπος κέλευθος has surely nothing to do with the παλίντροπος (or rather παλίντρονος) ἁρμονίη, whatever meaning we may give to that. Rather it is poetic diction for the prose ὁδὸς ἄνω κάτω of Herakleitos; and, if so, the allusion cannot be mistaken.

On the whole, despite much that is fanciful, this is a most valuable contribution to the subject, and, along with the *Parmenides* of Diels, makes much that had been written before seem antiquated.

JOHN BURNET.

University of St. Andrews.

RIEMANN AND GOELZER'S COMPARISON OF GREEK AND LATIN SYNTAX.

Grammaire Comparée du Grec et du Latin—Syntaxe, par O. RIEMANN et H. GOELZER. (Paris, Colin et Cie., 1897) 893 pp. Price 25 francs.

THIS volume bears welcome testimony to the progress which is being made year by year in the direction of the parallel treatment of Greek and Latin syntax, and, it may be added, of the syntax of other languages. As Michel Bréal said of the present volume 'Le seul reproche que nous leurs adressons concerne le titre qu'ils ont adopté. *Grammaire parallèle* du Grec et du Latin eût été une expression plus juste et qui eût mieux indiqué aux lecteurs ce qu'ils ont le droit d'attendre.' Holland has now its *Parallel Grammars of Greek and Latin* by Woltjer (1892 and 1894). The progress of the idea

in Germany is fully set forth in an admirable article by Hornemann in Rein's *Encyclopädisches Handbuch der Pädagogik* (vol. v. 1898, p. 232), where the movement is associated with the names of Vogt, Eichner, Waldeck, Mangold, Harre, Vollbrecht, Heil and Schmidt, Seeger, Hornemann himself, and above all perhaps Banner and Reinhardt, who are now engaged in working out parallel French, Latin and Greek Grammars for the 'Reform-gymnasium' at Frankfurt am Main.¹ As Hornemann points out, the idea was 'at least recognised' by the authorities who

¹ The latest School Greek Grammar published in Germany, that by Weissenfels, has as its central idea a close parallelism of order, terminology, and wording of rules with the Latin Grammar of H. J. Müller.

drew up the Prussian *Lehrpläne* of 1892; at the same time he gives full credit for priority to the English *Parallel Grammar Series* of which the first volume appeared in 1887, as the outcome of the work of the Grammatical Society founded in 1885. Now France has joined in with the present stately volume, which, if not a school book, is yet based on the same idea as the volumes referred to above.

The general execution of the work calls for nothing but praise. The late M. Riemann was known throughout Europe as a distinguished syntactician; and M. Goelzer shows himself in the present volume as a worthy collaborateur. But it would be a poor recognition of the labour bestowed on the present work to dismiss it with a few words of compliment. I have read a considerable part of the work: and if I find myself here and there in disagreement with it, that is only what might have been expected. Scholars who think for themselves on points of grammar can hardly at the present day be in entire agreement on fundamental questions, still less as to details. What appears to me a defect, might be judged by another as a conspicuous merit. With this proviso I will venture to suggest that the parallel treatment might have been more complete if the authors had taken as their basis of classification *meanings* rather than *forms*. The division of Syntax into two parts (called by the Germans *Satzlehre* and *Bedeutungslehre* respectively¹) is now a commonplace of Grammarians: and my suggestion is that too much prominence is given in the present work to *Bedeutungslehre* as a basis of classification. You cannot, for instance, bring out in clear relief the correspondence of the different kinds of sentences and clauses in Greek and Latin if you group together all those which have the Indicative, and separate off from them those which have the Subjunctive and those which have the Optative; for where the one language uses the Indicative, the other will use the Subjunctive; and so forth. A special difficulty results in the case of the 'past potentials'²; being debarred by their scheme

from treating the Latin *crederes*, etc., in connexion with *ἐγὼ τις ἂν* (§ 302), the authors are driven to treat it in connexion with the Greek Optative with *ἂν*, to which, as they themselves confess, it does not really correspond in form (see note on p. 334). In fact they have no proper place for it at all. No doubt the justification for this mode of treatment would be that to separate things which are connected in meaning is sometimes necessary, in order to maintain the historical point of view. But a strictly historical point of view is not consistent with parallelism; and parallelism is after all the main object of the authors. Had they been writing a grammar from the point of view of development pure and simple, they would not have resigned the attempt to connect the Latin Imperfect and Pluperfect Subjunctive in Conditional Sentences with some prototype.

While speaking of 'past potentials,' it may be worth while to refer to a passage in the *Introduction* (p. 10) in which the well known difficulty in *Georgic* I. 320 *f.* is cited in order to castigate certain grammarians for their want of taste. I am not one of the persons referred to; but I venture to think that the authors are ill-advised in their adoption of the emendation of Heyne and Madvig (*ut* for *ita*). 'As if Virgil could have compared the effects of the tempest in spring to what happens in another season!' they exclaim. 'As if Virgil could have used the word *hiems* to denote a summer storm!' I reply. [I say 'summer' not 'spring,' because l. 316 *cum flavis messorum induceret arvis agricola* shows that Virgil is speaking of the time of harvest.] I venture to dwell on this point because, so far as I am aware, it is a new one. And I will go further: is it possible that Virgil can have described by the words *culmumque levem stipulasque volantes* the same thing as he has just before described as *gravidam segetem*? *Gravida seges* is precisely the opposite of *culmus levis* and *stipulae volantes*. My conclusion then is that the MS. reading is quite right; but I do not assent to the impossible explanation of *ita* as *ita ut*, with an *ut* got by some unexplained process of legerdemain out of the preceding *quae* (l. 319). No; the true explanation is a simpler matter. Virgil is describing a summer storm, and he tells us that it was

¹ 'Sentence construction' teaches how meanings are expressed in sentences and parts of sentences: 'the doctrine of meanings' relates to the *meanings* of forms, i.e. the various uses of the inflected forms of words.

² In employing this term I do not mean to imply that I accept the idea of 'possibility' as one of the fundamental meanings of the Latin Subjunctive or the Greek Optative with *ἂν*: on the contrary I regard

the 'may' used in translating these moods as representing something different from 'may possibly.' So far I agree with Elmer. I hope to return to the subject hereafter.

so violent that it carried off the *gravidæ* *seges* as easily as a winter storm would have carried off *culmus levis stipulaeque volantes*: 'just so might a winter storm have carried off light (i.e. earless) stalks and flying straw.' None of the commentators that I have ever seen appear to have grasped this interpretation of *ferret* as a past potential. The meaning which results is not 'flat,' it seems to me, but quite natural and effective.¹

I am not in accord with the authors in thinking it possible to draw a hard and fast line of demarcation between the fundamental meanings of the Subjunctive and the Optative: the former they say, denotes *l'éventualité probable*, the latter *l'éventualité possible*: some such distinction is, no doubt, forced upon the authors by their basis of classification; but all distinctions of the kind lead to *ἀπορίαι*—e.g. to what I cannot but regard as the fanciful distinction drawn by Elmer between two senses of *quid faciam* and two senses of *sic agamus*—the sense of 'ought' being connected with the Optative. In regard to a different point I notice a failure of our authors to reap the fruits of Elmer's study; they attempt no rationale as to the use of *μή* in Greek and *non* in Latin 'Deliberative' Questions. Had they entered fully into this line of thought, they would have been led, like Elmer, to constitute a class of 'statements as to what ought to be done' and so to solve the difficulty inherent in the Deliberative Question when regarded as a Command-Question. Is such a thing as an interrogative command conceivable? Regard it in the light of a question as to what *ought to be done* (i.e. as corresponding to the kind of *statements* referred to above), and the difficulty vanishes. Instead of such a treatment we find in § 325 the meaningless description that the Subjunctive here expresses 'the emotion which one feels in

putting the question.' The note on p. 329 shows that the subject is not one which the authors have gone into fully. Again the rule given in § 318, 2° ought to have been corrected in the light of Elmer's statistics; it is clear that we can no longer regard *ne feceris* as the normal form of prohibition in Latin. *Hic quaerat quispiam* (with the Subjunctive) is still quoted as coming from the *De Natura Deorum*, but without reference to the chapter and section—a curious concession to recent investigations.

In two or three passages I have noticed a tendency to give a rule without limitations in the large print, followed by a modification of it in small print. I doubt whether this is didactically right. Thus in § 521 we read that *πρίν* may always take an Infinitive and must do so when the principal clause is affirmative; but Remark 1 tells us that *πρίν* in the sense 'until' may take the Indicative even after an affirmative clause. The form of statement might, I think, be modified with advantage. So again in § 304 we read that in Greek a Command is expressed by the Imperative, a Prohibition in the 2nd person by *μή* with the Present Imperative: a Remark below gives the necessary limitation as to the use of the Aorist Subjunctive. But the propositions above ought to have been converted.

The description given in § 407, Remark 1, of the old Latin use of the Indicative in Dependent Questions as a usage of the *langue vulgaire* and an *in correction* is not satisfactory. In the whole of this part of the subject (Dependent Questions) we find nothing in the nature of an attempt to trace the origin and gradual development of this use of the Subjunctive—a fact which is in itself sufficient to show that the work is not to be regarded as an historical grammar properly so called.

But I will not enlarge upon points where this valuable book appears to me open to criticism. It will prove a very useful companion to the scholar and may in the main be fairly described as up to date.

E. A. SONNENSCHIEIN.

¹ I speak with a sense of liberation on this line, because I once wanted to write *verrit* for *ferret*—an emendation in which I am happy to say my friend Mr. H. Richards anticipated me in the *Classical Review*.

LANE'S LATIN GRAMMAR.

A Latin Grammar for Schools and Colleges.

By GEORGE M. LANE, Ph. D., LL.D.
Emeritus Professor in Latin in Harvard University. Harper & Brothers:
New York and London, 1898. Pp.
xv. + 572. Price \$1.50.

A book of the size of Lane's *Grammar*—nearly 600 pages—printed in small type and packed with examples, is no small subject for review. This book is known to have been partly in type for several years, and has been eagerly looked for by American scholars, to whom Professor Lane stood as perhaps our very first Latinist. The posthumous issue of his grammar under the editorship of Professor M. H. Morgan—a work of great labour, of real *pietas* from grateful pupil to beloved teacher—is the first opportunity the general public of Latinists has had of coming into contact with Professor Lane's quality. His grammar will now make him many another grateful pupil. My study of it for some weeks in the preparation of this review, has given me at least a sympathy with the merits it displays, though I do not feel myself a competent critic of so ripe a work. Besides, which of us has not some grammar of his youth to which he clings more or less loyally, as they say a certain devout painter kept an ugly little Byzantine Madonna to say his prayers to, even after the time of Raphael?

Nor do I feel it quite possible for any one to reach an impartially critical standpoint. We look into new books to see if they confirm our old beliefs. Horace, as well as another, has pricked this weakness of the critic:

si quaedam nimis antique, si pleraque dure
dicere credit eos, ignave multa fatetur,
et sapit et *mecum facit* et Iove iudicet aequo.

Epis. ii. 1, 66–68.

A Latin grammar is not merely a book, it is a property, always from the publisher's point of view, and sometimes from the compiler's. Professor Lane was not a compiler, and he did not view his grammar as a property. Therefore the book is too unequal as well as too voluminous, I fear, to prove a good property for its exploiters: *absit omen*.

If I may begin with a general weakness, it is the confusion, in the treatment of the

forms, of the comparative (prehistoric) and the historical points of view. Professor Lane, if I read him aright, had in mind to write a historical grammar, but in some way, probably from his interest in quantitative problems, felt constrained to incorporate certain comparative results. His incursions into this domain are, to put it mildly, belated. He talks of *-ē* being shortened in the abl. sg. of consonant stems, of a shortened dat.-abl. ending *-būs*; the voc. *serve* he gets by weakening from *servo*; he goes from *providens* to *prudens* by way of *proidens*: *dt* yields *st* in *estis* 'ye eat,' but *ss* in *fossor*: the impv. ending *-mino* has lost an *-s*. There is very much of this sort of thing, and one might cry out with Calverly about 'the brave rhymes of an elder day.' I say this in sorrow, not in flippancy.

Professor Lane nowhere mentions a form not Latin, not even, if I mistake not, an Umbrian or Oscan form. In the syntax, no hint of Greek influence is given, save for the *mihi est cupienti* type. With this method of treatment I have no quarrel, though I should prefer more attention to Greekish idioms, but an author should accept the special limitations of his general attitude. Why mention *n-adulterinum* in anything but a minute study of phonetics? Why print any construct forms like **vegħo* **magior*? Why specially account for the long *-ō* of *servorum* and say nothing of the *-ō* of *servo*? Wherefore *sum* from **esum*, *ea* from **ia*, *luxuria* from *luxuries*, *loco* from **locuo*?

As a teacher of Latin, I have considered it profitable to teach students but three points of linguistic interest. The 'common' vowels are all explicable by the law of *brevis brevians*, and *bēnē* beside *optimē*; *modō*, *citō* beside *tūtō*, *vērō*; *volō*, *amō* but *cādō*, *laudō*—such examples prove the case sufficiently.

I teach rhotacism from pairs like *gero*: *gestus*, *oneris*: *onus*, with mention of the double forms like *lares*: *lases*. Our English *was*: *were* pair is also worth mentioning. Professor Lane's treatment of this subject would not make it clear, I fancy, to any one who did not know it already. The third point is the passage of *-tt-* to *-ss-*, and this has been well explained by Professor Lane, but without enough insistence on the identity of the *rec-tus* and *quas-sus* types.

The subdivision of 5th declension nouns into two classes seems not likely to prove of any practical pedagogic utility, but the classi-

fication of verbs as I, root-verbs and verbs in -ere, II, verbs in -are, -ere, -ire, is not only 'scientific,' but will perhaps be helpful for purposes of instruction. What uninitiated student, though, would understand why *sero* is put in the (reduplicated) root class? I must believe that the complicated lists of verbs (pp. 146-166) are useless. What is wanted is a simple classification of the various types of irregularity, with a few common verbs to establish each class, and then an alphabetical list of verbs, perhaps apart in a cheap, strong form, like the *Verbi Latini* of the Hoepli manuals.

Professor Lane derives *narrare* from **gnar-igare* and *nuper* from **nouomper*. He fails to explain *gratulari* from **gratitulari*, like *opi-tulari*,—strangely enough, for he very aptly describes haplologia as 'avoidance of a stuttering sound' (126).^{*1}

What is the basis for classifying -ē in *longē* as a neuter adverbial ending, sometimes shortened, as in *repentē* (705)? We ought to have some justification for the diphthongal -ui of *cui*, instead of the usual and, in my opinion, correct *cui*; and an example for *num* 'now,' which I would gladly accept, granted evidence, is to seek.

What class of readers had Professor Lane in mind when he explains *nobis* as belonging to the *ibī* locative type?

In one at least of the divergences from up-to-date phonetics, viz: in the explanation of the 'juxtaposed' *nolo* and *malo* I must declare my sympathy with Professor Lane's method. Such 'squeezes,'—like our *goodbye howdye*, *zounds* etc., Latin *non*, *hercle*, *pol*,—seem to me past control by normal phonetic investigation.

In closing my notice of those sections of the grammar dealing with sounds, structure and forms, it needs to be said how valuable is the material furnished by the lists of inscriptional and early forms annexed to the paradigms; and the teacher of dramatic metres will be grateful for such printing as *rēi rēi* in the paradigms.

I must lament, however, that the grammar has printed potential renderings for the subjunctive paradigms, all the more as Professor Lane here sins against light (see his exhibition of sterling common sense on this point at 717). No wonder the Freshmen in our colleges come up with this misleading association of moods.

Before treating the syntax in detail the general looseness of statement which characterises it may be noted. All scholars know

how hard definition is. Still, to make all the statements about verbs strictly applicable to action verbs only (passim, but see 1587 seq., 1594 seq.), and to include both persons and things under locutions like 'that which' (e.g., 1232, 1255) makes easier writing than understanding. At 721 we read of 'the second person of *what* is spoken to.' What are we to understand by 'the principal cases, which have more complete inflection than the secondary (1112).' Why tell a student that in '*ductori* for a leader . . . -i is the inflection ending meaning for'? Why say (785) 'there are a dozen verbs' in making a statement of an exact number? Who, without previous knowledge or a mental contortion, would understand the meaning of 2334; '*futurum fuisse ut* with the impf. subj. is often used in the passive instead of the fut. ptc. with *fuisse*?' Why say a form is not used when it is not in existence (726), or include in a tabular classification members not provided for in the descriptive classification preceding. (54 after 51-53)?

The syntax is exceeding full of examples, and these, for all their number, must have been culled with loving care.² We see the saving American salt of common sense so often. To teachers of grammar I would recommend 1231: 'But it must be remembered that, as the genitive connects substantives in a loose way, the same construction may sometimes be referred to more than one head.'

Among the many notes I have made in reading the syntax I call attention to the following.

Touching the Accusative: I miss for the cognate type the most telling examples, *nec mortale sonans* (Aen. 6,50) to be followed by *nec vox hominem sonat* (ib. 1, 328),—at least it is my conviction that the more violent instances of an idiom, if from an author read early and by all pupils, should be presented in a grammar. The examples for the Greek accusative might also have included Aen. 2,273 and 1, 228. My impression is, however, that examples from the Aeneid seem to have been avoided by Professor Lane. Either under 1152, or later under the abl. of measure of difference, the example *milibus passuum sex a Caesaris castris sub monte*

² E.g., the contrasting examples in 1056, 1058, and in 1473: at 2075 (Pl. Ep. 116, 331); the fine example for suboblique *quod*, Pl. B. 735 (2319). Only one instance of 'stript' Latin, the jejune *Rhodanus fluit*—cited at 1062, to fix the sentence-type—has been noted.

¹ The references are to sections.

consedit (B.G. 1, 48, 1) ought to be accounted for, especially in contrast with the (O.O.) example *hostes sub monte consedissemilia passuum ab ipsius castris octo* (ib. 1, 21, 1). At 1165, we might be told that, before Ovid, *exsequias* occurs only in the instance cited. At 1169 apropos of *celat*, a fine opportunity is neglected of teaching the doctrine of identity in construction of opposites, for *celat* 'hides from' can be explained best as the opposite of *docet*, 'shows to, teaches.' Similarly the *torquem hosti detraxit* type (1209) ought to be explained by the opposition of 'takes away' and 'gives to.' So we should have been spared the association in one rule of this common prose idiom and the sporadic poetical use of the dative with verbs of 'warding off.'

Touching the Dative: We ought to be expressly told somewhere that the dative is a person case. The general treatment of this case is attractive; I refer particularly to the classification into I, Essential Complement, and II, Optional Complement. The explanation of the dative of agent as possessive is specious, I think, and why is the dative of the person viewing or judging dubbed 'Dative of Relation'? If it is worth the while to tell us the construction of *obviam ire*,—and I think it is,—on what principle are we referred to the lexicon for the usage of *consulo*?

Touching the Genitive: Matter pertaining to the objective and subjective uses, and their adjective equivalents, occurs at 1040, 1046, 1232 seq., 1260 seq., but they are compared, and that without any insistence, only at 1227. Contrasted with the admirable clearness of Riemann's treatment (*Syntaxe Latine*,² § 48), there is marked pedagogic weakness here. Why is *ad vestram omnium caedem* (1235) given as an example of the apposition of adj. and gen. in subjective relation? Why classify the *summus mons* type under the genitive? § 1273 seems a little loose: 'In poetry and late prose, the gen. is used very freely with many adjectives of various meanings, often merely to indicate what they apply to.' Such a statement I have orally made to my pupils, but the examples here printed hardly justify their separation from § 1264, for *callidior* and *vetus* (cf. *veterator*) are like *peritus*, *maturus* and *serus* not alien to *plenus* and *egenus*. Plautus's *sanus mentis aut animi* is clearly to be explained as his *desipiebam mentis*, correctly described at 1339. The discussion of *refert* and *interest* is not satisfying. Without a cross reference back to 816,—and I will say

in passing that a lack of such backward references is a serious mechanical defect of the grammar—the student would be at a loss before *re fert* in Terence. Apropos of the absence of *interest* from early Latin, some notice should have been taken of Plautus's *in remst*, of which *interest* is the semantic legatee,—all the more as there is a tantalizing possibility that *in remst* may have got as far as *in^drest* by phonetic process. In 1292, under the heading 'Verbs of Participation and Mastery,' we have the Delphic note that *credo* sometimes takes the dative of the person and the genitive of the thing. The passages, none of which is cited, are Pl. Am. 672, As. 459, 854 (*accredo*), B. 504, Truc. 307. The genitives which occur are *omnium rerum* (As. 459), *duarum rerum* (Truc. l.c), which I regard as genitives of value of the *non huius facio* type; and *divini* (the other places), which is likewise a gen. of value of the *magni aestimat* type. At 1295, we might expect all of 'three or four' examples to be cited, and why are we not told that this gen. of exclamation is Greekish?

Touching the Ablative: 'The abl. with *facio* and *sum* denotes that with which or to which something is done' (1315), but, without insisting that the examples are all of persons, why is the idiom classified as abl. of source, and not rather, like the abl. with *utor*, as instrumental? At 1318, under the abl. of Cause, Influence or Motive: 'the person by whom the action of a passive verb is done, is denoted by the ablative with *ab*.' True enough in fact, however awkwardly put, but we should get a truer explanation by comparing 'There was a man sent from God whose name was John.' In the idiom *oppido, domo recipere*, and in construction with *confisus, fretus* the locative ablative is claimed, incorrectly, I think. The case is not clear for putting the absolute under the abl. of Attendance. The absolute is a composite of many ablative functions (see also Dettweiler in the *Handbuch der Erziehungs- und Unterrichtslehre*, III., p. 88; and Cauer's *Grammatica Militans*, p. 142). At 1379 the explanation of *opust chlamyde*, 'there is a job with a cloak, i.e., we need a cloak' is far from convincing. The natural construction of *opust* seems to be retained for us by Plautus (Mo. 412) in the phrase *id videndumst, id viri doctist opus*, and I am fain to believe that *opust* has got its constructions by imitation of *usust*. Might we not expect our grammars to tell us that the futures of *usust* are *usus veniet* (Poen. 727, S., 475)

and *usus venerit* (B. 363, Ci., 147, Merc. 518)? To be sure no ablatives occur with these futures. At 1419—20 we ought to be told that *tenuis* with the ablative is probably an encroachment on *fini*,—of absolute origin,—all the more as the rendering of *labrorum tenuis* by 'the length of the lips' so artfully carries with it the doctrine of *tenuis*.

Touching Verb Syntax in General: The description of the relative question *quine* is extremely neat (1505), and the 'Infinitive of Intimation' is a happy rhetorical description of the Historical Infinitive (1535). The subdivision Intermediate Coordinate Sentences presents a not infelicitous name for certain (semi-) paratactic types. At 1701 I miss the telling example *negat quis, nego; ait, aio* (Terence, Eun. 252), and at 1709, beside Plautus's *taceam optimumst* it might be well to cite Caesar B.G. ii., 10: *constituerunt optimum esse domum...reverti et, quorum in fines primum Romani exercitum introduxissent, ad eos defendendos unidque convenirent*.¹

Touching the Subjunctive²: Professor Lane's classification (I. Subjunctive in Declarations, with the sub-classes of A. Wish, B., exhortation etc., C. Willingness etc. II. Subjunctive of Action Conceivable) shows rather his individual dislike of accepted terminology than individuality in his treatment, unless indeed the term Action Conceivable betrays an attitude of revolt to the Potential. With this attitude, if I may express my individual skepticism, a skepticism forced upon me from the Latin authors at first hand, I am in hearty sympathy.³ The potentiality of the subjunctive is, in my opinion, nothing more nor less than the potentiality of the indicative, which Lane presents very fully in §§ 2305—7. The *velim*-types are adequately explained by a theory of attraction from the idea to the mood.⁴ On the *dicat, dixerit quis* types I have already expressed an opinion in this *Review* (Vol. xii., 298). The chemical affinity between the subjunctive and 2nd person points to an imperatival

origin, for the imperative is the mood of the 2nd person. A definite 2nd person easily becomes gnomic.⁵ I have also suggested (above, Vol. xi., 344) that certain exclamatory subjunctives owe their origin to partial obliquity. Here the partial obliquity connotation of the German imperatival auxiliary, *sollen*, furnishes an instructive parallel. The same verb *sollen*, also serves as a potential auxiliary. In Old English also, *sceolde* is common in this sense of German *sollte*.

In the example *sunt item quae appelluntur alces* I do not see how *appelluntur* could stand (1823), and in Horace's *interdum volgus rectum videt, est ubi peccat* the rhetorical balance of *videt* and *peccat* is the only point to call attention to.

Professor Lane contributes no new light to the *cum*-controversy, and it is something of a shock to be told (1864) that what we have been taught to regard as a typical case,—*cum Athenis essem*,—is exceptional. At 1870 we are not told that *memini cum* also takes the subjunctive. Why is not *vidi cum* with the indic. also mentioned (e.g. Plautus, B. 469)? That *cum* 'since' with the subjunctive is a secondary development seems probable from a consideration of *quoniam*. From the subjunctive in wishes the *qui*-clause may easily have developed, through purpose to tendency and result, whence characteristic; our English infinitive has all these uses. Assuming a similar development for *cum*, the causal use would be subsequent to the characteristic. The concessive use might have originated with a concessive subjunctive in parataxis. The natural propriety of *non* for some of these sentence types would account for its introduction, especially where the positive type was much commoner than the negative (see also Bennett, l.c., pp. 18 seq.). Thus I sketch the aspect to myself of the older views of *cum* and *qui*, which are still to be preferred, in my opinion, to Dittmar's universal polemic solvent.

¹ Another, but in my opinion, less probable explanation is to be seen in most editions. The shift from infinitive to subjunctive (with *ut*) dependencies is not uncommon in Plautus (see Schnoor's 'Zum Gebrauch von *ut* bei Plautus,' footnote 42).

² Bréal in his *Commencements du Verbe*, *Mém. Soc. Ling.* vol. xi. 273 seq., presents general points of view for the (Latin) subjunctive of convincing simplicity.

³ Elmer's remarks on this point (*Cornell Studies*, vi.) have been discussed in this *Review* by the editor (vol. xiii. 66).

⁴ See Morris in *Am. Jr. Phil.* xviii. 285.

⁵ Bennett's examples of the *videas* type (*Cornell Studies*, ix. 41 seq.) fall into two classes—with transitions: (1) where two verbs balance in relative (conditional) sentences, and (2) in exclamatory sentences, where renderings like 'I'd have you see, I wish you might see,' are very pat. I trust I shall not be understood as objecting to potential renderings for Latin subjunctives where they are obviously convenient, but rather to any tendency to foist upon the primitive limbo of prehistoric syntax, from such scant and scattered evidence, a potential,—in fear lest some subsequent feat of sleight-of-hand and derring-do (may) derive awful consequences for historical syntax.

At 1896 Caesar's use of *quam quo* (B.G. 2 21 3) in a clause of disproportion is deserving of mention as before Livy. Apropos of *ut* 'where' (1936), it would be well to mention, along with the Plautus examples, B.G. 7 46 5, where, though most of the editions fail to state it, *ut* *conquieverat* may well mean 'where he was napping'.¹ For pedagogic reasons mention should be made in the treatment of parenthetical *ut*, of the example from the Manilian Law, § 20, where *dico* is expressed. At 1968 it was well to give so many instances of explanatory *ut* from Caesar, but the Plautus usage is neglected (e.g. Mo. 27-8).

Touching conditionals: Scholars must be grateful for the 35 pages of examples, though to some of these exception is easy to take. The group labelled apodosis in the perfect (2027) contains four exclamatory perfects, and the remaining apodosis belongs, in my opinion, to the unreal type: the example *iam tum senex erat si senectus verecundos facit* (2028) is an instance, not of a true condition, but of what I will call, for lack of a better name, *si inversum*. In 2075 the example *si hercle haberem pollicerer* is very neatly juxtaposed with *si h. habeam pollicear*,—continued in 2076 by *pol si mihi sit, non pollicear :: scio, dares*.

Touching the Infinitive: The examples for the purpose construction are numerous and thankworthy. At 2186 the important word *future* is omitted in the discussion of verbs of hoping. The Vergilian example (Aen. 1, 37) of the exclamatory infinitive, even if solitary, deserved mention (2216), and one of the not very numerous Plautine examples, too; and this rule ought to precede the probably paratactic accusative and infinitive after verbs of emotion (2187).²

Touching the Gerundive: This form precedes the Gerund, according to the speculations of latter years, and the voice difficulty is beautifully met by translations like 'the occupation of land-tilling' for *studium agri colendi*. The highly instructive example, Cic. ad Fam. 9.25; *nunc ades ad imperandum uel ad parendum potius; sic enim antiqui loquebantur*, ought certainly to have been cited (cf. also Sallust,

Jug. 62, 8.) No notice is taken of the gerundive with *est* in the active sense (cf. Brix on Trin. 1159). The explanation of the *vestri adhortandi causa* type by levelling is not bad, but it seems rather forced to account for *istorum adhortandi causa* as due to a subsequent dissociation of *adhortandi* from *vestri*.

Touching the Participle: Cicero was not the earliest author to use the combination of *facit, inducit, videt*, etc. with the present participle in predication (see Tammelin, *de participiis priscae latinitatis* § 47). Special mention might have been made of the interesting *chlamydem undantem fecit* of Plautus (Ep. 431), as well as of the type *eos laetantis facio* (ib. S. 407).

Touching Oratio Obliqua; § 2231 states the rule for converting an impf. subj. apodosis according to the formula, *esset* becomes *futurum esse*. The case for *futurum fuisse* seems to me the stronger. See Vassis in the *Revue de Philologie*, XI. 42 seq.; Riemann *Syntaxe Latine*, § 241; Riemann, et Goelzer, *Grammaire Comparée*, etc. p. 616.

Touching Prosody: This excellent chapter is the work of another of Professor Lane's pupils, Professor H. W. Hayley. I miss here a statement of the frequency of the bucolic diaeresis in Horace's hexameters, and wish the rhythmic, if hackneyed, Schiller-Coleridge illustration for the elegiac stanza had been given instead of the harsh verses of Tennyson (2574).

My study of Professor Lane's grammar has left me with a profound regret that he did not write a book on the Comparative Stylistic of Latin and English. When shall we have another scholar so competent to do it? The value of the grammar is great in this regard. Such innovations in terminology as Infinitive of Intimation and Annalistic Present have value for the study of style, rather than for the lower syntax. Examples of 'loose construction,' (1146, 1426, etc.), the massing of constructions possible after verbs of fearing (1959), the remarks on the person range of proper names (1301), on the sphere of collective singulars (1099), on the value of the quicquid, quantum est formulae (1259, with the unfortunate omission of examples from Catullus, who seems to me to have shown a weakness for this idiom), on the rendering of sundry locutions (e.g., 1368, 1966b),—all this has great value for the study of style. Professor Lane would never have countenanced in English that trying locution 'than whom no better ever lived' (cf. 1562). One torment of the class-

¹ See Bryan's *Latin Prose based on Caesar*, p. 73.

² This suggestion is at least as old as Barth's *de infin. ap. scaen. poetas latinas*, p. 11 (Leipzig, 1881), and has been pressed into service by Dittmar (*l.c.* § 490) for the entire accusative and infinitive construction. The 'Infinitive of Intimation,' with its subject made the object of the verb of saying, might be regarded as a transition stage: see also F. W. Thomas, above, vol. xi. 373 seq.

room will disappear when students learn when to render *neque* by 'but not,' (1445), and *vix, parum, minus, male*, etc. by 'not' (1451). It gives comfort to a student of Plautus to know that Professor Lane felt *missa facio* as *dimisi* (1606).¹ The future perfect is now a rapid future (1629) and now a postponed future (1630). Parentheses are asyndetic (1642), though our attention is not called to the forward position of verbs in certain types of asyndeton (2125-6).

The truth seems to be that Professor Lane was dominated by his feeling for style, and his was not a mere theory, but an art of style. The proper translation was all important to him, to such an extent that he says of explanatory *cum* for instance (1874): 'In this use *cum* passes from the meaning of *when* to *that*, *in that*, or *in* or *by* with verbal *in-ing*.' Of course no such change in the meaning of *cum* occurs; what occurs is a change in rendering, to make English and Latin idioms conform. He even gives us comments on his renderings like 'or less clumsily,' and not a few alternative renderings (*e.g.* 1531, 1571, 1715, 1874).

What a translator of Latin he was. If he had but given us a version of Plautus. His grammar is worth the scholar's perusal if but for his renderings of the examples.² Translation is, after all, the greatest thing in the study of language. If our teachers of the classics would take pains to translate well themselves, and to teach this art to their pupils, and not let them pitchfork their Greek or Latin idioms over into impossible uncouth English, then, and not till then, will the future of the classics in the modern scheme of education be assured. I speak, not as a Pharisee, but as a Publican and chief of offenders. The mental exercise of seizing a thought in a complicated foreign dress, divesting it of all its old clothure, and then adorning it anew in our own good English attire, seems to me the best of all training in the use of language; and, as thought has never yet dispensed with language, the best of all training in the processes of thought.

This notice is already overlong, but I am sure I shall be pardoned for adding some examples of Professor Lane's quality as a

translator, and first, of some renderings that seem to me at least to be affected: *persuasit* nox 'the witchery was night' (1066); *postremam aciem* 'rereward line' (1069); *histrio* 'actor man' (1077); *stilus optimus dicendi* magister 'pen is the best, etc.' (1078); *aera per tenerum* 'through lither sky' (1082); *laborantes* 'sore bestead' (1535); *Juv.* 10, 22 rendered by 'the poure man when he goth by the weye, before the thev's he may singe and pleye': § 2241 'shill-I-shall-I-ing'; § 2270 'and eke for to be seen'; § 1970, *angusto mari* 'in cramped sea-room,'—reminiscent of Capt. Mahan, perhaps. On the other hand, let us look at the following: *matercula* 'an anxious mother, poor Mamma, dear Mamma'; *lacrimula*, 'a wee tear, a crocodile tear' (269); *bellaria* 'goodies, bonbons' (309); *examussin* 'to a T' (542); *superbio* 'am stuck up'; *iustitia* 'square-dealing'; *Horace*, *Epod.* 15, 1: 'twas night, and in a cloudless sky, bright rode the moon amid the lesser lights'; *ib.* *Epis.* 1 6 37 'both birth and shape [looks] the almighty dollar gives'; *Cicero*, *Fam.* 9 2 1, *at tibi repente, cum minime exspectarem, venit ad me Caninius mane* 'but bless you, sir, when I least dreamt of it, who should drop in on me all at once but Caninius, bright and early'; *scyphis pugnare Thracum* est 'to fight with bowls is Vandal work'; *negavit moris esse Graecorum* 'he said it was not manners among the Greeks'; *contentio honorum* 'scramble for office'; *non modo* 'I won't say' (1681); *postulante nescio quo* 'on motion of what's his name'; *fertur* 'tries to charge' (1481). Some of these renderings are beyond most scholars and nearly all pupils, I refer more particularly to the rhyme and verse renderings, but some of them, the manner of some of them, is within the reach of the average, *e.g.*, *praecepit unum omnes peterent Indutiomarum* 'he says they must all concentrate their attack on Indutiomarus.'

I indicate in conclusion a few points that should receive attention in a subsequent edition: The indicative type of deliberative question, occasional in Plautus, and surviving in Virgil (*Aen.* 4 534) is not mentioned; neither is the *potin ut* type of question. Such idioms as *suavitas verni temporis*, a telling example of which is *Aen.* 6 238: *tuta lacu nigro nemorumque tenebris*, should be provided for, as well as its contratype, *suaves odores* for *suavitas odorum*.³ The difficult genitive of Caesar's

¹ I have always explained *exercitum instructum habet* by 'he has his army drawn up,' and *exercitum instruxit* by 'he has drawn up his army.'

² We have in America no book like Caue's admirable *Die Kunst des Uebersetzens*, and, so far as I know, there is none in English.

quas (sc. navos) sui quisque commodi fecerat is not explained. In 1957 *perdiderimus* is a mistaken measurement, and few will follow Professor Lane in writing *pōntem mōntem*. The last example under 1845 is more simply classified at 1853, and the abl. of route (1376) belongs somewhere after 1377. Misprints are very rare, but *dissimilimus* occurs at 1998. The index, which I have had occasion to use a good deal, is very full and accurate.

I wish in closing to repeat my conviction of the great value of Professor Lane's work for Stylistic teaching, and even more for its actual translations, which exhibit, in an uncommon degree, control of both Latin and English idioms.

EDWIN W. FAY.

AUSTIN,
UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS,
April 10, 1900.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE NEW EDITION OF PAULY'S *ENCYCLOPAEDIA*.

IN No. 1 of the *Classical Review*, 1900, p. 76, Dr. J. E. Sandys writes in a notice of my article 'Die thrakische Chersonesos,' in Vol. III. of Pauly-Wissowa's *Real Encyclopaedia*, Col. 2279:—'We find mention of the speech of Demosthenes on Halonnesus, whereas the extant speech bearing that name is now . . . assigned to Hegesippus, although Demosthenes is known to have taken part in the debate.'

If Dr. Sandys had read the col. 2245 in

my article he would have found that in the twelfth line I have expressly declared that the speech related as a Demosthenic one is of a pseudo-demosthenic origin. Among the chronological data, however, I had to remark that in 343 a speech of Demosthenes was really spoken, of which Libanios expressly says ῥηθείς.

DR. L. BÜCHNER.

MUNICH, June 16th, 1900.

VERSIONS.

AN IDYLL IN ENGLISH AND GREEK.

O WHAT a pain is love! how shall I bear it?
She will inconstant prove, I greatly fear it.
She so torments my mind that my strength
faileth,

And wavers with the wind as a ship saileth:
Please her the best I may, she loves still to
gainsay:

Alack and well-a-day! Phillada flouts me.

At the fair yesterday she did pass by me,
She looked another way and would not spy
me:

I woo'd her for to dine, but could not get
her;

Will had her to the wine—he might intreat
her,

With Daniel she did dance, on me she looked
askance,

Oh! thrice unhappy chance; Phillada flouts
me.

Fair maid! be not so coy, do not disdain me!
I am my mother's joy; sweet! entertain me!

ἂ δυσέρως μὲν ἔρως· πῶς μιν φέρω; ἂ Γαλάτεια
μή τι παλιντράπελος δεῖδω μάλα· νῦν ἀνιά γὰρ
οἷστρω θυμὸν ἐμὸν καὶ τὸ σθένος ἐξαλαπάσδει.
εἰκὴ ναῦς τις ὅπως φέρομαι πνοιᾶσι θαλάσσης.
σαίνω γ' ὅτι μάλιστ'· τί δὲ πλέον; οὐδέχεται
δή·

φεῦ κακοδαιμονίας. τᾷ δ' οὐ μέλει, οὐ μὰ Δι'
οὐδέν.

χθελὴ μὲν παρέβα με πανηγύρει ἀντιάσασα
οὐδ' ἔβλεν ποθορῆμεν· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκάλευν ποτὶ
δεῖπνον

ἔπτυσ' ἀναινυμένα, ξείνιξε δέ μιν Διοκλείδας
οὐκ ἀέκοισαν ἐκὼν· ἂ δ' αὖ Δανάου προκαλεῦν-
τος

ὀρχεῖται κῆμ' εἶδε τάλαν τάλαν ὀμμασι λοξοῖς·
φεῦ κακοδαιμονίας· τᾷ δ' οὐ μέλει οὐ μὰ Δι'
οὐδέν.

μὴ τὸ τόσον χαρίεσσα κόρα διαθρύπτεο, μή μιν
ᾧδε καταφρονέοις· τᾶς ματρός γ' εὐχομαι ἦμεν
χάρμα· τὸ δ' ὧ μέλιτος γλυκερωτέρα, αἶθ' ἀτιτάλ-
λοις

καὶ τὰ τὸν φιλέονθ'· ἂ γὰρ τοι ἐπὶ θάνῃ εὐθὺς

She'll give me when she dies all that is fitting;

Her poultry and her bees, and her goose sitting,

A pair of mattrass beds, and a bag full of shreds;

And yet, for all this guedes, Phillada flouts me.

She hath a clout of mine, wrought with blue Coventry,

Which she keeps for a sign of my fidelity; But, faith, if she flinch, she shall not wear it;

To Tib, my t'other wench, I mean to bear it. And yet it grieves my heart so soon from her to part;

Death strike me with his dart! Phillada flouts me.

Thou shalt eat crudded cream all the year lasting,

And drink the crystal stream pleasant in tasting,

Whig and whey whilst thou lust, and ramble-berries,

Pie-lid and pastry crust, pears, plums and cherries;

Thy raiment shall be thin, made of a weevil's skin—

Yet all's not worth a pin: Phillada flouts me.

Fair maiden! have a care, and in time take me;

I can have those as fair, if thou forsake me: For Doll the dairy-maid laughed at me lately,

And wanton Winifred favours me greatly.

One throws milk on my clothes, t'other plays with my nose:

What wanting signs are those! Phillada flouts me.

I cannot work nor sleep at all in season: Love wounds my heart so deep, without all reason.

I gin to pine away in my love's shadow, Like as a fat beast may penned in a meadow.

I shall be dead, I fear, within this thousand year:

And for all that my dear Phillada flouts me.

ANON.

δωσεῖ ἐμὶν πάνθ' ὅσσα πρέπει, κῶρνίχια πολλὰ
χῆν' αὖ τ' ἐπ' ὥζουσιν τραφεράν, δωσεῖ δὲ μελίσσας
οὐκ ὀλίγας· παρ' ἐμὶν δὲ δύο στιβάδες παράκειν-
ται,

ἔστι δὲ καὶ σάκκος πέπλων τ' ἀποτίλματα,
πλούτω

θησαυρός· τῇ δ' οὐ τήνων μέλει οὐ μὰ Δι' οὐδέν.
ῥᾶγος ἔχει τι λαβοῖσ' ἀπ' ἐμεῦ πολυποίκιλον

ὅλον
πορφυρέον, τὸ δ' ἔχουσα λέγει μέγα φίλτρον
ἔρωτος

τῷ μὲν ἔχειν· ἀλλ' αἶ κ' ἀπατᾷ με, κακαὶ φρένες,
ἢ μὲν

οὔτι φορησέῃ τῇνῳ, βία δ' Ἀμαρυλλίδι δωσῶ
ἀρπάξας, ἐπεὶ ἔσθ' ἑτέραν τοι ἀμέλγην· ὁμῶς δὲ

λυπεῖ τὴν κραδίαν με διαζευχθῆμεν ἀπ' αὐτᾶς
ὥς ταχέως· αἰθ' ὦν ταχέως κατατοξενυθείην

τῇ θανάτω βέλει· τῇ δ' οὐ μέλει οὐ μὰ Δι'
οὐδέν.

τοῦτεῖ ἐπητέτανον πακτὰν παρέχοιμί κ' ἐδωδᾶν·
ἔστιν ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ, ποτὸν ἀμβρόσιον παρὰ

κράνας,
ἔστ' ὁρὸς αἶ κ' ἐθέλῃς, ἔστ' ἄμπελος ἂ γλυκύκαρ-
πος,

ἔντ' ὀγχναὶ μαλακαὶ βράβυλοι τε καὶ ἄλλα
ὀπώρα,

πὰρ πέλανοι κείνται παντοῖοι ἐπὶ πλαθάνοισιν,
εἶμα μάλα λεπτὸν περιέσσεται, οἷον ἀράχνης·

πάντα μάταν· τῇ δ' οὐ τήνων μέλει οὐ μὰ Δι'
οὐδέν.

φράζω δ' ὥς βέντιστα· τί μ' οὐκ ἔφθασσας
ἀκοίταν

δεξαμένα; Γαλάτειαν ἴσως καὶ καλλίον' ἄλλαν
εὐρησῶ· καὶ γὰρ Δολιὰς μ' ἐγέλασσαν ἰδοῖσα

πρᾶν ποκα, χά Κλεαρίστα ἐμὶν χάριν οὐκ ἀνα-
νεύει·

ἀ μὲν ἐπιρρίπτει χλαίνα γάλα, χά Κλεαρίστα
μόσχῳ γανροτέρα ψῆ μοι τὰν ῥίνα, φιλεῖ δὲ

συμπαῖσδεν παῖσδοντι· τάδ' οὐ τεκμήρια πολλὰς
ἔστι φιλοφροσύνας; τῇ δ' οὐ μέλει οὐ μὰ Δι'
οὐδέν.

οὐκέτι τοῖς ἀγροῖς ἐργάζομαι, οὐκέτι κνώσσω·
κεντεῖ ἔρως κραδίαν· πᾶ τὰς φρένας ἐκπεπτότα-
μαι;

τάκομαι οἷμοι ἐγών, κατατάκομαι ἀεροφοίτας
βῶς ἐνὶ κάπῳ ὅπως εὐερκεῖ, καὶ μάλα δεῖδω

μή τι κίχη θάνατός με τριακοσίων ἑνιαυτῶν·
ὦ γλυκερὰ Παλάτεια, τί τὴν μέλει; οὐ μὰ Δι'
οὐδέν.

W. H. D. ROUSE.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

HUTTON'S GREEK TERRACOTTA
STATUETTES.

Greek Terracotta Statuettes, by C. A. HUTTON.
Seeley and Co., 1899. Pp. xvi. + 80.
Price 7s.

It is remarkable that, till quite recent years, archaeologists should have so generally neglected the study of Greek terracotta statuettes. The products of the koroplast, while most closely connected with Greek Art as displayed in sculpture and painting, like the designs of the vase-maker, throw a brighter light than either of these major arts on the life and thought of the generality of the Hellenic people. It is nevertheless a fact that, till almost a quarter of a century ago, no particular attention was bestowed on the interesting and beautiful figurines which are associated in the minds of most with the name of Tanagra. As early as 1840 Greek terracotta statuettes began to find their way from Asia Minor to the European Museums, but it was not till 1875 that the Greek Archaeological Society was tempted by the numerous finds which had been made by unauthorized diggers at Skimitari (Tanagra,) to undertake anything of the nature of a systematic excavation in search of terracottas; and not till 1880 that the careful and Scientific excavations conducted by MM. Pottier and Reinach at Myrina roused archaeologists to the appreciation of the importance of terracottas in the study of Greek art and thought.

Without doubt many valuable data and many interesting examples, especially of primitive art, have been irrecoverably lost in consequence of this unfortunate absence of scientific exploration; but under the more favourable conditions which exist to-day each succeeding year adds its quota to our knowledge of the subject. The earlier months of the year 1899, which witnessed the third excavation on the site of Naukratis (undertaken this time by the British School at Athens under the direction of Mr. D. G. Hogarth), have made the latest considerable addition to our specimens and data; and the autumn of the same year gave us Miss C. A. Hutton's *Greek Terracotta Statuettes*, which, with a useful chapter in Dr. Murray's Handbook of Greek Archaeology, may claim to have made almost the first attempt to increase the knowledge

and interest of English Archaeologists in a subject to the study of which Heuzey, Furtwaengler, Hoffmann, Kekule, Pottier, Reinach, and others have devoted their attention and genius in France and Germany.

Miss Hutton's book, which is prefaced by a few paragraphs from the pen of Dr. Murray, deals with Greek statuettes chiefly from an artistic standpoint. At the same time it contains much that is of use and interest to those who regard terracottas from the classical and archaeological rather than from the aesthetic point of view. Perhaps the most useful chapter in the book is that which discusses ably and concisely the methods of manufacture: the earliest process of modelling by hand; the use of a stamp to emboss the face or the front of a figure upon a solid lump of clay; and, finally, the employment of one or more moulds. Miss Hutton justly says: 'Our admiration for these statuettes is only increased by a knowledge of the simple methods used in their production.' Even in the heyday of the art the koroplast seems to have possessed no great assortment of moulds. Such variety as he desired he produced by the judicious combination of a few moulds, and by skilfully retouching his figure after the various moulded parts had been joined together.

A chapter which treats of the use and meaning of the Statuettes is, in the writer's opinion, less successful, but it is perhaps better to refrain from discussing a question which is at present so uncertain. Where so much can be said in support of rival views it is difficult and perhaps rash to choose between them. Miss Hutton may or may not be right in arguing that, as Pompeian houses have been found to contain terracottas resembling those discovered in Pompeian tombs, Greek houses contain terracottas similar to those which have been unearthed in tombs at Myrina, Tanagra, and elsewhere. The weak point in the argument is the fact that Pompeii was not essentially a Greek town. With regard to the so-called masks or half-figures, Miss Hutton, with other writers, is perhaps too ready to assign a funerary significance to them considering that, at any rate at Naukratis, they have been discovered among temple dedications to Aphrodite. It will be interesting to see the attitude taken by Mr. H. B. Walters with respect

to this subject in his forthcoming catalogue of the terracottas in the British Museum.

Certainly Miss Hutton seems rash in writing (in a chapter on Archaic Statuettes) of 'a feminine divinity whose presence in the tomb was due to a desire to protect the dead from evil influences, but *who at this period* (down to the end of the fifth century) *had neither a special name, nor any very definite functions;*' and again in stating that the female statuettes 'when found in tombs have a natural reference to the under-world character of the goddess-mother and her power of protection there, as in the upper world, therefore in time they are connected with the goddess Demêter, who as Earth-mother had always such functions, but who became more particularly the under-world goddess, when the legend of the rape of Persephoné and her sway among the dead as the bride of Hades had been shaped into words. In time the two goddesses ousted all other divinities from the under-world cycle, and endowed with their own personality not only the feminine statuettes, but also the female masks (oscilla) which were hung on the walls of the tombs.' Scarcely more convincing is the assertion as an undisputed fact that these female half-figures 'are derived from the Egyptian coffins, the upper part of which is moulded in the likeness of the head and shoulders of the dead.'

The remainder of the book gives a bright and interesting account of the development from the archaic statuettes of the genre figurines which are most likely to appeal to the 'wider public' for whom Miss Hutton writes. The narrative is enlivened with appropriate, and some inappropriate, quotations from the Greek Anthology, though the English versions given do not always display as much accuracy in translation or in rhythm as could be desired. There is a tendency (especially marked in the last two chapters) to wander somewhat too widely from the subject in hand, and many of the by-paths, into which Miss Hutton would have us follow her, cannot be said to lead us much closer to an appreciation of Greek terracotta statuettes. Miss Hutton might with advantage have given references for her quotations and allusions on pp. 35, 36, 55, 56. Her book is profusely and beautifully illustrated and many of the reproductions are done in colour.

To advert briefly in conclusion to the results of the Naukratis excavation:—of the four hundred terracottas discovered, the majority were of late date (150 B.C.—

150 A.D.) and local manufacture. These appeared to be connected with the worship of Horos and were mostly of types already known to English students through specimens from the Fayûm now in the British Museum. They were derived apparently from the dwelling houses of the later inhabitants of Naukratis. A few animals and figures of rude workmanship and primitive appearance—probably toys—were recovered from the uppermost stratum of the soil, and their presence here shows the danger of assigning all primitive figures of horsemen, etc., to an early date when their exact provenance is unknown.

The earlier heads and figures were, to judge both from their types and from the inscribed sherds found with them, dedications to purely Hellenic divinities. They consisted of a number of heads of 'Tanagra' type (c. 200 B.C.), which have been connected, in consequence of an inscription found with them, with the worship of Demeter and Persephone; some six specimens which were probably dedicated to Rhea; and several heads, many of unusual size, which have been classed, in consequence of inscriptions unearthed with them, as dedications to Aphrodite. These date from the beginning of the sixth century to the end of the fourth or even later, and in some cases exhibit considerable artistic merit and originality:—one or two are, so far as I am aware, unique as regards both conception and execution:—others are 'body-figures' of the kind already alluded to in the notice of Miss Hutton's book. Of these latter one only¹ is of native clay, whilst of the former perhaps half-a-dozen were made in Naukratis. It is interesting to note that the figures of Naukratite make date back to circa 500 B.C.; and that those of foreign (? Rhodian or Cypriote) manufacture are rare after the beginning of the fourth century B.C.

CLEMENT GUTCH.

THE FOUR GREAT AQUEDUCTS OF ANCIENT ROME.

THE bulk of the water with which ancient Rome was supplied came from the upper valley of the Anio, and was carried by four aqueducts, two of which, the Anio Vetus and the Anio Novus, drew from the river itself, while the other two, the Marcia and

¹ An argument, perhaps, against the Egyptian origin of 'oscilla' asserted by Miss Hutton.

the Claudia, were supplied by springs near Arsoli, which are now once more in use. These aqueducts were constructed at different periods, the Anio Vetus in 272 B.C., the Marcia in 144 B.C. while the Claudia and the Anio Novus dated from 52 A.D. But all follow, in the main, the same line, the Claudia and Anio Novus generally keeping very close together. Their course from their sources to Rome may be divided into three sections. The first—through the Anio valley as far as Tivoli—is well known in the main, though further search has revealed the existence of many hitherto undiscovered remains. And even better known is the last section which begins at Capannelle where the aqueducts finally emerge from their subterranean course, and extend right up to the walls of Rome.

But from Tivoli to the level of the Campagna at Le Capannelle is a drop of three or four hundred feet, and, in order to make their descent sufficiently gradual the aqueducts sweep round, first through the difficult hills and gorges near Gallicano, and then along the lower northern slopes of the Alban Hills. This section of their course is fairly well known as far as Ponte Lupo, the finest of all the aqueduct bridges, in which the four unite to cross a deep ravine; but (with the exception of some remains near S. Maria di Cavamonte, in close proximity to the Ponte Amato of the Via Praenestina, the existence of which was known only from the indications given by Fabretti) the aqueducts have always been considered to be practically lost from Ponte Lupo until their reappearance at Le Capannelle. With the aid of Professor Lanciani, I have been attempting to fill up this gap in their course during the last two seasons. I have now ascertained at least the line of the Anio Novus, the highest in level of all, and I venture a preliminary account of the results. A detailed description will, I hope, appear some day with the co-operation of my friend Mr. Howard Crosby Butler. Meantime I may remark that the remains of the aqueducts round Gallicano well deserve a visit from any scholar who cares to go a little out of the beaten track. The Ponte Tanotella, N.W. of Gallicano, has been described by Prof. Lanciani in the *Bullettino Comunale* for 1899: in addition to this there are interesting remains near the Mola di Gallicano and at Cavamonte. A few hundred yards west of S. Maria di Cavamonte a long piece of the Anio Novus, carried on substructures, is seen; and about

half a mile further west, at a point where the Italian Staff Map marks 'Ponte Diruto,' are two fine bridges belonging to the Claudia and Anio Novus, with traces of the aqueduct of the Marcia. A mile further west again, over the east branch of the stream called Fosso di Biserano, are three smaller bridges, the two lower of which, in *opus quadratum*, are wonderfully well preserved. At the Laghetto della Pallavicina the Anio Novus appears again with a long substructure with buttresses, and again to the S.W. of the farmhouse. It now turns sharply south, but after crossing the modern Via Labicana turns west again; and both it and the Aqua Claudia are seen crossing a small stream west of the Casale delle Marmorelle.

The Anio Vetus meanwhile, which runs at a considerably lower level, is almost entirely untraceable until a point just south of the springs of the Aqua Felice. Here it appears running at the ground level, and can be followed for over a mile, keeping round the north and west slopes of Monte Falcone, in order to avoid tunnelling through the hard silex, which here comes up to the surface. It is easily traceable right up to the high road, and again in two places beyond it, but after this it seems to disappear entirely.

In the next valley to the W.—the E. branch of that which runs along the W. side of the Colle della Lite—considerable remains of both the Anio Novus and the Claudia, carried upon substructions exist while considerably further north are the remains of a small bridge of the Marcia: and beyond this the aqueducts are clearly traceable by the enormous amount of deposit which was thrown out of the channel at the putei, and which the continual spread of cultivation brings to light. The structural remains are, however, from this point onwards, quite insignificant, as the country is no longer difficult to negotiate. In consequence of this fact, the Marcia also becomes difficult to trace, and I have not yet been able to follow it further.

The Claudia and Anio Novus, keeping, as they usually do, very close together, cross the basin of Prata Porci (their bridges are visible in the stream which runs through the centre), and then reappear in the E. branch of the Valle della Morte, where the stream runs through the specus of the Claudia. In the W. branch of the same valley, just N. of the Fontanile Trasanella, is a small bridge of the Anio Novus. The aqueducts then tunnelled through the E. bank of the

crater of Pantano Secco, and ran along its E. and S. sides at some height above the bottom of the crater,—another proof that the crater was a lake in Roman times—and very probably the Lake Regillus (see my article in *Classical Review* Dec. 1898 p. 470). Thence they ran W.S.W., crossing the Via Cavona (an ancient diverticulum of great importance) precisely where the boundary of the Agro Romano crosses it—a coincidence which more than once occurs—and then cross the Via Tuscolana close to the Fontanile di Vermicino. Further remains—fragments of the specus and several putei—are traceable as far as the tunnel of the Marrana Mariana (or Marrana di S. Giovanni) which is neither more nor less than the specus of the Aqua Claudia traversing the hill; the very putei are the ancient putei, though the intervals are slightly irregular. The Anio Novus had a parallel tunnel slightly further to the N.

The aqueducts follow the line of the Marrana for a considerable way—until the disused line of the Naples railway is reached—and then turning slightly northward, proceed to the Bertone property, where in 1884 the specus of both aqueducts and piscina of the Anio Novus, were discovered (see Lanciani *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1884 p. 155). Here begins the well-known long line of arches, which runs right up to the Porta Maggiore, the splendid double arch by which the Claudia and Anio Novus are carried across the Via Labicana and the Via Praenestina just after their separation, and which Aurelian used as a gate in the line of his walls.

THOMAS ASHBY, JUN.

ROME, May, 1900.

HERSCHEL'S *FRONTINUS*.

The Two Books on the Water Supply of the City of Rome of Sextus Julius Frontinus . . . by CLEMENS HERSCHEL, Hydraulic Engineer. Boston: David Estes & Company. 1899. \$6.50. Pp. xxvi, 296.

It is just twenty years since Prof. Lanciani published his admirable monograph '*I comentarii di Frontino*,' in the four hundred quarto pages of which he dealt in detail with the aqueducts of ancient Rome and the tract of Frontinus concerning them. His book was intended for scholars and is still the best work on its subject which a scholar could consult, though recent discoveries may make one wish for a second edition. Mr.

Herschel's volume, now before me, is a very different work. Externally a handsome quarto, not seriously smaller in size than its Italian predecessor, it is in reality a much shorter work and much more popular in character. Its contents are somewhat miscellaneous. It opens with a photographic reproduction of the Monte Cassino MS., the only important manuscript of Frontinus. I have no means of comparing this reproduction with the original, but it looks to be successful, and scholars will doubtless welcome it as an addition to the number of Facsimiles of manuscripts. Then follows the text of Frontinus with an English translation on the opposite page. The translation was made on a curious plan. Mr. Herschel frankly avows in his preface that he is not a Latin scholar. He therefore took French and German translations of Frontinus: where they agree, he accepted the result, and where they differed, he consulted Latin scholars. It sounds an odd method, but I must confess that I have no particular fault to find with the translation which it has produced. The rest of the volume, about two hundred pages of large print, copiously interspersed with illustrations, contains 'explanatory chapters' on the life of Frontinus, and various questions of water supply. These chapters are addressed principally to those for whom the English translation is intended. They do not confine themselves to the Roman aqueducts or even to questions of ancient waterworks: a short chapter discusses the hydraulics of Galileo and Leonardo de Vinci. Nor do they go greatly into detail: very little is said about the course of the aqueducts from the hills to Rome. Nor are they free from errors. But where Mr. Herschel writes as a hydraulic engineer, he seems to me in my total ignorance of hydraulics, to write well and valuably, and certainly he writes interestingly. I may quote one view of his which, whether right or wrong, is novel to me. Every one who has seen the ruined aqueducts in the Campagna, must have noticed the brick arches which have been inserted inside the original stone arches of the Claudia and one or two other aqueducts. This brickwork is usually explained as built to support the aqueduct, and the explanation has suggested inferences to the discredit of Roman masonry. Mr. Herschel has a different theory. He points out that, all the world over, stone aqueducts tend very quickly to leak, from no other reason than the mere expansion of the stone in hot summers and its contraction in the winters.

Accordingly, he supposes the brickwork of the Roman aqueducts to have been clumsy attempts to stop leaks from the outside.

F. HAVERFIELD.

D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE'S
*CELTIC AND
 HOMERIC CIVILISATIONS.*

La Civilisation des Celtes et celle de l'Épopée Homérique. Par H. D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE, Membre de l'Institut. Paris, Ancienne Librairie Thorin et Fils, A. Fontemoing éditeur. 1899. In 8vo. Pp. xv., 418. Price 8 francs.

THE book before us forms vol. vi. of a general series entitled *Cours de Littérature Celtique*, edited by d'Arbois de Jubainville with the collaboration of well-known Celtic scholars. Vol. i. is a general introduction to the study of Celtic literature, vol. ii. is devoted to Celtic mythology, vols. iii., iv. are taken up with translations of the Welsh romances known as the Mabinogion, vol. v. deals with the Irish epic tales, and the translations it contains are extremely valuable as illustrations of the Celtic side of the arguments in the sixth volume. In the preface to the present work, the writer takes the reader into his confidence and thus describes the genesis of his book: 'Une étude grammaticale, entreprise il y a deux ans, m'a fait parcourir les premiers livres de l'*Iliade*: je voulais y recueillir des exemples de tmèse analogues à ceux que nous offre le vieil irlandais . . . Je connaissais fort mal la littérature homérique, dont je m'étais très peu occupé depuis ma sortie du collège, c'est-à-dire depuis plus de cinquante ans. Recommencant à lire Homère, j'ai été surpris des nombreuses ressemblances que la civilisation décrite dans l'*Iliade* et l'*Odyssée* offre avec celle que nous dépeignent les auteurs grecs et latins quand ils nous montrent ce qu'étaient les Celtes indépendants pendant les trois premiers siècles qui ont précédé l'ère chrétienne, et plus tard, pendant toute la durée de l'empire romain d'Occident. Que dis-je? Même après la chute de cet empire, la plus ancienne littérature de l'Irlande nous offre encore le tableau de la même civilisation dans cette île au commencement du moyen âge' (pp. ix., x). At the end of the book he sums up as follows: 'Les Gaulois, pendant les trois siècles qui ont précédé notre ère, les Irlandais,

tels que nous les dépeint leur littérature épique la plus ancienne, mise par écrit dans le moyen âge, étaient à peu près au même degré de civilisation que les Grecs et les Troyens de l'épopée homérique environ huit cents ans avant Jésus-Christ' (p. 395).

M. d'Arbois has succeeded in producing a very interesting book on quite a new subject; indeed with the materials at his disposal, he could not easily have failed to do so. All scholars now agree in assigning to the Celtic languages and literatures the importance they really deserve in the history of Indo-Germanic philology, civilisation, and mythology. Much has been written on Celtic grammar and folk-lore, but this is the first attempt to bring Greek and Celt side by side and compare in detail their ways and customs. Our authorities on the early Celts fall naturally into two distinct groups: (1) Greek and Roman writers, beginning with the third century B.C.; their information refers almost exclusively to the Gauls and Britons: (2) the oldest Irish legends and sagas. This second source, though far later in date than most of our classical authorities, is the most important for our present purpose. Considerable information may, with careful sifting, be also gathered from early Welsh literature, as the Mabinogion and the Lives of the Saints. It is somewhat surprising that M. d'Arbois has not made more use of early Welsh writings, from which many an interesting parallel might have been supplied, where an Irish one is wanting. Although the oldest extant Irish MS.¹ containing epic stories was written as late as the year 1100 (circa), the *origin* of these old tales is to be sought in pagan Ireland long before the coming of Patrick and the Gospel. Originally the legends were out-and-out pagan and 'brutal' in tone, though by no means lacking in a certain sense of chivalry and tenderness of thought. With the introduction of Christianity, the coarser parts were either toned down or rigidly suppressed; Christian interpolations were made, and by judicious 'editing' on the part of monastic scribes the old epic became an incongruous mixture of pagan and Christian ideas; but even in the late form we possess it is by no means difficult to separate the different parts, as the monks contented themselves with superficial changes and did not trouble themselves about scrupulous consistency; Christian connections being found for the heathen heroes, the latter were allowed

¹ The *Book of the Dun Cow*, *Lebar na huidre*, published in facs. by the Royal Irish Academy, 1870.

to retain their character of cruel and savage fighting-men.¹

The following is a summary of the main parts of d'Arbois' book:—

Chapter I. Observations préliminaires. One important point of contrast in the two civilisations is due to a difference of date, viz., in Homeric society the use of iron is quite exceptional, among the Celts it is very common. One point of resemblance is noticed by Diodorus Siculus (v. 28):—

Τοὺς δ'ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ταῖς καλλίσταις τῶν κρέων μοίραις γεραίρουσι [Κελτοί], καθάπερ ὁ ποιητὴς τὸν Αἴαντα παρεισάγει τιμώμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀριστέρων ὅτε πρὸς Ἑκτορα μονομαχίσας ἐνίκησε,

Ἐνίοισιν δ'Αἴαντα διηγέεσσι γέραιεν.²

Then come examples of duels between warriors of opposing armies from Homer,

¹ Our store of Irish epic literature is rich and varied: much has been published and translated, and more still remains untouched. Facsimiles of the most important MS. collections have been published by the R. Ir. Acad., e.g. Book of Leinster, Book of Lecan; editions of texts with translations, notes, and discussions, may be seen in *La Revue Celtique* (Paris), Meyer and Stern's *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* (Halle, Niemeyer; London, Nutt), and Windisch and Stokes' *Irische Texte*, several series (Leipzig, Hirzel). The following deal fully with an important branch of the Irish epic: *The Cuchullin Saga* (1898, Nutt), with an introduction by Miss Eleanor Hull, who acts as editor, and translations from the Irish by eminent Celtic scholars, *The Feast of Bricriu* [the 'poison-tongued,' the Irish Thersites], edited and translated by G. Henderson, M.A., Ph.D. (1900, Irish Texts Society). The most complete list of MSS. containing epic tales is d'Arbois de Jubainville's *Essai d'un Catalogue de la Littérature épique de l'Irlande* (Paris, Thorin, 1883). To classical students the following short list of Irish versions of Greek and Latin classics may be of some interest:—

The Odyssey.—Merugud Uilix (Book of Ballymote = B.B. end of 14th cent.), edited by Kuno Meyer. (Nutt.)

The Aeneid (B. B.).—Books I.–IV., edited with Eng. trans. by T. Hudson Williams in *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, II. Band, 3 Heft.

The Destruction of Troy (Dares Phrygius).—Numerous versions exist, e.g. Book of Leinster (12th cent.), B. B., Trin. Coll. H. 2, 17 (14th cent. ?), edited with Eng. trans. by Whitley Stokes in *Irische Texte* ii. 1. One of the many Welsh versions is published in Rhys and Evans's *Red Book of Hergest* (14th cent.), Vol. II. (Oxford, 1890).

The History of Alexander the Great (after Orosius).—In the Lebar Brecc (end 14th cent.) and B. B.; edited, with Germ. trans., by Kuno Meyer in *Ir. Texte*, ii. 2.

Lucan's Pharsalia.—Cath Catharda, in Stowe MS. No. 992 (14th or 15th cent.).

² The contest for this 'hero's-portion' forms the subject of some of the most popular Irish romances; one of the most important is translated in *Cours de Litt. Celt.* v. pp. 80–148, and Henderson's *Feast of Bricriu*.

and Celtic parallels from Roman history, e.g. the exploits of Torquatus, Corvus³ and others: instances of similar fights from Irish romances. Comparison of *Iliad* III. 146–243, with an Irish τευχσκοπία (*Cours de L. C.* v. pp. 80–148).

Classical writers refer to the Celtic custom of taking dogs to fight for their masters in war (Strabo, iv. c. 5, § 2, Appian *Celtica*, xii.) In Irish literature the 'war-hound'⁴ is a well-known figure: one famous hound, Ailbe, 'was worth a whole army.' 'Dog' is a very common element in Irish names, e.g. *Cú-roi*, *Cu-chulainn*.⁵ The war-hound is quite unknown to Homer. In the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* dogs and birds attack *dead* men only. Though we have a few Homeric instances of the dog as 'the friend of man,' on the whole he is despised by the Greek and Trojan warriors, among whom 'dog' is a common term of abuse. The influence of women is a very prominent feature in the Irish epic: Plutarch, *de mul. virt.* vi., refers to a treaty between Hannibal and the Gauls, in which the *wives* of the latter are to decide in questions of dispute.

Chapter II., La Société. In Homer and Celtic literature the poets and seers are a class apart from the priests. Their influence was very great, even the sovereign, Agamemnon, had to bow before the decision of Calchas; of the Gaulish seers Diodorus says πάν τὸ πλῆθος ἔχουσιν ὑπήκοον. Divination from the flight of birds was common to Greeks and Celts, also from the dying movements of sacrificial victims (in Gaul human), and from dreams. We are not told in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* how to distinguish a true from a false dream; the Irish Celt knew how to do so. The intending dreamer must be a *file* ('seer, *ueles, genit. *ueletos, Welsh *gweled*: the Germ. *Ueleda*, Tac. *Hist.* iv. 61, is borrowed from the Celtic), must sacrifice a red pig, a cat, or a dog, then eat a portion of the victim and offer the rest to the gods: after reciting a spell, then another spell 'over his two hands,' he must lie down and fall asleep with his head between his hands. His

³ An interesting parallel to the story of the crow helping the Roman warrior is found in one of the Welsh Arthurian tales, *Breudwyf Ronabwy*, in which Owain, a knight of Arthur's company, has a flock of crows which fight for their master on seeing his standard raised. (*Red Book*, vol. i. pp. 153 sqq.).

⁴ Irish *ár-chú*, from *ár*, battle, Welsh *aer*, Gaulish *ver-agros*, ἀγρός, and *cú* (genitive *con*), κύων.

⁵ 'Smith's dog,' the Irish Achilles, who got this name after having killed a fierce dog belonging to a smith; probably a trace of the Heracles-Cerberus legend.

dreams will be true ones. Among the Romans and Greeks (not Homeric) the process was less complicated: the would-be seer had only to sleep on the skins¹ of the victims in the temple or sacred wood of the god who was to send the dream. (Vergil, *Aen.* vii. 81-101.)

The Druids, a class distinct from the bard and seer (Strabo, iv. c. 5 § 4), differ from the Homeric *ιερείς* in that they form a close corporation and are not attached to any temple or to the service of any particular deity: their position is higher than that of the *ιερείς* since the presence of a Druid was essential to the validity of every sacrifice. The Druids belonged to the aristocracy, the seers and poets to the Celtic bourgeoisie. This middle class, intermediate between the noble and common plebeian, consisted of the professional soldier; the seer (Hom. *μάντις*): the carpenter, smith, and worker in bronze (*τέκτων*): the harpist, poet, historian (*αοιδός*): the doctor (*ιητήρ*), and the cup-bearer (who takes the place of Hom. *κήρυξ*). The chief difference between the Celtic and Homeric list (*Od.* xvii. 383) is that the former contains the professional soldier, who does not seem to have existed in Homeric times: but we have instances of Greeks serving as mercenaries (the 10,000) some time before the earliest recorded instance of Celtic mercenaries (369 B.C. in Egypt). So Mommsen is not justified in calling the Celts 'die rechten Lanzknechte des alterthums' *R.G.* i. 8th ed. p. 326. Here the French critic reminds the learned historian of the German origin of the French *lansquenets*. A wrong explanation of *γαίφαροι* is given by Polybius, ii. 22, it simply means *lance-bearers* (Irish *gae*, spear; Sanscr: *hṛsas*; *χαῖος*). Both Greeks and Celts omit the merchant from their list, and to both 'pirate' implies no dishonour.

Chapter III. La Religion. A characteristic feature of the early Celtic character is faith in the power of the magician. For the Celtic magician a simple incantation is sufficient to call up the dead; the Homeric hero must go through a far more complicated process. The teaching of the Druids. The anthropomorphism of the Greek and Celt had been preceded by a period of nature-worship: the Irish king Conchobar swears by heaven, earth, and water; so Hera *Il.*

xv. 36-38. Relations of gods and men, mortals of divine parentage²; cf. *Ἀπολλογένης*, *Ἑρμογένης*, *Κηφισογένης* with Gaul. *Camulogenos* (son of Camulos the Gaulish Mars): acc. to Propertius, v. 10, 41, Virdomarus 'genus hic *Rheno* iactabat ab ipso.'³ Gods in the form of birds, cf. Athene as swallow with the Irish war goddess Bodb (raven). The home of the gods. There are two self-contradictory conceptions in Homer (1) *Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες*, *Il.* i. 18, (2) *οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν*, *Il.* xx. 299. Of these the second is the oldest. The Irish gods came originally from the sky, and dwelt in Ireland until they were conquered by men, then some left the country and occupied the distant islands of the west,⁴ others remained hidden in the caves of the land.

The Celts do not seem to have been acquainted with the idea of the dead being received in Heaven above or Hades below: they are always sent to the far-off corners of the world (Elysium). When a man dies his life or soul passes into the world of the dead, and there finds a copy of all that is laid in the tomb or burnt on the pyre. This doctrine was carried to its logical conclusion by the Celt, and even letters⁵ could be sent to the deceased by burning the writing on the tomb, and debts⁶ could be paid in the next world. The Greek conception of the after-life as we have it in Homer is a mixture of contradictory notions; this inconsistency is due to the introduction of foreign ideas borrowed from the Semites, especially the Homeric Hades, that sad and dark country in which the dead are mere shades or phantoms, and not living bodies as in the Celtic or Sanscrit myth. The

² Cf. Achilles, son of a goddess, and his Celtic counter-type Cuchullin, son of the god Lug. There is a very striking resemblance between these two favourite heroes: both excel in bravery, the life of both is brilliant but cut off before its prime. The horse of Achilles possesses the gift of speech, can divine the future, and sheds tears over his master's fate: the horse of Cuchullin foresees coming events, and sheds tears of blood.

³ There is no need, adds our author, for modern editors to change *Rheno* into *Brenno*, as we know from inscriptions that the Rhine was worshipped, and a tradition existed that the Rhine was father to a mortal son by a mortal woman; Propertius' authority may have been Fabius Pictor, the contemporary of Virdomarus.

⁴ The Homeric Elysium. Mortals have also reached this happy land, as Bran mac Febal who, in the Irish legend, met on his way the sea-god Manannan mac Lir travelling in a chariot which gently rolled over the crest of the waves. See the *Voyage of Bran* (Nutt), edited and translated by Kuno Meyer with essay on the 'Happy Other-world,' by Alfred Nutt.

⁵ *Diod.* v. 28.

⁶ *Mela*, iii. c. 2, § 19.

¹ Traces of a similar custom may be seen in the Welsh *Breudwyf Ronabwy* (Red Book, i. p. 146), where it is the man who falls asleep on the skin of a yellow calf who sees the wonderful visions that give their name to the tale, Rhonabwy's Dream; cf. *Lady of the Lake*, Canto IV.

Celt buries his dead, the Homeric Greek is cremated. Of a belief in reward or punishment after death there is no trace in Celtic theology. Lucky and unlucky numbers—To the Greek and Celt the right was the lucky side, to the Roman the left, owing to Etruscan influence.

Chapter IV. La Famille. The Celtic like the Homeric family is based on the monogamic principle.

Chapter V. La Guerre. The war-chariot of the Gauls excited considerable comment among the Romans. Among the earliest Gauls and Irish known to us, horsemanship in battle was exceptional; in later times the use of the chariot in war was abandoned.

There is a difference in form between the Celtic and Greek war-chariot, the Homeric warrior has to remain standing, while there is a seat for two in the Celtic chariot in which the warrior sits on the left, the driver on the right. *Essedum* is really the name of the seat alone (= *ex-sedon* 'siège extérieur, siège hors de la maison'); [but Stokes is more probably correct, in resolving it into *en-sedon*, of *in-sedon*].

Arms of the Celt: defensive, shield: offensive, stones¹ (with or without the use of a sling), spear, sword and club. The other defensive weapons attributed to the Celts by various authorities are of later origin and borrowed from strangers. The use of the bow and arrow was quite unknown to the old Irish and British; the Irish *saiged* and Welsh *saeth* are borrowed from *sagitta*, their word for bow, (Ir. *boga*, W. *bwa*) is of Germanic origin.

The arms of the Celt are very similar to those of the warriors of Homer, but there is no similarity whatever in their names, while there is a very close resemblance in the names used by the Romans, Germans, and Celts: for instance, none of the numerous Homeric words for 'lance' occur in Celtic: Gaul: *gaison*, (Ir. *gae*) = Germ: *ger*; Ir. *sciath* (shield) = *scutum* which can hardly be connected with *σκήτρος* as this is never used by Homer to mean 'the leather of a shield' (*ῥινός*) but always in the sense of 'shoe leather' (*Od.* xiv. 34): the Gaulish *cladebos* (Ir. *claideb*) borrowed by the Romans became *gladius*; G. *carros*, (chariot) = *currus*, Ir: *roth* (wheel) = *rota*, and Germ *rad*; this word occurs in the river-name Rotanos changed by the Greeks

of Massilia into Rhodanos owing to the influence of the Homeric line

πὰρ ποταμὸν κελάδοντα, παρὰ ῥοδανὸν δονακῆα.
Il. xviii. 576.

The use of military ensigns (heads of animals) is common to the Celts and Romans.

T. HUDSON WILLIAMS.

University College of N. Wales,
Bangor.

MONTHLY RECORD.

AUSTRIA.

Hainburg (Carnuntum).—During the uncovering of the *porta principalis sinistra* of the Roman camp a magazine for weapons and stores was brought to light, in perfect preservation. It contained an enormous number of Roman weapons, 1,037 in all, including fragments of *loricae segmentatae*; among the stores were various kinds of grain. Some important inscriptions were found, which have not as yet been studied. The *porta* appears to belong to two different periods. The water-supply of the camp was found to be provided by three conduits, in one of which was found a marble torso of Dionysos, of good style.¹

ITALY.

Acqui, Piedmont.—A mosaic pavement has been found with an inscription in black *tessellae*, which runs: L·VLATTIVS·P·F·L·VALERIV[S]·IV·VIRI·AED·POT | D·D·CAMERAS·PAVIMENTA·TECT[A]·RESTITVE·RVNT (OR·FECERVNT) | L·VALERIVS·M·F·CV[RA]TOR·PRO[B]AVIT. The use of *tessellae* and omission of the *Cognomina* seem to point to the beginning of the Empire as the date. The Gentile names were already known in the district. This edifice, constructed or repaired by the *quattuorviri aedilicia potestate* at the order of the Municipal Council (*decuriones*) of *Aquae Statiellae*, seems to be the baths (as indicated by the pavement). The baths of *Aquae* had some fame in antiquity, and are mentioned by Pliny.²

Teramo (Picenum).—An inscription to Septimius Severus as *divus* has come to light, set up by the *decuriones* of *Interamnina* in A.D. 212, a year after his death; the date is given by the fifteenth tribunate and fourth consul-designateship of Caracalla. It is the first inscription from this site with any record of an Emperor, and its object was probably not so much to honour Septimius as to flatter Caracalla.³

Fabiano, Umbria.—Near the new railway station a series of early Italian tombs, of about the seventh century B.C., has been excavated. Among the contents may be mentioned: (1) two flat semi-cylindrical bronze objects, apparently part of a chariot, and used for fastening the yoke (cf. *Mon. Antichi*, iv. p. 472, No. 44); (2) a hooked iron object, the lower part of which is flat; it appears to have served as a step attached near the wheel of the chariot for mounting (cf. representations of mounting chariots in motion, *Bull. Comm. Arch.* 1888, p. 10); (3) three moulded bronze tubes for keeping the reins of a chariot from becoming entangled, and part of a chariot pole; (4) bronze situlae and other vases.³

¹ Sometimes a hard bullet made of lime and the brain of a fallen enemy was used; cf. *Cours de L. C.* v. 366-373.

¹ *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 9 June.

² *Notizie degli Scavi*, Nov. 1899.

³ *Notizie degli Scavi*, Oct. 1899.

Rome.—Remains of a well-preserved classical building have been found in the Corso Vittorio Emanuele, consisting of two sides of a peristyle, with the columns *in situ*, and a pavement inlaid with breccia; in the intercolumniations are parapets with mural paintings, representing chariot-races, a party in a boat, &c. On the south wing is a fountain with supports in the form of *trapezophoroi*, and a wash-stand adjoining with places for soap, &c. A well-preserved bust of Faustina the Elder was also found.⁴

On the steps leading from the street to the Basilica Aemilia is the base of a round monument (date of early Empire) supporting a round parapet like a tribunal, with an entrance sideways from the street, flanked by pilasters. No explanation has yet been given, but it cannot be the Puteal Libonis, as there are traces of footsteps inside.⁴

Three recently-found inscriptions call for comment. One is a base with dedication by Maxentius, *Marti invicto patri et aeternae urbis suae conditoribus*; on the right side of the base is: *dedicata die XI. Kal. Maias per Furium Octavianum V. C. cur. aed. sac.* The year is A.D. 308, and the day (21 April) was the 'birthday' of Rome. The base itself is a palimpsest, and had been inscribed all over with the names of *magistri* and other members of the college of *fabri tignarii*; those on the left side still remain, and at the back is the date (1 August, A.D. 154). Probably the base supported a statue of Antoninus Pius given by that guild. Another recently-found inscription has the name of C. Vibius Pansa, the consul of B.C. 43.²

The third inscription is only fragmentary. It was found near the Regia, and relates to the *fasti* of the augurs, recording the cooptation of C. Marcus Rutilus in B.C. 290, and of C. Mamilius Turrinus in B.C. 206; the former was consul in 270, the latter in 239. A *sacerdos exauguratus* is mentioned, of whose name only LENTULVS COS remains; probably the L. Lentulus Caudinus who was consul in 275.⁵

Pompeii.—At Scafati remains of an ancient villa have come to light, containing the following objects: A silver statuette of Isis-Fortuna with steering-oar, situla, ears of corn, and Egyptian head-dress; another of Aphrodite Anadyomene with dove; a rearing serpent in silver; a bronze bull and candelabrum, and a male beardless bust.³

Some interesting finds have also been made in Nov.-Dec., 1899. (1) A bronze head of Paris, the eyes inlaid; (2) a small terminal figure of youthful Satyr; (3) a lamp-stand in the form of a torch; (4) three feet of a table ending above in a dog's head and below in a dog's foot; (5) a Pan's pipe with eleven tubes, decorated on the side with shrines in relief (cf. *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1877, p. 99); (6) a large terra-cotta lamp for two wicks with head of Zeus (?) to left, and a horse's head projecting on either side; a bust of a beardless man in stucco, which had perhaps served as a model for a bronze; (8) In December: a painting representing Fortuna, in red, green, and purple on a red ground, and a bronze statuette representing an actor in the *φλύακες* with mask and hooded cloak.^{2, 5}

Taranto.—A find of 68 new silver coins has been made, seven of Metapontum, one of Velia, the rest of Tarentum; all seem to fall into Evans' Seventh Period (see *Horsemen of Tarentum*), five Tarentine didrachms being anterior to the time of Pyrrhus, and three drachmae either belonging to his hegemony or slightly earlier (according to Evans, *ibid.* p. 126).³

SICILY.

Ragusa (Hybla Heraea).—Dr. Orsi continued his excavations in 1898, and found in one tomb a vase of the kind discussed by Pernice (*Jahrb. d. arch. Inst.* 1899, p. 67 ff.), of Ionic fabric, perhaps used for incense; also a silver fibula of Greek type with long sheath at the foot; in another part of a large Sphinx, the muzzle of a horse, and the hind-quarters of another animal, all in limestone and archaic, perhaps ex-votos. He also found two inscriptions in the Syracuse alphabet, belonging to the end of the sixth century B.C.; both are quite fragmentary.³

Buscemi, near Syracuse.—A series of grottoes have been discovered with Greek inscriptions set in architectural frames. One is dated *ἐπὶ ἀμφίπολου τῶν παιδῶν καὶ τῆς ἀνάσσης* . . . this *ἀμφίπολος* being a sacerdotal dignity at Syracuse and Centuripe (Kaibel, *Inscr. Sicil.* 9, 574; Diod. Sic. xvi. 70). The *παῖδες* are perhaps Demeter and Kore, *ἀνάσση* the oriental Artemis (Περσική or Ἀναΐτις).²

GREECE.

Corinth.—Among the finds in the recent excavations are various sculptures of the Roman period. They include a large base for a statue with reliefs on one side representing the return of a young warrior with a trophy. A colossal statue, about twelve feet high, of a youth in a Phrygian cap may belong to this base, as a similar statue was found with its base adorned with similar reliefs. Here the victorious youth is crowned by Victory. Two bronze snakes intertwined may also be mentioned, probably from a head of Medusa.⁶

Volo.—Ten more early graves have been investigated. One contained nine Mycenaean vases and two gold rings; another, a necklace, two silver-plated armlets, and three rings. The corpses were placed in contracted attitudes, resting on the left arm; this attitude is characteristic of early graves in the Cyclades, and has not hitherto been associated with Mycenaean tombs. The graves were lined with slabs of white schist.⁶

Chrysovitzia, Aetolia.—A find has been made of over 200 terracotta figures, at least half of which are of a good period. They mostly represent women carrying pitchers, similar to those recently found at Thermon. Among some hundred vases found, only one painted lekythos calls for mention.⁶

CRETE.

Gnosso.—Mr. Arthur Evans claims, as the result of his recent explorations, to have discovered the palace of the Mycenaean Kings. There were at any rate no remains of a later date. The Royal bath-room, with its central throne is very remarkable, as are the various fresco paintings and stone carvings. In several of the chambers a number of clay tablets were found, analogous to the cuneiform tablets of Babylonia, but with long inscriptions in the 'Mycenaean' script. They had been preserved in clay or wooden coffers, but were mostly broken, as the result of a conflagration. Many of the signs are ideographic, others are clearly numerals, and there is an obvious repetition of certain formulae. They seem likely to refer to the palace accounts and stores, e.g., all in one chamber have figures of shields, chariots, horses' heads, &c., referring to the arsenal; others have ships, houses, vases, &c. Some of the clay seals of the coffers remain, signed and countersigned with devices from this script. It was evidently a highly-

⁴ *Athenaeum*, 12 May.

⁵ *Notizie degli Scavi*, Dec. 1899.

⁶ *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 2 June.

developed system of writing, but quite independent of other contemporaneous civilisations.⁷

ASIA MINOR.

Ephesus.—The theatre may now be said to be completely investigated (cf. *C. R.* for May, p. 188), after three seasons' exploration. The oldest foundations go back to the time of Lysimachus, and the arrangements prove to have been quite in accordance with Dr. Dörpfeld's ideas. The first alteration took place in post-Augustan times; a marble front was erected by Claudius; and later the whole was transformed according to the Roman type. There were further alterations and additions under Domitian. The marble gateway on the way to the harbour proves to be a very interesting example of the transition from the Propylaea type to that of the Roman triumphal arch.⁸

Miletus.—In the autumn of 1899 excavations were made on the south side of the city, where there are traces of the road to Didyma. The neighbouring roads have been followed up, and also the course of the walls, which belong to the Hellenistic period. At one point are a massive tower and staircase. The theatre has also been laid bare, with a rectangular courtyard adjoining it, the west wall of which forms the *skene*-wall of the theatre; it is surrounded by chambers, and there are remains of an altar in one place; in the west wall are five doors. The theatre was found full of architectural remains, including an architrave with the name of C. Julius Menecrates. It seems to have been used later as a *βουλευτήριον*, to judge by the remains of a mosaic pavement above the marble paving. Near the altar were found two sets of reliefs, one with mythological scenes, the other with representations of arms and armour. Among 191 inscriptions, ranging from the sixth century B.C. to the fifth of our era, one has reference to a dispute between Miletus and Myus, decided by the Satrap of Ionia in favour of the former; its date is about 390 B.C.⁸

EGYPT.

Fayum.—Since the beginning of this year Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt have found numerous fragments of Greek papyri (over 200) at Umm-el-Baraquiât, the ancient Tebtunis. In a Roman cemetery they unearthed some portrait heads, painted on wood like the one from Hawara, now in the Brit. Mus. One has on the back a sketch for the portrait in front; on the back of another are memoranda for the painter, with a description of the deceased's features.⁴

H. B. WALTERS.

Numismatische Zeitschrift (Vienna). Jan.—June, 1899.

O. Voetter. 'Die Kupferprägungen der Diocletianischen Tetrarchie.' Pp. 1-34, with tables and 3 plates.—H. Willers. 'Nochmals die Silberbarren nebst COMOB.'

In the *Rivista italiana di Numismatica* (Milan), part I., for 1900 Bahrfeldt concludes his monograph on the Romano-Campanian coinage begun in the volume for 1899. P. Orsi describes two finds made in Sicily in 1899:—i. at Syracuse, consisting of coins of Hiero II., Philistis, Hieronymus, 'Alexander the Great' (3rd cent. B.C.) and Antigonus Gonatas. ii. at Licata, Carthaginian silver coins B.C. 241-218.

Revue numismatique. Part I, 1900.

E. Babelon. 'Le faux prophète Alexandre d'Abonotichos.' A descriptive list of the coins of

Abonotichos with comments on those referring to Alexander. The general trustworthiness of Lucian's deeply interesting biography of Alexander is confirmed (i) by the appearance, under Antoninus Pius, of the serpent ΓΑΥΚΩΝ (sometimes with a human head) on several coins, and (ii) the change of the town-name by Alexander on the authorization of Marcus Aurelius is borne out by the appearance under Aurelius of the inscription ΙΩΝΟ-ΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ in place of the earlier ΑΒΩΝΟ-ΤΕΙΧΕΙΤΩΝ. Babelon thinks that the town was thus renamed in honour of 'Ιώ or 'Ιών = 'Ιαώ, the god who appears on various Gnostic gems and who was at Abonotichos probably identified with Glycon. Alexander died in 161, but the serpent is still found on the latest coins of the town, A.D. 253. Ionopolis was existing in the 5th century and the name survives in the modern *Ineboli*.—A. Dieudonné. 'Médailles de bronze de la Lydie.' Two coins stated to have been found in the Holy Land (near Nazareth)—a rather curious *provenance*.—J. Rouvier. 'Le monnayage Alexandrin d'Arados.'—*Review*. Hill's 'Handbook of Greek and Roman coins.'

Numismatic Chronicle. Part I, 1900.

W. Wroth. 'Greek coins acquired by the British Museum in 1899' (with two plates). The number of Greek coins acquired by the Museum since 1887 is 6,606, last year's total being 485. The following specimens may be specially noticed:—No. 1. A silver coin of *Etruria*, circ. B.C. 450, with the type of a sepia, the body of which is represented by an amphora and the lateral fins by the lower part of two helmets placed sideways. Such a bizarre combination is probably without parallel on autonomous Greek coins. No. 2. *Mesma* (Bruttium). A very beautiful bronze coin with the head of the fountain-nymph Medma (Mesma) (cp. Strab. vi. p. 256). *Reverse*, River-God. No. 7. A gold stater of *Antigonos*, B.C. 306-311, with the types of Alexander the Great, though the Nike holds an acrostolium instead of the usual wreath, perhaps in commemoration of the battle of Salamis (Cyprus) in B.C. 306 when Demetrius Poliorcetes, the son of Antigonus, defeated Ptolemy. No. 10. An unpublished Thesalian coin, probably of *Rhizus*. Nos. 14, 15. Imperial coins of *Aegium* in Achaia illustrating Paus. vii, 23, 5 (temple of Eleithyia) and vii, 23, 7 (Damophon's group of Asklepios and Hygieia). No. 19. A very rare silver coin of *Delos*, circ. B.C. 480. *Obv.* Lyre. *Rev.* Wheel. No. 21. One of the tetradrachms of *Lampsacus* struck. circ. B.C. 190, with a fine head of Priapus. No. 22. Coin of *Magydus* in Pamphylia. A list is given of the remarkable numerals occurring at Magydus from Domitian to Salonina. No. 33. A new coin of *Herod Philip II.*, the tetrarch, with the title ΚΤΙC(τω).—H. A. Grueber. 'Find of Roman coins and gold rings at Sully near Cardiff.' An interesting find (made in Oct. 1899 on the Sully Moors) of 4 gold rings and over 300 coins, mostly of silver. The silver coins (except one of Carausius) are of the period A.D. 180-267; the few gold coins are of B.C. 286-306. There is a unique double-aureus of Diocletian and a denarius of Carausius with the legend EXPECTATE VENI. The letters MSR in the exergue of this denarius should, on the analogy of other coins of Carausius, indicate the place of mintage. Grueber suggests *Rutupiae stativa* (or *statio*) *Romana*, i.e. Richborough in Kent, an ingenious but not entirely satisfactory interpretation.

WARWICK WROTH.

⁷ *Athenaeum*, 19 May.

⁸ *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 23 April.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Revue de Philologie. Vol. 24. Part 2. April, 1900.

Domitius Marsus sur Bavius et son frère, L. Havet. Proposes a restoration of the Epigram of Domitius quoted by Philargyrius on Verg. Ecl. iii. 90. *Cicéron* Epist. ix. 16, 3, M. Bonnet. For *si id possem* proposes *si iam possem*. *Orphica*, frag. 3 Abol, P. Tannery. Protests against the alteration of *ἀνδρα* to *ἀνδρῶνα* and explains the former. *Notes sur le texte des Institutions de Cassiodore d'après divers manuscrits*, V. Mortet. *Les Cyranides*, F. de Mély. Harpocration of Alexandria received between 350 and 360 A.D., a treatise on oriental magic from the hands of a priest of Alexandria—whether in Egypt or Chaldaea. Harpocration then transformed it into a gnostic book, letting the name of Cyranus appear in the passages borrowed from the original treatise. Then some plagiarist made further alterations, and the new book was attributed to Hermes Trismegistus. *Horace*, ép. ii. 1, 102, A. d'Alès. Explains this line by the preceding and not, as is usually done, by vv. 93, 94, and thus translates 101, 102. 'Quelle sympathie ou quelle aversion est à l'abri de l'inconstance humaine? Tout fatigue à la longue: même les douceurs de la paix, même les vents favorables.' *Le décret de Callias*, comment les Athéniens ont éteint leur dette après la guerre archidamique, E. Cavaignac. Following Beloch the writer recurs to the opinion of Boeckh, and maintains that this decree was engraved during the peace of Nicias and refers to that period, and not to a period fifteen or twenty years earlier as Kirchhoff had thought. *Sur le nom d'un protecteur de Phédre et sur le nom de Phédre lui-même*, L. Havet. In the epilogue to book iii. reads in l. 2 *Primum, Eutyche, ne videar <tibi> molestior* Eutyche being voc. of Eutyches. The poet may also have been called *Phæder* not *Phædrus*. *Paulinus Nolanus obitus Baebiani*, L. Havet. A restoration of some of these lines. *Euripide*, *Alceste* 1-85, M. L. Earle. Maintains the authenticity of 24-76 on the ground that ll. 1-85 (except l. 16) form a whole. *Cicero de domo* § 76, P. Graindor. For *emendanda* of codd. which has been variously altered proposes *emercanda*. *Cicero de domo*, D. Serruys. Notes on several passages. *Plautus*, Rudens, D. Serruys. On ll. 1200, 1068-69, 1246-48, 137.

Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik. vol. xi. Part 4. 1900.

Über der Sprachgebrauch der Kaiserkonstitutionen im Codex Justinianus, H. Krüger. Von dem sog. *Genetivus* und *Ablativus qualitatis* II., Edwards-Wölflin. The exx. in Latin literature beginning from Plautus—99 in number—are quoted and discussed where both cases are found in the same sentence. The abl. is one of attendant circumstances (=with), the gen. of an abiding property (=of), but this distinction cannot always be maintained. *Quodie*, L. Havet. This word is sometimes found as an adverb, the antecedent being of fem. gender, e.g. *Cic. de domo* § 45 *predicta die quodie etc.* *Ne* and *num* F. Glöckner. *Nē* is derived not from the negative *nē* but from the affirmative *nē*. As *cum* has a temporal, a causal-conditional, and a modal sense, so in the interrogative *num* we must distinguish between the temporal, the consecutive-conclusive, and modal use of the word. Examples of each are given. *Vas* plural *vases*, E. Nestle. Maintains that in Eccli. (Sirach) 6, 30 cod.

Amiatinus is right in reading *vases* virtutis where editors read *bases*. *Hexameter und Silberne Prosa*, E. Wölflin. The effect of the admiration for the Augustan poets even in their lifetime was such that poetical turns found their way into prose, and silver Latin made hardly any distinction between the diction of prose and poetry, against which Quintilian protests. *Funerare in der Epitoma Livii*, E. Wölflin. Valerius Maximus takes this word from the Epitoma of Livy. It is a poetical word first found in Horace (Od. iii. 8. 7). *Euphemismus und Verwandtes*, O. Hey. It is shown how all cases of euphemism come under one of two general divisions, being due to either fear or shame. *Campana Glocke*, *Species Spezerrei*, E. Wölflin. *Campana* (from *aes Campanum*) appears first in literature in Bede, though we can trace it back to about 515 A.D. *Glocke* appears in the form *clocca* in Adamnan's Life of Columba about 695. In Gaul before the reception of the word *Glocke* we find *signum*. We find *species* in the sense of all kinds of small articles of traffic, Nonius has *merx est species ipsa*, and the word afterwards became specialised in meaning. *Die tractatus Origenis de libris SS. scripturarum ein Werk Novatians*, C. Weyman. This tractate, assigned to Origen by Msgr. Batiffol, is here ascribed to Novatian chiefly on linguistic grounds. *Aleari*, L. Havet. It is suggested that this verb occurs *Ter. Ad. 33* where *aut le aleari* is proposed for *aut te amari*.

MISCELLEN. *Multo tanta plus, bis tanta plus*, L. Havet. Considers that in several passages in Plautus (e.g. *Rud. 521*, *Stich 339*, *Bach. 310*) we should read *tanta* for *tanto*, so in *Cic. Verr. 3, 225*. *Em bei Plautus und Terenz*, B. Maurenbrecher. Against Stowasser's conjecture, supported by Skutsch, that *em* is from the imper. *eme* by syncope. *Promulsis*, F. Skutsch. Maintains that the penultimate in the oblique cases is short. *Turdus=turgidus*, O. Plasberg. *Elementum*, J. Csérép. Suggests the derivation from Hebrew *clām* through the Greek *ἐλάμματα*. *Zur Etymologie von donec und secus*, A. Zimmermann. Planta's supposition of a negative *ne* in *donecum* not to be maintained. *Secus=secundus*, the adjectival use of *secus* is old.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1900.

23 May. Euripides, *Iphigeneia auf Tauris*, von S. Reiter (K. Busche), unfavourable. C. Rüger. *Oratio de corona navali num a Demosthene scripta sit, inquiritur* (G. Hüttner), favourable. O. Müller, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des attischen Bürger- und Ehrengesetzes* (S. Szanto), very favourable. G. Pescatori, *Tabulae aeneae o tabulae roboreae* (W. Soltan), on the twelve tables. J. Zingler, *De Cicerone historico quaestiones* (W. Soltan), favourable. J. Raeder, *De Theodoretii Graecarum affectionum curatione quaestiones criticae* (J. Dräseke), very favourable.

30 May. F. Schömann, *Griechische Allertümer*. 4. A. von J. H. Lipsius. I. *Das Staatswesen* (O. Schulthess). 'No better book on the subject to be recommended.' A. S. Arvanitopulo, *Questioni di diritto attico* (O. Schulthess), 'Contains no new results.' L. Annaei Senecae, *De beneficiis libri vii, de clementia libri ii*, rec. C. Hosius (W. Gemoll). 'A learned and intelligent work.' H. Menge, *Repetitorium der lateinischen Syntax und Stilistik*. 7. A. (C. Stegmann), favourable.

The Classical Review

OCTOBER 1900.

THE PLATONIC LETTERS.—II.

(Continued from p. 103).

I DO not feel that I have much, if anything, which is new to say about the authorship of the *Letters*. But, since the question is difficult, since they are not much read, and since I happen to have given some time to the study and emendation of them, it may be desirable that I should record my impression. The opinion which I hold has not been formed without a good deal of hesitation, but it is now clearly against genuineness. The difficulty may be stated at once and in one sentence to be this. If we went only by the purity of the Greek and by the largely Platonic character of it, we should have no reason for disputing the traditional ascription; whereas, when we have regard to the contents, we are very unwilling, perhaps unable, to acquiesce in it.

I will first make a few comments on the letters one by one, then briefly discuss the question in general terms. Many of the considerations now to be mentioned have of course been put forward by others, *e.g.*, Ast, Karsten, Steinhart, who are all against genuineness. Cobet, who pronounced definitely in favour of letters 7 and 8, and Blass, who appears to accept almost all of them, have not argued the question. I have been the more ready to repeat what has been said before, because I do not know where in English any statement of the case is to be found.¹

¹ The chief books referred to in this article are Ast, *Platons Leben und Schriften* and *Lexicon Platonium*; Karsten, *Commentatio Critica*; Grote, *Plato*; Müller and Steinhart, *Platons Sämmtliche Werke*; C. Ritter, *Untersuchungen über Plato*; Blass, *Die Attische Beredsamkeit* (2nd edition) 3. 2. 386; Lutoslawski, *Origin and Growth of Plato's Logic*.

1. Plato (or Dion) to Dionysius. Most MSS. including A say Plato, a few Dion. But the opening words do not really suit either of them. The writer speaks of himself as διατρίψας παρ' ὑμῖν χρόνον τοσοῦτον καὶ διοικῶν τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀρχήν, and again as αὐτοκράτωρ πολλάκις τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν διαφυλάξας. These expressions are evidently inapplicable to Plato, nor was he sent away with the contumely to which the writer goes on to refer. On the other hand διατρίψας παρ' ὑμῖν could hardly be said of Dion living in his own home. The ἐφόδιον (309 c) seems to suit Dion after his dismissal best, but cf. 350 b. The whole tone of the letter is of an artificial literary kind, not at all like Plato. Dion, who was no doubt something of a pedant (see the curiously priggish speech attributed to him in the forty-seventh chapter of Plutarch's *Life*), might have put such flowers of style into an angry letter, but they are more like the literary exercises of a later time. It is hard to make out who are the ὑμεῖς of the letter. We might suppose they would be Dionysius and his father, but the words πάντες οἱ συμπολιτευόμενοι μέθ' ὑμῶν ὑπάρχονσί μοι μάρτυρες seem to confine the reference to recent years. In the Greek we notice that διότι (309 d), *that not because*, seems to be unplatonic (Ast), though it is found in Isocrates. Ἀπανθρωπότερον (*ib.* b) is too highly coloured a word. Hiatus is on the whole avoided in the letter, but in 310 A we find σπάνει ἀπολλύμενον, which could easily have been avoided.

2. Plato to Dionysius. Beginning with a rather querulous protest that he cannot control his friends, Plato passes on to his

own relations with Dionysius. Power and wisdom (he says) have often come together thus in history and men are fond of talking about such pairs as Hiero and Simonides (cf. Xenophon's *Hiero*), Pericles and Anaxagoras (cf. *Phaedrus* 270 A). This may pass for Plato's, though in the *Republic* he rather dreams of the possibility of power and wisdom being united in the same person (502 A), and this passage seems founded on that with some amount of difference or confusion. But could Plato have gone on in this context to couple Creon and Tiresias; Polydus and Minos; Agamemnon, Nestor, Odysseus and Palamedes: finally Zeus and Prometheus? Then a new argument for immortality is found in the fact that the best men think a good deal of what future ages will say about them. It behoves them therefore to be very careful what they do, and Dionysius must honour philosophy signally in the person of Plato, who here displays a very petty and unplatonic desire for external distinction. He declares indeed that it was his anxiety to see philosophy properly esteemed that brought him to Sicily, but there is at least as much personal vanity in the matter as solicitude for philosophy, while the real Plato never (we may be sure) thought that either philosophy or he himself needed the recognition of a Dionysius. The epistolary Plato is most anxious for honour. He will reciprocate it, but Dionysius must begin.

The tyrant had asked for further information about *ἡ τοῦ πρώτου φύσις*, on which he had not been sufficiently informed (*οὐχ ἱκανῶς ἀποδεῖχθαι*). Instead of the plain exposition that his perplexity (*ἀπορούμενος*) required Plato answers *δι' αἰνιγμῶν* (312 D) and treats him to a little philosophical puzzle, which we should be sorry to think Platonic and which would certainly convey no sort of instruction to Dionysius. He then proceeds in a vein of pomposity and mystery, concluding with the well-known *διὰ ταῦτ' οὐδὲν πάποτε' ἐγὼ περὶ τούτων γέγραφα, οὐδ' ἔστι σύγγραμμα Πλάτωνος οὐδ' ἔσται· τὰ δὲ νῦν λεγόμενα Σωκράτους ἐστὶ καλοῦ καὶ νέου γεγονότος* (314 C): cf. *Phaedrus* 257 D, E. I cannot think that Prof. Blass explains this adequately when he refers it to the *Νέος Σωκράτης* of *Sophist* and *Politicus*. Why should *τὰ νῦν λεγόμενα* mean only those two dialogues? and why should they be mentioned more than others? Here the writer stops, but another disconnected paragraph has by some accident been added: It does not appear to be a postscript.

In this letter, *tyranno digna, indignissima*

philosopho, as Lobeck justly calls it (*Aglaoph.* p. 162), the Greek contains nothing, as far as I see, that Plato might not have written. 311 E *καὶ τοι περὶ τούτου ἡμεῖς ἐπιμελούμενοι οὐδὲν ἂν εὐσεβέστερον πράττοιμεν* is a little curious. We should rather expect *οὐδὲν ἂν εὐσεβέστερον πράττοιμεν τοῦ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι*, or *ἐπιμελούμενοι εὐσεβέστατ' ἂν πράττοιμεν*, but it is only a slight confusion of expression. Cf. *Ar. Plut.* 505-6. *Ἐπιμελεῖσθαι περὶ τίνος* is itself unusual, but cf. *Laws* 932 B, etc. *Ἐμπορευσάμενος* (313 D) for *ἐμπορευθεὶς* is a suspicious form; see Veitch *s.v.* *πορεύω*. Exception need not be taken to *ἐκπεσεῖν*, *transpire*, *leak out*. For the impersonal construction *ὡς δεῖ γίγνεσθαι* (311 E) cf. below on 7. 325 E. In this letter no particular care seems taken to avoid hiatus.

3. Plato to Dionysius. This is a curiously self-contradictory composition. No doubt Plato might contradict himself like other people, if he had a bad case: but would he have done it so very palpably? Dionysius (he says) has alleged that Plato, after preventing him from settling new Greek cities in Sicily and from converting his tyranny into a kingdom, is now instigating Dion to do these very things. In answer Plato declares first that he never took part at all in Dionysius' political affairs except to the extent of writing preambles to some of his laws (here Blass finds the germs of the work known as *Laws*) and in self-defence he narrates the incidents of his intercourse with Dionysius down to the time of the expulsion of Heraclides. This is a brief version of what is set forth at length in letter 7. So far so good. But secondly he proceeds to tell a rather pointless story of an old conversation between Dionysius and himself, which is quite inconsistent with the first part of his answer. Dionysius had asked him whether he remembered that on first coming to Sicily he had urged Dionysius to found or refound these Greek cities, and Plato had replied in the affirmative. It is a calumny to say (*μή με διάβαλλε λέγων* 319 C) that he had prevented it. The truth was *ἐγὼ μὲν ἐκέλευον, σὺ δ' οὐκ ἤθελες πράττειν αὐτά*. It appears therefore that Plato had taken part in Dionysius' affairs and had not confined himself to the writing of philosophical preambles. But this is not all. Plato had also told Dionysius—and he claims to have reminded him of it in this same conversation, witnesses of which can be brought—that he must not try to carry out these schemes till he had been educated (*παιδευθέντα...ποιεῖν πάντα ταῦτα ἢ μὴ ποιεῖν*

319 c). Therefore, as far as his advice went, he *had* prevented Dionysius from taking the steps in question. This is an obvious and double contradiction. Are we to put down such a shuffling and halting plea to Plato? It is as poor intellectually as it is morally.

But in this letter again the Greek offers nothing to strike us. In 318 D *πεισθείς...τὸν μὲν παλαιὸν φίλον...μηδὲν σοῦ χεῖρω, ἵνα οὕτως εἴπω,...προδοῦναι*, Steinhart says the use of *ἵνα οὕτως εἴπω* for *ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν* is not classical. But it is not the equivalent of *ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν*. That would mean that one man was roughly or *almost* as good as the other; this means that he is *at least* as good, to say nothing more. *Λυκοφιλία* (318 E: cf. *Phaedrus* 241 C, D *ὡς Λύκοι ἄρν' ἀγαπῶσ'*) is perhaps not found again before M. Aurelius. If that were the case with many words in the letter, it would be serious, but in the case of just one word or two it is nothing. Consider the words to be found in most books of Thucydides. *Μεμηνημένος* (319 B) is perhaps a *ἄπαξ εἰρημένον*, but there are plenty of parallel adverbs. *Πλαστῶς* *ibid.*, if I am right in reading it, occurs in *Sophist* and *Laws*. The phrase 319 B *διὸ τὸ τότε σοι ὕβρισμα νῦν ὕπαρ ἀντ' ὀνείρατος γέγονεν* is strange, but the fault is not in the Greek: cf. *Politicus* 278 E (Ast). The writer avoids hiatus.

4. Plato to Dion, presumably at the time of Dion's expedition, but it is not plain whether Dionysius is already overthrown. The letter contains nothing noticeable either way. Steinhart says *ὁρῶ τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων παροξυνόμενους, μήτι δὴ ὑπὸ γε τῶν φίλων* (321 A) is unclassical, because no negative precedes *μήτι*. What then of Dem. 8. 27 *ὡς καὶ τοῦ μελλῆσαι δώσουσι δίκην, μήτι ποιήσαντί γ' ἢ καταπραξαμένῳ*? For the accusative of space traversed (320 D *πλανηθῆναι πολλὸν τόπον*) see this *Review* 12. 286; Euripides *Helen* 598 has *πλανηθεῖς...χθόνα*. I do not know that Plato has anything like it. Hiatus occurs occasionally.

5. Plato to Perdiccas, recommending to him Euphraeus (cf. Dem. 9. 59, &c.), who will be useful because he knows the voices or utterances (*φωναί*) belonging to each form of government, and therefore that of monarchy. If any one says 'Plato professes to understand democracy, but gave his own *demos* no counsel,' Perdiccas may answer 'that was because the *demos* of Athens was incurable. Under like circumstances he would treat me in the like way.' This seems very pointless, especially as it is Euphraeus, not Plato, who is to help. The *φωναί* may

be compared with *Rep.* 493 A, B, where the word is much more natural. There is nothing in the Greek. Hiatus mostly avoided.

6. Plato to three friends, urging them to help and trust one another and if they have any dissensions, to refer to him. The ending is mystical *τὸν τῶν πάντων θεὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν τε ὄντων καὶ τῶν μελλόντων τοῦ τε ἡγεμόνος καὶ αἰτίου πατέρα κύριον ἐπομνύντας, ὃν, ἂν ὄντως φιλοσοφῶμεν, εἰσόμεθα πάντες σαφῶς εἰς δύναμιν ἀνθρώπων εὐδαιμόνων*. Hiatus seems avoided.

7. Plato to the friends and comrades of Dion. This, much the most important and best known of the letters, is of great length (just equal to the First Book of the *Republic*), and carefully composed, but not always clear in its drift, and very ill arranged. It starts with a narrative, suddenly breaks off to give advice which is itself interspersed with narrative in a rambling way, and reverts to narrative again. The advice actually given is of the most trifling amount, but it is true that the letter does not exactly, like 8, profess to be one of advice. Indeed it would be difficult to say what it was meant to be. What it is, is a vain, egotistic, ineffective bit of autobiography, which, if genuine, would do little credit to the character or practical sense of the philosopher. We are, however, hardly entitled to make this an argument against Platonic authorship, though we should be sorry to see Plato making no better figure. His character may have been much below his writings, like Pope's. Cf. Athenaeus, pp. 505-507. The literary defects and the total absence of anything really good or striking are safer grounds to argue from.

But here again we are met by the recollection that Plato's later work, notably the *Laws*, is far inferior in skill and force to that of his earlier years, and by the fact that there really are considerable resemblances between his later style and that of this prolix letter. They may be traced in details of construction and vocabulary as well as in the general effect. But they are equally compatible with identity of authorship and with deliberate or even unconscious imitation.

The digression at 334 E on the subject of immortality is quite uncalled for and the passage is very clumsily worded in comparison with the fine raptures of the dialogues. But the great, the perhaps insuperable difficulty is the extraordinary rigmarole about *ἐπιστήμη* in pp. 342, 343. One cannot believe it possible for Plato

to have written anything so ridiculous. However little many of the arguments in his dialogues will bear examination, and however fanciful we may pronounce many of his ideas to be, they are never without the stamp of genius. But this is as worthless as anything that anyone who could write Greek ever put together, mere pretentious nonsense. The author has been dwelling on the difficulty of understanding such deep subjects, and on the absurdity of anyone writing about them who knows as little as Dionysius. He then straightway plunges into such skimble-skamble stuff as Dionysius himself might have been ashamed to compose. Well may C. Ritter, who believes in the rest of the letter, try to excise this part of it on an improbable hypothesis of subsequent interpolation.

In 324 c, we have to note the extraordinary confusion by which the Athenian board known as 'the Eleven' are assimilated to the board of ten men set up in Piræus at the time of the Thirty, and by which still further both boards are made to discharge the functions of agoranomi and astynomi.¹ An Athenian and one who had himself gone through the evil days in question could hardly have written in such terms. The odd description of Socrates' accusers as *δυναστεύοντες* (325 b) has been remarked. The curious language about Darius and Persia (332 A, B), when compared with *Laws*, 693–697, is significant too (Karsten), strongly suggesting someone who had read the passage in the *Laws* but had either misunderstood or forgotten its drift, for Plato takes the contrary view to that in the letter. In trifling things what could be more inept than the phrase (344 A) 'Lynceus himself could not make such men see,' as though the possession and the communication of sharp sight went together. *Πότερον δι δακτὸν ἢ ὄψις*;

¹ We are reminded of the verse of Alexis: *ἔργον τυράννων, οὐκ ἀγορανόμων λέγεις*. The words of the letter are ὑπὸ πολλῶν γὰρ τῆς τότε πολιτείας λειδορουμένης μεταβολῇ γίγνεται καὶ τῆς μεταβολῆς εἰς καὶ πεντήκοντά τινες ἄνδρες προὔστησαν ἄρχοντες, ἔνδεκα μὲν ἐν ἄστει, δέκα δ' ἐν Πειραιεῖ, περὶ τ' ἀγορὰν ἑκάτεροι τούτων ὅσα τ' ἐν τοῖς ἄστεσι διοικεῖν ἔδει, τριάκοντα δὲ πάντων ἄρχοντες κατέστησαν αὐτοκράτορες. It should be noticed that (1) though we are familiar with 'the Thirty,' no other writer speaks of Fifty-One: (2) the functions of agoranomi and astynomi seem here regarded as not supplementary to the other business of the two boards, but as constituting their main employment: (3) although the city and Piræus are first distinguished, the writer then goes on to speak of them together as 'the cities,' a description which is probably unique. The plural of *ἄστυ* is by no means common, but it occurs several times in the *Laws*.

But the Greek is extremely good to be a later imitation of Plato's style. When we have made allowance for some corruptions of the text, taken into account Plato's time of life, and realised that it is with the *Philebus* and the *Laws*, not with the *Republic* and the *Theaetetus*, that the letter must in fairness be compared, we shall probably find nothing in the style properly so called or in the grammar and vocabulary that is at all inconsistent with genuineness. If Cobet was able to say (*Variae Lectiones*, 2nd edn. 1873, p. 235) that no one but Plato could have written it—in which I suppose he was thinking only of the Greek and surely thinking too well even of that—we shall need some very searching investigations before we dismiss the language as unplatonic. Such investigations are still mainly in the future, for the observations of C. Ritter in his *Untersuchungen* p. 105, are confined to about a dozen small things, though as far as they go they are quite consistent with genuineness. In the various observations carefully collected and instructively put together by Mr. Lutoslawski in the first part of his valuable book on the logic of Plato the letters do not (I think) appear at all. It may be hoped that the new Platonic lexicon lately taken in hand will be a great assistance in this matter. Pending any fresh light that may be obtained from these minute but most important inquiries, I am not aware of anything really suspicious in the language of the seventh letter, and in a composition of such length this is of course on the hypothesis of spuriousness very remarkable. Over and over again a reader may be struck by some little point of language which he will think unusual. Looking it up he will find that it is indeed unusual, but that the later dialogues of Plato, especially the *Laws*, do offer parallels for it. Probably we might make out a long list of such coincidences, and also my impression, whatever it may be worth, quite confirms Ritter's remark, 'überhaupt klingt die ganze Sprache des Briefes nicht anders als die der *Leges*.'

I will run very rapidly through the letter, noticing expressions that seem remarkable in any way and adding a comment here and there. It should be understood that many of them have been noticed previously by other scholars. But Karsten's objections are not always well-founded, e.g., his objection to *ἀνασοβήσοι* (348 A), in which *ἀνά* has the quite legitimate sense of *back*. I shorten the references, e.g. from 324 A to 24 A.

24 A. *τὴν ἡλικίαν ἣν . . . γέγονε* is an unusual

phrase. Cf. Pausan. 10, 28, 3 ἡλικίαν ἐφήβου γεγονός B. εἰ τις θεῶν καὶ τούτων εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν δόξαν περὶ πολιτείας ἐκείνῳ γενέσθαι σύμφρονα ποιήσῃ: εἰς-δόξαν is harsh. For οὐκ ἀπάξιον cf. *Laws*, 645 C. τανῦν or τὰ νῦν, which occurs repeatedly, is one of the marks of Plato's later style. *Ibid.* εἰ θάττον

ἐμαντοῦ γενοίμην κύριος. See Liddell and Scott for ἐπειδὴ &c. with θάττον in the sense of *as soon as* (*Protag.* 325 C): ἐὰν θάττον in the same sense occurs *Alcib.* 1. 105 A and more than once in Xenophon: I do not know another example of εἰ θάττον. 24 E, Σωκράτη ὃν ἐγὼ σχεδὸν οὐκ ἂν αἰσχυνοίμην

εἰπὼν δικαιοτάτον εἶναι τῶν τότε. For αἰσχυνοίμην εἰπὼν which seems practically = ὀκνήσαιμι εἰπεῖν cf. *Phaedr.* 245 E ψυχῆς οὐσίαν τε καὶ λόγον τοῦτον αὐτὸν τις λέγων οὐκ αἰσχυνέται and *Lycurg. in Leocr.* 50. οὐκ ἂν αἰσχυνθείην εἰπὼν στέφανον τῆς πατρίδος εἶναι τὰς ἐκείνων ψυχάς. 25 E. πῇ ποτ' ἄμεινον ἂν γίγνοιτο περὶ τ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ κ. τ. λ. This impersonal use of γίγνεται occurs again

30 A and 31 A, also 2, 11 E and βέλτιον ἂν ἔσχε 3. 17 E. It is found in Herodotus (1.8 χρὴν Κανδαυλῇ γενέσθαι κακῶς); but is certainly (not common in Attic: does it occur in Plato? 26 D. δικαίον

feminine. This use is quoted only from Euripides. Plato, however, has similar feminines, ἴδιος, ῥάδιος, &c. E. εἵκει μὲν

τότε μηχανωμένῳ τινὶ τῶν κρειττόνων ἀρχὴν βαλέσθαι κ. τ. λ. Like γίγνεται above, εἵκει is impersonal, 'it looks like some god planning &c.'

27 B. περὶ πλείονος ποιέσθαι, occasionally ἡγέσθαι, is familiar: but does περὶ πλείονος ἀγαπᾶν or any such verb occur elsewhere?

C. The author is very fond of the somewhat pleonastic ξυμβαίνειν γιγνόμενον, ξυμβῆναι γεγόμενον, &c., here found. *Ast's Lexicon*, 3 p. 298 furnishes several parallels from the later dialogues. 28 B. τὴν

δ' ἐμὴν δόξαν...εἶχε φόβος. δόξαν put for himself or his mind is odd. Cf. *Hor. Sat.* 1. 2. 32 *inquit sententia dia Catonis*. In the same section the words τὸ δὲ Δίωνος ἡπιστάμην τῆς ψυχῆς πέρι φύσει τ' ἐμβριθὲς ὃν ἡλικίας τ' ἤδη μετρίως ἔχον carry the use of τό with a genitive (*Ast* 2. p. 407) rather far: τὸ τοῦ Δίωνος is Dion. There is some MS. authority for ἦθος inserted after Δίωνος, but with this ἡλικίας would not harmonise. E. ἀτίμως φέρεσθαι

is Herodotean, and τὸ σὸν μέρος, not κατὰ τὸ σὸν μέρος, the common expression.

30 B. παραποδίζω rare. *Laws* 652 B.

ἐπιδήμησις elsewhere? E. τοῖς ξέῳ τὸ παράπαν βαίνουσι τῆς ὁρθῆς πολιτείας. *Ast* gives several instances of ἐκτὸς βαίνειν with gen. from *Laws* and one from *Protagoras*.

31 B. ἀφοσιωσάμενος *Laws* 752 D.

32 C πένης w. gen. unusual (*Eur. El.* 38). 35 B. ἀνοσιουργία, and the adj.

8. 52 C: the vb. *Laws* 905 B. 35 C νοστεῖν apparently not found in Plato.

36 B. ἀλτήριος of a supernatural power: Antiphon several times. *ibid.*

ἀθεότης: *Polit.* 308 E: *Laws* 967 C.

C ὄρνιθες omens.

38 A etc. καθάπερ = ὥσπερ, often in Plato's later work. So

5. 22 B: 8. 57 A. etc. D παρά-

κουσμα (to which L. and S. are wrong in giving the notion of *falsity*): so 40 B: παρακοή 41 B: παρακούω 39 E *ibid.* ἔμμεστος

elsewhere? E φιλοτιμηθῆναι μὴ κ.τ.λ.: construction with final conjunction unusual.

39 C ἄνευ καιροῦ.

40 C ποδηγεῖν: *Laws* 899 A.

D ὄντως, one of Plato's

later words, frequent here. 41 A ὥς

(= ὥστε) with infinitive unusual in any Attic prose but Xenophon's: cf. however

Prot. 330 E, *Rep.* 365 D and a few other places in Plato. I do not know whether

βάλλειν τινὰ ἐν αἰτίᾳ occurs elsewhere in

prose. B. ἄλλους μὲν τινὰς οἶδα γεγραφότας περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων, οἵτινες

δὲ οὐδ' αὐτοὶ αὐτοῦς. I presume αὐτοὶ αὐτοῦς means *one another* (*Kühner* § 456, 9), but even so there seems not much point.

43 A κύκλος ἕκαστος τῶν ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι γραφομένων ἢ καὶ τορνευθέντων. For

this use of ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι, which contrasts them with purely ideal circles, cf. *Phaedr.*

271 D: *Soph.* 234 E

44 A gen. with προσφνείς, but perhaps due rather to ξυγγενείς.

44 C πολλοῦ δεῖ μὴ... καταβάλῃ, a very unusual construction, but

cf. *Rep.* 378 C πολλοῦ δεῖ γιγαντομαχίας τε μυθολογητέον αὐτοῖς καὶ ποικιλτέον.

45 E ὅ τι τάχος. *Ast* gives no other example from Plato, nor does it seem to

occur in Xenophon. But Herodotus has it at least once. 47 B τὰ νῦν ὑποφαίνοντα:

so *Soph.* 245 E. E βεβοηθημένον

ἐγεγόνει (impersonal) is an awkward periphrasis. Cf. *Laws* 857 C γέγονεν ὁρθῶς

διαπεποννημένα, and *Ast* 1. 395. 48 A ὀλιγομισθοτέρους ποιεῖν παρὰ τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς

ἔθῃ. *Ast* gives no Platonic example of this use of παρὰ with comparatives. It occurs

several times in Thucydides. D Διονύσιον δ' ἀξιώ καὶ δέομαι...μηδὲν ἄλλο

αὐτῷ φλαῦρον γίγνεσθαι. The accusative of the person (Διονύσιον) and then the μηδὲν

γίγνεσθαι make a very unusual construction with ἀξιώ and δέομαι. 49 C κυνηγεῖν =

κυνηγετεῖν, and ἐπικράτεια, a Xenophontean word. 50 A ὑπηρεσία *Laws* 956 E. C

ξαναπατία elsewhere? 51 D ἐξαισῖος in *Laws*, *Tim.*, *Critias*.

Throughout the letter hiatus is infrequent.

8. Plato to the same : a letter definitely and entirely of advice. There has been constant strife of parties and Sicily is in danger of becoming Phœnician or Oscan. Plato's advice is (1) to the royal family, to turn tyranny into constitutional monarchy (cf. letter 3), following Lycurgus in restricting royal power : (2) to the people, not to push liberty too far. Dion's advice would have been—and Plato conveys it in an imaginary speech—first to pass good laws, then to compromise things and accept as kings, subject to various laws and special conditions, (1) Dion's son Hipparinus, (2) the other Hipparinus, son of the elder Dionysius, (3) the younger Dionysius. (Thus there would be three kings, as Sparta had two.)

Letters 7 and 8 have almost the air of being two prize exercises on the same theme, *Plato to the friends of Dion*. Letter 8 is much the shorter, simpler, and more straightforward ; 7 longer, more literary, and more ambitious. Cobet thought oddly that they were two parts of one letter ; but each is complete in itself, and 8 could not possibly be tacked on to 7, as he seems to have wished, without some change in both. Letter 8 is all advice ; the advice of 7 is awkwardly packed into the middle. As a matter of fact, the assumption or *ὑπόθεσις* of the two is slightly different, for 7 seems to presuppose a more decided advantage gained by Dion's friends, i.e. a later date (Karsten p. 104). The idea of letting Dionysius remain in power, checked by two other kings and various laws, is singularly unpractical, but perhaps we have no right to call it unplatonic. A serious difficulty is the fact which seems almost, if not quite, proved, that Dion had only one son, who died before him. Plato could not therefore have now suggested raising this son to one of the three thrones. See Karsten p. 152, and on the other side a note in answer to Ast in the eighty-first chapter of Grote's *History*. If this is so, it is one of the things most damaging to the letters, though it is not immediately fatal to any but 8. Very unlikely, too, is the statement (353 B) that the elder Dionysius and Hipparinus, when first raised to power, were expressly styled *αὐτοκράτορες τύραννοι*.

The Greek of the letter is good enough. *Μετέπειτα* in 353 c (which according to L. and S. occurs in Attic only here and Ar. *Eth.* 10. 4. 1175 a 9) and *εὐδαιμόνισμα* (354 c, and Appian) are the only words worth noting, unless we add *μυθολογεῖν* (352 D) in the sense of *narrating* facts, not fables.

Τίτειν δίκας (353 c) is quite Platonic : cf. *Laws* especially. With *τὸν ζυγόν* (354 c) cf. Timaeus 63 B. In 357 A. *ἐπὶ τῷ γίνεσθαι* appears = *κατὰ νοῦν γίνεσθαι*, and is unusual. Hiatus is rare.

Of the remaining 5 letters the 13th, written to Dionysius in a quite friendly tone, is of some length : 9. 10. and 12 are very short, 11 of some thirty lines. They do not call for special notice. Neither in language nor in contents is there anything remarkable, except one passage in 11. 358 D, E. There it is stated that at a date when Socrates is still alive Plato is prevented by age from travelling (*οὐδὲ τῷ σώματι διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἱκανῶς ἔχω πλανᾶσθαι*), which betrays gross ignorance on the part of the writer. Perhaps *ξενικαὶ ἐρινύες* (9. 357 A), *ξυμβάσεις chances* (11. 359 B), *τὰ ἐμὰ ἀναγκαῖα* (13. 361 E), *πολιανομεῖν* (13. 363 c) are just worth noting.

The oldest indubitable evidence of ancient opinion about the letters is the fact that Cicero quotes or refers to three (5. 7. 9) out of the thirteen as Plato's and that he gives no hint of their authenticity being called in question. Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Demosth.* 23. 1027 also mentions 'the letters,' hinting that they are rather of the nature of *δημηγορίαι*, which might very well be said of 7 and 8. But it is probable that we may go back to a much earlier and no doubt better critic than either, namely Aristophanes of Byzantium. Diogenes Laërtius writes in 3. 61 *ἐνιοὶ δὲ, ὃν ἔστι καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ γραμματικός, εἰς τριλογίας ἔλκουσι τοὺς διαλόγους. καὶ πρώτην μὲν τιθέασιν, ἧς ἡγείται πολιτεία, Τίμαιος, Κριτίας· δευτέραν Σοφιστής, Πολιτικός, Κρατύλος· τρίτην Νόμοι, Μίνως, Εἰπινομίς· τετάρτην Θεαίτητος, Εὐθύφρων, Ἀπολογία· πέμπτην Κρίτων, Φαίδων, Ἐπιστολαί· τὰ δ' ἄλλα καθ' ἑν καὶ ἀτάκτως.* (He does not give the number of letters.) This ought to mean that Aristophanes concurred not only in the trilogy arrangement of the dialogues, but in making one trilogy consist of the somewhat ill assorted *Crito*, *Phaedo*, *Letters*. Perhaps he thought that, as three tragedies with no internal bond of union were sometimes thrown together, so might three Platonic works be, though it was going rather far to regard the letters as one work. In any case they received similar treatment from Thrasyllus (or Thrasyllus) in the time of Tiberius—this is the only other recognition of them that it is worth while to quote—who gave them a place as one work in his division of the Platonic writings into tetralogies. This is explicitly stated by

Diogenes *ib.* 60, 61, who gives the number of letters recognised by Thrasyllus as what we have, thirteen. But with regard to Aristophanes it is possible Diogenes did not mean to say, or was mistaken in saying, that the letters came into his scheme. If any of Plato's works were left out of it (*ἀτάκτως*), as if we have a full statement the majority were, we should certainly have expected the letters to be so, especially if no better company could be found for them than *Crito* and *Phaedo*. But the other trilogies are not always happy either, e.g. the fourth. We had better therefore assume Diogenes to mean that Aristophanes recognised the (thirteen?) letters, and it is likely enough that he even regarded him as the real author of the classification. This, if a fact, takes us back to about 220 B. C., which is still considerably more than 100 years after Plato's death and leaves plenty of room for mistakes.

There seems to be no evidence of any doubt felt in ancient times, unless it be a *νοθεύεται* said¹ to be written in some MSS. against letter 13 and an *ἀντιλέγεται ὡς οὐ Πλάτωνος* sometimes attached to 12 (thought by Ast to be meant for 13). If we find Aelius Aristides referring to the letter of Plato, meaning the 7th, we are not to infer that he rejected the others. The 7th is preeminently the letter.

No account is here taken of the letters sometimes printed as 14, 15, 16, which come from the 'Socratic,' not the ordinary 'Platonic' collection, and which no one supposes to be genuine. But they are not altogether without significance as a parallel.

Grote has argued in his solid and forcible way in favour of the Thrasyllan canon. He contends that it was founded on that of Aristophanes, which in turn rested upon trustworthy information obtained from the Platonic school at Athens, where not only the tradition but the actual MSS. of the matter would remain. Each of these propositions is open to some doubt, and no one of them, I think, can be called more than a presumption. Aristophanes and Thrasyllus are divided by a couple of hundred years. We know very little as to the working either of the Platonic school or of the Alexandrian library. The guarantee too is worth less for the letters than for the dialogues. The latter were published works of a quite different character, being those on which Plato's fame as a writer rested. About these the school and the library would

no doubt be well informed; not necessarily quite secure against error, if fresh writings were produced as Platonic, but still in possession of the best available means of knowing and judging. As to the letters, or most of them, the case was different. They were private communications, of which no copy need have been kept, so that there was no reason why the school should have them. In our own day a man's family and friends may have his MSS. and are likely to know a great deal about his published works, but they are not equally good authorities as to his correspondence. If some one produces an alleged letter from him, they, certainly in a generation or two, know little or nothing more than anyone else. This, I admit, will not quite apply to so considerable and semi-public a letter as the seventh and perhaps the eighth of Plato, but it applies to all the others.

The letters, if spurious, may have originated either in the Platonic school or outside it. (I speak of most of them and the most important: obviously they may not all be of the same age and source.) There is no need for them to have been deliberate forgeries. It was half suggested above that 7 and 8 are specimens of a sort of prize exercise on a given theme. Members of the school or other students of Plato, interested in his relations with Dionysius and the party of Dion, set themselves to the task of composing letters which should at once explain his ideas, as they understood them, and demonstrate their own command of Platonic Greek. They are just such compositions as university prizes call forth, and, like them, not free from mistakes. We need not even exclude the possibility that they contain things suggested by unpublished memoranda of Plato himself or by hearsay of what he had actually written to this or that person, just as they contain things undoubtedly connected with passages in his published writings. In such a case we might perhaps compare them to some extent with the *Fourth Philippic*. The authors perhaps never meant to impose upon anyone and might be both amused and annoyed, if we could tell them of the unexpected success of their literary exercises.

The letters may on the other hand have been composed with the object of making money. Galen tells us that many forgeries were offered to the competing libraries of Alexandria and Pergamum. These may have been things composed in the way just described, or quite *bona fide* works though

¹ So Karsten says. I do not find it explicitly stated in critical editions.

not written by the authors to whom their vendors ascribed them, or again things written to be sold. No doubt many were rejected by sagacious librarians, but equally without doubt some mistakes would be made. The dialogues included in the Platonic canon are certainly not all above suspicion, and we have six or seven others that could not find their way in, though with many they passed for Plato's.

Although then the letters must be earlier than the great mass of spurious things in the *Epistolographi*, they may very well not be Platonic. They must be early work, not only because it seems likely that they were recognised at Alexandria, but because the Greek in which they are written is so good. But at or even before the date which we should give them we know fabrications of one kind or another to have been produced. Pausanias 6. 18. 3 tells how Anaximenes composed and published the *Τρικάρανος* in the name of Theopompus, imitating Theopompus' style so skilfully as to bring great odium on him. Diogenes 5. 92 quotes Aristoxenus as relating that Heraclides Ponticus composed tragedies and ascribed them to Thespis; he adds that Heraclides was himself deceived by another man who wrote a *Parthenopaeus* and said it was the work of Sophocles. According to the same authority (10. 3) Diotimus the Stoic passed off fifty licentious letters as written by Epicurus.

There is probably no evidence that will enable us to fix the time when composition of false or imaginary letters began in Greece. We may distinguish letters composed for real from those composed for imaginary persons. The first would probably be the earlier, and they may be divided again into letters entirely imaginary and letters having or thought to have some foundation in fact. In the latter case the only fact known or supposed might be the sending of a letter, its contents being matter of more or less probable conjecture or inference, and its very existence sometimes having no greater certainty. In this class we may probably rank the letters which according to Thucydides were addressed to the Persian king by Themistocles and Pausanias and by the king to Pausanias in answer. It is hardly conceivable that the real terms of these letters, if indeed such letters were actually written at all, could be known to Thucydides, though for the letter of Pausanias he does refer in vague terms to some authority. He believed the letters had been sent. He

believed he knew their import or could tell it roughly. He therefore did not hesitate to compose something appropriate and give it as the precise words used, just as he composed speeches partly from information, partly from his own sense of what would have been proper and striking to say.

Most opposed to the half real or quasi-real letters of real people are the imaginary letters of imaginary people. The *ἐρωτικός λόγος* ascribed to Lysias the orator in the *Phaedrus* and there given at length has sometimes been taken for a letter. It is, however, never called a letter, always a *λόγος*, and so with the answers to it, the second of which there is a sort of pretence that the boy actually hears (243 E. cf. with regard to the original *λόγος* the *ἀκήκοας* of 230 E and the *ἐρώτα* of 234 C. See Stallbaum's preface, p. lix). Suidas ascribes erotic letters to Lysias, while Plutarch (?) *Mor.* 836 B speaks both of letters and of *Ἐρωτικοὶ (λόγοι)*. It is not therefore quite clear that we are justified in attributing to Lysias the use of the epistolary form in these works of imagination, but it seems very probable and has generally been assumed. Whatever may have been the case with the last letters or *λόγοι*, the speech in the *Phaedrus* does not purport to be Lysias himself speaking or writing. Both parties are apparently understood to be imaginary: 227 C *γέγραφεν γὰρ δὴ ὁ Λυσίας πειρώμενόν τινα τῶν καλῶν, οὐχ ὑπὸ ἐραστοῦ δέ, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο καὶ κεκόμψεται κ. τ. λ.* They are feigned just as all the parties are feigned in the tetralogies of Antiphon (the genuineness of which I do not think there is any sufficient reason for doubting), and as they were no doubt habitually in similar legal and rhetorical exertations.

Perhaps I may digress for one moment on the subject of the authorship of the speech in the *Phaedrus*. If Plato has unintentionally misled later times as to this, and if his own reputation has suffered from a similar mistake about the Platonic letters, the coincidence is curious. But it is probably the fact. To take a real published work of Lysias and insert it entire in the dialogue would have been both unnecessary and inartistic. The manner must be that of Lysias, but no doubt the words are those of Plato. We should perhaps not compare it with the speeches Plato puts into the mouths of Agathon, Gorgias, and others, which do not purport to be reproductions of written or elaborately prepared works, though they do show the skill and the zest with which the severe critic of imitation

sets about the task of imitating. It may be compared rather with the reproduction in the *Memorabilia* of the σύγγραμμα of Prodicus on the Choice of Heracles. We can see there that the language is Xenophontean; yet it is a version of a real composition by another man, a composition which might perhaps be read by anyone who wished in the original author's own words. So we may fairly assume in the *Phaedrus*. Lysias had written on these themes, perhaps on the very one there taken. Plato, however, writes his theme for him over again, puts into it the very essence of Lysias, makes it more like Lysias than Lysias himself; then he proceeds to criticise and contrast.

Intermediate between quasi-real letters of real people and imaginary letters of imaginary people come imaginary letters of real people, and these form the bulk of the large Greek collection gathered from all sorts of sources and best to be studied now in Hercher's *Epistolographi*. Of course, all the letters in it do not stand on the same footing. Critics have, for instance, usually passed the letters of Isocrates and condemned without hesitation those of Aeschines.¹ But most of them are admittedly fabrications, whether we think that the fabricators, had now and then some materials to go on or that they simply forged them out of their own heads. The composition of such letters became a common thing, and we do not approach the Platonic question in a proper frame of mind, unless we remember this and are on our guard from the beginning. The presumption is against the genuineness of any Greek letters ascribed to good times.

From the external evidence therefore and from what we know of the century that elapsed after Plato's death it would certainly not appear that we need hesitate much about condemning the letters, if good positive grounds are shown. Do such good grounds exist?

The writer of letter 1 describes himself as having administered with absolute authority the government of Dionysius. We know this cannot be true of Plato. The letter is therefore demonstrably not his. But Dion too would hardly have spoken of himself in these terms, and the description of the writer as 'having stayed so long a time' (διάρπυσας) is only applicable to a

visitor. Therefore the letter was not written by Dion either. Even supposing it to be Dion's, we see that almost all the MSS. give it to Plato, and that it is apparently one of the 13 Platonic letters which figure in the canon. It is not even as though it were part of Plato's correspondence in the sense of being a letter written to him in connexion perhaps with some letter of his own. If it is not by him, it has no connexion with him at all. Here then is one letter with just as good external evidence as the rest, yet not his.

Letter 11 represents Plato as prevented by age from travelling at some date during the lifetime of Socrates. Now Socrates was put to death when Plato was about thirty years old. Letter 7 falls into egregious blunders about the internal arrangements of Athens and Piraeus at the time of the Thirty. Letter 8 assumes Dion's son Hipparinus to have outlived him. We know a son of Dion's to have died before him and there is strong reason for thinking that he had no other.

May it not be said that these mistakes as to matters of fact condemn 1 and 11 absolutely, 7 and 8 almost certainly? Looking to another sort of internal evidence, we find in 7 a passage of great importance on which the writer himself lays much stress: a passage which purports to be profound philosophy and turns out to be nonsense. It is not a question here of a disputed philosophical point, of a difficult statement that we may perhaps not understand, or of a possibly corrupt text. The passage is simply foolish. Can we believe that this rubbish was written by the author of the *Theaetetus* and the central books of the *Republic*, where the same problem is handled with such power? Letter 2 again contains a most dubious philosophical passage. In several of the letters we have to believe that Plato assumed a tone of mysticism and made a profession of occult knowledge to which there is no parallel in his writings. In 3 he contradicts himself like a child and does not see the contradiction. Finally most readers of Plato would deem him too high-minded to be capable of the vain and petty spirit displayed in many passages of the letters. But this we cannot prove and therefore must not press.

On the other hand there is the language, whose value as evidence I should be among the last to impugn. There can be no doubt that in general character it is remarkably Platonic. Even when it will strike some

¹ In one of these Aeschines is made to refer to the pleasantries of Demosthenes, 'at which no one ever smiled but Ctesiphon.' We should like at any rate this jeer to be genuine, and possibly it is.

readers as wanting in Platonic grace and skill, that is rather because we sometimes form our idea of Plato entirely from his best writings, the *Phaedo*, the *Gorgias*, the *Republic*, and leave out of sight the later dialogues, especially the *Laws*. The avoidance of hiatus in most of the letters, though they are not uniform in this respect, also falls in with what seems to be Plato's later practice. Bearing this in mind, I still cannot feel that the Greek is enough to outweigh the other considerations or even that the chief letters are well enough written for Plato. Tedious as the *Laws* is, there are plenty of striking and well-written things in it, things that reveal not only the philosopher but the great writer. In the letters there is nothing of the kind: only a sort of shell without fruit, semblance

without reality, the style or some of it without the man. There is probably nothing there that a fairly skilful writer steeped in Plato's later writings could not have composed.

It is true then that if we judged by the Greek alone we should have no reason for doubting. But, if we take into account the tone and spirit of the letters, we hesitate. When we weigh the extraordinary things they contain, we give judgment against them. The spuriousness of some does not of course necessarily entail the spuriousness of all. But, if the important letters are false, the trifles are probably false too, and in any case it matters little whether they are or are not.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

ΒΥΘΟΣ ΦΛΥΑΡΙΑΣ.

Ἔπειτα ὅταν ταύτῃ στῶ, φεύγων οἴχομαι, δέισας μή ποτε εἰς τιν' ἄβυθον φλυαρίαν ἐμπεσὼν διαφθαρῶ.—PLATO, *Parm.* 130 d.

The reading ἄβυθον for the Aldine ἄμυθον in this passage is due to the second Basel edition and Stephanus, who says: 'Scribendum ἄβυθον, ex vet. cod., utpote melius conveniens cum illis verbis ἐμπεσὼν διαφθαρῶ. Adde quod pro nullis verbis explicanda (ut Ficinus vertit) dixisset potius ἀμύθητον.' Unfortunately, ἄβυθος is a word that does not occur anywhere in Greek literature, and Heindorf was quite justified in requiring ἄβυσσον. The true reading, however, is to be found on different lines. In his note on Plutarch *de sera numinis vindicta*, p. 75, Wyttenbach called attention to two obvious imitations of our passage by Origen and Synesius. Origen has (*c. Celsum* viii, p. 748) εἰς πέλαγος φλυαρίας ἐμπεσόντων, and Synesius (*in Dion.* p. 52 A) καὶ κίνδυνος εἰς ἄβυσσόν τινα φλυαρίας ἐμπεσόντας διαφθαρήναι· ὃ καὶ Σωκράτης ἐφοβήθη παθεῖν, καὶ τὸ πάθος οὐκ ἀπεκρύψατο φίλους ἀνδρας, Παρμενίδην καὶ Ζήνωνα. Wyttenbach, therefore, proposed εἰς ἄβυσσόν τινα φλυαρίας, to which Heindorf replied that the quotations were not necessarily verbal, and that εἰς τιν' ἄβυσσον φλυαρίαν was enough to account for them.

So the matter rested, except that editors continued to print the vox nihili ἄβυθον in spite of Heindorf's protest. But the protest was justified, and the reading ἄβυσσον will not account for the corruption ἄμυθον. It is strange that for years the true

reading has been hiding in Bekker's critical apparatus; from which we may discover that 'R' has εἰς τινα βυθὸν φλυαρίας, and this will account for everything. Bekker's R is Parisiensis 1836, a manuscript written at Venice in 1536 by Angelus Vergetius. Where he got the reading, we do not know. In the main his text goes back to Ven. II (Schanz's D), but that has ἄβυθον φλυαρίαν, apparently corrected to ἄμυθον φλυαρίαν. We also find φλυαρίας in some MSS. of Proclus's Commentary, though Proclus himself appears from his comment to have read ἄβυθον φλυαρίαν. The important point, however, is that the Clarke MS. has most distinctly εἰς τινα βυθὸν φλυαρίαν in spite of Bekker's statement that it has ἄβυθόν.

Now that we have got the reading, it is easy to find parallels in the Thesaurus. The figurative use of βυθός, we are told, is rare in ancient writers; but we find quoted Hippocr. 27, 10 ἐν βυθῷ ἀτεχνίης, Plut. *Mor.* 757 B βυθὸς ἀθεότητος, and it is very common in Christian and Byzantine writers, who doubtless got it, directly or indirectly, from Plato. Chrysostom has βυθὸς ἀμαρτίας and Cyril has βυθὸς κακῶν.

JOHN BURNET.

Since writing the above, I find that the reading εἰς τινα βυθὸν φλυαρίας has also been hiding in Liddell and Scott, *s.v.* ἄβυθος. It would be interesting to know whether it is due there to conjecture or to an inspection of the Clarke MS.

J. B.

ON THE OPTATIVE AND THE GRAPHIC CONSTRUCTION IN GREEK SUBORDINATE CLAUSES.

(Continued from p. 249).

BEFORE continuing my previous article (*Cl. R.* 1900, pp. 247-249) I should like to explain that none of my remarks applied to Future Indicatives or Optatives. These I have spoken of in the present article under letter H.

Three corrections also are necessary. On p. 248 A (7) instead of Mem. A. 1. 7. 2. read Mem. A. 1. 1. 2., on p. 249 B (14) read Thuc. 1. 50. 2. for 1. 50. 3., and eight lines below, Herod. 9. 74. should have been Herod. 9. 73. Unfortunately my proof sheets did not reach England before publication: otherwise these slips would not have occurred.

I would suggest the name 'Objective' for these imperfects and pluperfects when they occur in place of the subjective Graphic and Optative constructions. I shall now try to show (C) that this 'Objective' construction is employed in a much larger percentage of cases than the grammarians would lead one to suppose, and almost entirely after verbs of seeing, knowing, perceiving, showing, learning, remembering and reckoning, which, except the last, take the *participle* as well as the infinitive.

Goodwin, M. and T. § 671, says that Homer has fully developed the Graphic and Optative constructions in Indirect Questions (II. 24, 630. *Πρίαμος θαύμαζ'* Ἀχιλλῆα—*ὅσος ἔην* is a 'pendent exclamation') but in Indirect quotations 'the change of the Indicative to the Optative after past tenses has not yet been introduced.' An examination of the passages cited shows that all save two (II. 22. 438 οὐ γάρ οἱ τις ἐτίτυμος ἄγγελος ἐλθὼν ἡγγεῖλ' ὅττι ρά οἱ πόσις ἐκτοθι μίμνε πυλάων—the negative is to be noted, and Od. 16. 30.) are after verbs of knowing, learning, etc. e.g. ἀγνοεῖν, πυθέσθαι, νοεῖν, γνωπὼν ἦν, γινώσκειν (3), εἰδέναι (3).

It would seem that the language never entirely lost the feeling that dependent clauses after such verbs could be considered objective facts. To put it shortly—as is the participle to the infinitive so is the Objective Past to the Subjective Graphic or Optative.¹

The verb ὄραν is the most striking instance of this principle. It never (unless we include a doubtful case in Thuc. VIII 60 § 3) takes the infinitive and only once (so far as I can discover) the Optative, viz. (1) And. De Myst. § 86. ἐωρῶμεν ὅτι πολλοὶς τῶν πολιτῶν εἶεν συμφοραί. ((2) Xen. Hell. 3. 4. 13. ὡς προΐδωεν τί τᾶμπροσθεν εἴη cannot be called an exception for subjectivity is already suggested by the Optative, nor (3) Xen. Cyr. 5. 2. 4. βουλόμενος ἰδεῖν, εἴ πη εἴη αἰρέσιμον τὸ τεῖχος...περιήλανε πάντοθεν...where ἰδεῖν is dependent.) No genuine case of the Graphic Present seems to occur for (4) Demosth. 438. 6. ἰδὼν ὅτι κοινὸς ἐχθρὸς ἐκείνός ἐστι is a 'present truth,' Goodwin M. and T. § 671., as also (5) Xen. Oec. 7 § 6, ἐωρακῦα, ὡς ἔργα ταλάσια θεραπαίνας δίδονται, and (6) Xen. De Ven. 12. 7. ἐώρων γὰρ, ὅτι...ἡ ἡδονή...ἀγαθὰ παρασκευάζει.

On the other hand the following instances of Objective Past occur—C² (1) Xen. Hell. 4. 2. 5. αὐτὸς δὲ ὄρων ὅτι οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν μένεν ἐπεθύμουν...ἄθλα προὔθηκε. (2) 5. 4. 19. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι ὀρώντες τήν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ῥώμην, καὶ ὅτι πόλεμος ἐν Κορίνθῳ οὐκ ἐτί ἦν, ἀλλ' ἤδη...οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἐνέβαλλον...ἐφοβοῦντο' (3) Xen. An. 2. 2. 5. ἐπέιθοντο...ὀρώντες ὅτι μόνος ἐφρόνει...οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἄπειροι ἦσαν. (4) Cyr. 3. 3. 10. ἔτι δὲ ὄρων ὅτι...πολλοὶ καὶ ἐπιφθόνως εἶχον...ἐξάγειν αὐτοὺς ἐβούλετο. Next in Dependent Questions (5) Thuc. 7. 69. 2 ὁ δὲ Νικίας...ὄρων οἷος ὁ κίνδυνος καὶ ὡς ἐγγὺς ἦδη ἦν (Vat. om.)...ἐνα ἕκαστον ἀνεκάλει. (6) 7. 42. 3. ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης ἰδὼν ὡς εἶχε τὰ πράγματα...ἐβούλετο...ἀποχρήσασθαι τῇ...ἐκπλήξει. (7) Dem. 970. 12. ἐώρων γὰρ ἡμᾶς οἷα ἐσυκοφαντούμεθα. (The change of person may affect the construction cp. Xen. Cyr. 4. 1. 3.) (8) Xen. An. 6. 4. 23. (6. 2. 23) ἐώρα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὡς εἶχον δεινῶς. (9) perhaps Plato Prot. 315 B. ἰδὼν ἡσθην, ὡς καλῶς ἡλάβουντο. (10) Xen. Cyr. 1. 4. 8. quoted B (12) [add Herod. 6. 79. quoted B (14), but Hdt. 2. 131. ταῦτα γὰρ ὦν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὠρόμεν, ὅτι ὑπὸ χρόνου τὰς χεῖρας ἀποβεβλήκασι is a 'present truth rather than a past fact;'] while in 7. 208. ἐπεμπε...κατάσκοπον...ἰδέσθαι ὁκόσοι τέ εἰσι καὶ ὅτι ποιεῖεν the ἰδέσθαι is dependent, and in 9. 54. ἐπεμπον σφέων ἱππέα ὀψόμενόν τε εἰ πορεύεσθαι ἐπιχειροῖεν οἱ Σπαρτιάται, εἴτε καὶ...μὴ διανοεῖνται ἀπαλλάσ-

¹ My friend Mr. C. H. Rendall, Headmaster of Haileybury College, Melbourne, first pointed this out to me.

σεσθαι subjectivity is suggested by ὁψόμενον which is equivalent to a *iva* clause].

Before I proceed to those verbs which are followed in an equal or larger number of cases by the subjective constructions, it is necessary to say a few words on the use of the plain, in place of the interrogative, relative with them.

Poppo on Thuc. 1. 134. 1. λέγεται...γινῶναι ἐφ' ᾧ ἐχώρει says that the imperfect ἐχώρει 'shows that the clause is relative not interrogative.' This is true no doubt, but the point to be emphasized is that after these verbs which take the participle a plain relative is *far more common* than an interrogative after a past tense, and after a primary is very frequently met with. I have not made an examination into the latter construction, but Poppo on Thuc. 1. 136. 4. δηλοῖ ὅς ἐστι cites 5. 9. 2., 8. 46. 2., and 8. 50. 5. Instances without end might, I believe, be quoted, e.g. Herod. 3. 50. ὥστε ὅς., Plat. Rep. 3. 392. E., Prot. 342. B., Xen. An. 4. 5. 34., 5. 6. 7., 7. 1. 25., Xen. Mem. A. 1. 1. 15. D. 4. 6. 5., 4. 6. 6., Xen. Cyr. 4. 2. 21., 5. 2. 21., 7. 4. 13. Shilleto too on Thuc. 1. 137. 3. φράζει...ὅστις ἐστὶ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ φεύγει, has shown how the plain and interrogative forms may stand side by side (Xen. An. 3. 5. 13. might be added to his list), and Plat. Rep. 1. 336. A. οἶσθα...οὐ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι τὸ ῥῆμα...; τίς; ἔφη., proves how slight the difference was.

On the other hand *after a past tense* it is extraordinary how seldom, comparatively, the interrogative forms occur. If we omit Xenophon, only five instances are forthcoming viz. Thuc. 5. 54. 1. ἦδει δὲ οὐδεὶς ὅποι στρατεύουσι where I believe ἦδει οὐδεὶς simply = πάντες ἐθαίμαζον (see B² (2)), and 7. 44. 3. οὐκ ἠπίσταντο πρὸς ὃ τι χρὴ χωρῆσαι where οὐκ ἠπίσταντο = ἠπόρουσαν (see B² (1) and cp. 1. 91. 1. οὐκ εἶχον ὅπως χρὴ ἀπιστῆσαι and 5. 62. 1). Lastly Thuc. 3. 22. 4. οὐκ ἦδει (sc. τὸ στρατεύμα) ὃ, τι ἦν τὸ δεινόν, and perhaps 1. 50. 2. οὐ ῥαδίως τὴν διάγνωσιν ἐποιούντο ὅποιοι ἐκράτουν and Dem. 1273. 20. νῦν ἀπέφαιναν ἂν ἐκείνος εἰδὼς ἀκριβὲς ὅπως εἶχεν ἕκαστα τούτων. [Demosth. 911. 11. ἡρόμην αὐτὸν εἰ εἰδείη ὅπου ἐστὶν is not a case in point for εἰδείη is really a primary tense nor 1258. 27. διαλεχθεὶς τι πρὸς αὐτὸν...ὥστε μὴ μαθεῖν ὃ, τι λέγοι, παρήλθε, where μὴ μαθεῖν = ἀπορεῖν and is infinitive.]

But of the plain relative form I find—D (1) Demos. 1071. 26. αἰσθάνεσθαι ὅτε ἦν. (2) 671. 23. αἰσθάνεσθαι οὐ ἦν. (3) 925. 14. εἰδέναι οἷος ἐπληθίζε. (4) 1171. 14. εἰδέναι οὐ ἦν. (5) 970. 12. ὁρᾶν οἷα ἐσυκοφαντούμεθα. (6) Thuc. 1. 130. 2. προδηλοῦν αὐ

ἐμελλε. (7) 1. 134. 1. γινῶσκειν ἐφ' ᾧ ἐχώρει. (8) 6. 30. 3. ἐνθυμεῖσθαι ὅσον ἀπεστέλλοντο. (9) 6. 31. 5. λογίζεσθαι ὅσα...αὐτὸν with pluperfects and imperfects. (10) 7. 42. 3. ὁρᾶν ὡς εἶχε. (11) 7. 69. 2. ὁρᾶν οἷος ἦν. (12) Lysias. III. (9) § 7. 40. ἐννοεῖν οἷα πεπονθὼς ἦν. (13) VI. (13) 36. 249. γινῶσκειν οὐ ἦν κακοῦ. (14) Andok. De Red. 14. διηγείσθαι ὡς ἐπέπρακτο. (15) De Myst. 15. μνησύναι αὐτῷ. (16) Plato Prot. 315 B. ὁρᾶν ὡς...ἡλαβοῦντο. (17) 315 E. μανθάνειν περὶ ὧν διελέγοντο. (18) Aristot. Poet. XI. 1. 1. 5. δηλοῦν ὅς ἦν. The following are Graphic or Optative constructions: D² (1) Thuc. 4. 108. 2. πυνθάνεσθαι αὐτῷ παρέχεται. (2) Dem. 126. 12. αἰσθάνεσθαι αὐτῷ πράττουσι. (3) 670. 25. συνειδέναι αὐτῷ πεποίηκεν. (4) Andok. De Myst. 62. αἰσθάνεσθαι ὡς ἔχοιμι. (5) De Pace 3. 30. ἀποδεικνύναι ὅσω...εἴη. (6) De Myst. 134. γινῶσκειν οἷον εἴη.

Thus there are 18 cases of the plain relative followed by *imperfect* or *pluperfect*, and 6 followed by graphic or optative construction; while there are only 5 instances of the interrogative relative, and of these three are followed by *the imperfect*.

After all, Poppo's assertion that in such passages as Thuc. 1. 134. 2. the clause is 'relativa enuntiatio, non interrogativa' merely means that no attempt is made to represent the subjective perception, or the utterance, of the subject to the governing word: and thus, as in Latin, the distinction is lost between 'He showed what he was doing (at the time of showing)', and 'He showed what he was doing (previous to the time of showing)'. In fact all plain relative clauses are objective statements made from the point of view of the writer only.

The nature of the clause certainly cannot be defined by the nature of the introductory relative. Plain relatives, as I have shown (D² 1—6), are not seldom followed by subjective constructions, and interrogative relatives by objective; and Shilleto has demonstrated that both kinds are found side by side. Thus the tense and mood are the only criteria for definition and classification.

Poppo on Thuc. 7. 69. 2. is not satisfactory. In his critical note on the omission of ἦν by the Vatican MS. he refers to 6. 29. 1. where he seems to hold that while such clauses as ἐφ' ᾧ ἐχώρει may be justified as 'relativa enuntiatio,' no such plea can defend οἷος ἦν. On Thuc. 7. 42. 3. ἰδὼν ὡς εἶχε τὰ πράγματα...ἐβούλετο he has no comment, and yet all three appear to come under the same category.

[Even a verb of saying like λέγω some-

times follows the analogy of δηλώσας ὃς ἦν... ἐποίησε (D. 18) e.g., Xen. Cyr. 6. 1. 46. πέμπει (Hist. Pres.) πρὸς τὸν Κίρον, εἰπὼν ὃς ἦν. 6. 1. 44. εἰπὼν πρὸς τινὰς, ἃ ᾤετο συμφέρειν τῷ πράγματι, ᾤχετο. An. 1. 3. 13. ἀνίσταντο...λέγοντες ἃ ἐγίνωσκον. Herod. 1. 68. ἔλεγε τάπερ ὁπώπее. Thuc. 1. 136. 4. εἰπὼν ὑφ' ὧν καὶ ἐφ' ᾧ διώκεται (probably graphic pres.). Herod. 5. 92. ἔφη...ἀπηγεόμενος τάπερ...ὁπώπее. 8. 23. ἀπαγγειλάντων...τὰ ἦν. Possibly also 2. 113. πάντα λόγον ἐξηγούμενοι ὡς εἶχε, and Andok. De Red. 14. (D. 14). Instances of Graphic or Optative constructions are Xen. Cyr. 5. 3. 16. οὓς ἐπεμψεν...προειπὼν ἥ πορεύσονται. Hell. 3. 2. 9. οὐκ εἶπεν ἦν ἔχου γνῶμην. An. 4. 5. 34. τὴν ὁδὸν ἐφράζεν ἥ εἶη. Herod. 9. 71. γενομένης λέσχης ὃς γένοιτο αὐτῶν ἄριστος. 5. 74. συνέλεγε...οὐ φράζων ἐς τὸ συλλέγει. 6. 132. οὐ φράσας...ἐπ' ἦν ἐπιστρατεύεται χώραν...αἴτε. In all these cases whether Imperfects, or Subjective constructions follow, the plain relative is used.]

A fact worthy of note is that in no single instance after a past tense is the direct form of the interrogative employed. This is equally true of Xenophon, in whom, however, are some apparent exceptions which I shall quote later.

We may now examine Xenophon's usage in dependent questions. He has the interrogative forms of the relative more frequently than the other authors. E. The cases I find are (1) Hell. 4. 8. 17. μεμνημένος ὁπόσα...ἐπεπόνθει ἡ χώρα. (2) 2. 2. 16. ἐπιτηρῶν ὁπότε...ἔμελλον. (3) 5. 2. 8. ἐπισκοποῦντας ὁποιοὶ...ἐγεγέννητο. (4) An. 2. 5. 33. ὃ, τι ἐποιοῦν ἡμφεγνῶσιν. (5) 4. 8. 26. ὃ δὲ δείξας ὅπου παρεστηκότες ἐνύχχανον...ἔφη. (6) Cyr. 1. 4. 8. ἐδίωκεν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὥρῳ ἢ ὅπῃ ἔφευγε. (7) An. 3. 5. 17. οὐδὲν δῆλον ποιήσαντες ὅποι πορεύσεσθαι ἔμελλον. (8) Cyr. 2. 2. 9. ἥδει ὅπου ἔκειτο ἡ ἐπιστολή. (9) 3. 3. 70. εἰδότες ὅπου ἔδει. (10) 6. 3. 19. ἐμέλησεν ὥστε εἰδέναι, ὁπόσον κατεῖχον χωρίον. (11) 8. 5. 6. ἥδεσαν ταύτην ὁποία ἦν. (12) Oec. 9 § 11. τὴν δὲ ταμίαν ἐποίησάμεθα ἐπισκεψάμενοι, ἥτις ἡμῖν ἐδόκει εἶναι ἐγκρατεστάτη.

The following are cases of Graphic or Optative constructions—E² (1). Hell. 3. 3. 10. οὐ ξυνελάμβανον αὐτὸν, ὅτι τὸ πᾶγμα οὐκ ἥδεσαν (=θαύμαζον) ὁπόσον τὸ μέγεθος εἶη. (2) An. 4. 5. 7. ἡγνόει (=θαύμαζε) ὃ, τι τὸ πάθος εἶη. (3) 4. 5. 33. τοῖς δὲ παισὶν ἐδείκνυσαν...ὃ, τι δέου ποιεῖν. (4) 5. 7. 19. αἰσθόμενοι τοὺς βαρβάρους ὅποι ἴοιεν...ἐτόλμυσαν. (5) Oec. 9 § 9. ταῦτα μὲν...δείξαντες ὅπου δεῖ τιθέναι... (6) Ages. 6 § 6. ἀδελφός γινόμενος, ὅπου τε εἶη, καὶ ὅπου ἴοι. (7) Cyr. 8. 6. 17. ἡσθάνετο καὶ τὰ πάμπλου ἀπέχοντα

ὅπως ἔχοι. [I do not include the following—Xen. Hell. 2. 1. 1. ἵνα ἀλλήλους μάθοιεν ὁπόσοι εἴησαν because subjectivity is already suggested in the final clause. Memor. D. 4. 7. 1. ἔμελεν αὐτῷ εἰδέναι, ὅτου τις ἐπιστήμων εἶη because εἰδέναι is dependent. Cyr. 6. 1. 31. βουλόμενος μαθεῖν ὃ, τι πράττοι because μαθεῖν is dependent. Xen. Oec. 2 § 9. ἐγέλασας ἐπ' ἐμοὶ ὡς οὐδὲ εἰδότες, ὃ, τι εἶη πλοῦτος because ὡς οὐδὲ εἰδότες is virtual Or. Obl.=λέγων ἐμὲ οὐκ εἰδέναι. Oec. 2 § 17. ἔδοξέ μοι ἄξιον εἶναι ἐπισκέψεως ὃ, τι εἶη τοῦτο because ἄξιον εἶναι ἐπισκέψεως is dependent.]

Of the plain relative F I find these instances with Imperfects—(1) Memor. A. 1. 3. 1. δεικνύων ἑαυτὸν οἷος ἦν. (2) Hell. 3. 5. 10. ἔφηναν οἷα...ἐγίνωσκον. (3) Hell. 2. 2. 13. ἐπύθοντο ἃ ἔλεγον. (4) An. 6. 4. (2). 23. εἴωρα...ὡς εἶχον. (5) Hell. 4. 2. 3. ἐνθυμίσθαι οἷων...ἀπεσσερεῖτο. (6) Hell. 2. 1. 14. ἀναμνήσας, ὡς εἶχε φιλίας...ἀνέβαινε. (7) Hell. 2. 3. 56. ἀπήγαγον...δηλοῦντα οἷα ἔπασχε. (8) Cyr. 8. 7. 3. ἐσημῆνατέ μοι ἅτ' ἐχρῆν ποιεῖν καὶ ἃ οὐκ ἐχρῆν. (9) Cyr. 3. 3. 12. ἐδίδασκεν, ἥ ἕκαστον ἰσχυρὸν ἦν. (10) Cyr. 7. 1. 3. ἔστη ἀποβλέπων, ἥπερ ἔμελλε πορεύεσθαι. (11) Cyr. 5. 4. 5. ἐγνώσθη ὃς ἦν. (12) Cyr. 4. 3. 3. ἀποδεικνύντες...ἃ ἦγον...ἀπῆλυνον. (13) Cyr. 6. 2. 1. ἐπήγγειλας ὧν ἐδέου. (14) Cyr. 5. 4. 2. δηλοῦν δὲ ἐνετέλλετο ὅσῃν εἶχε...δύναμιν. (15) Cyr. 6. 1. 46. ἥσθετο ὡς εἶχε.

The following F² are graphic constructions or optative—(1) An. 1. 3. 13. ἐπιδεικνύντες οἷα εἶη ἡ ἀπορία. (2) An. 1. 3. 16. ἐπεδείκνυε...ὡς εὐθὺς εἶη. (3) Hell. 4. 2. 2. τὰ τε ἄλλα διηγέτο ὡς ἔχοι. (4) Cyr. 5. 4. 2. τὴν ὁδὸν ἐδήλωσεν, ἥ προσιέναι μέλλοι. (5) Cyr. 5. 4. 3. ἐδήλωσεν ἐφ' ἃ ἦκοι. (6) Cyr. 4. 2. 4. διηγούντο τὰ τῶν πολέμιων ὡς ἔχοι. [I do not include the following—Xen. Hell. 3. 3. 9. ὅπως...εἰδείη οὓς δέου because subjectivity is suggested by the final clause. An. 1. 9. 28. ὡς δηλοῖ, οὓς τιμᾷ for the same reason. Symp. 1 § 11. εἶπε τῷ ὑπακούσαντι εἰσαγγεῖλαι ὅστις τε εἶη...because εἰσαγγεῖλαι is dependent. Ages. 11 § 4. οὐχ ἦττον ᾤετο καταμανθάνειν τοὺς τῶν λεγόντων τρόπους ἢ περὶ ὧν λέγοιεν because καταμανθάνειν is in Or. Obl. Oec. 15 § 2. ἐφῆσθα ὄφελος οὐδὲν γίνεσθαι, εἰ μὴ τις ἐπίσταιτο, ἃ δέ, καὶ ὡς δέ, ποιεῖν because ἐπίσταιτο is in Or. Obl.]

Thus in Xenophon there are 27 cases of Imperfects or Pluperfects, of which 12 are introduced by the interrogative relative, and 15 by the plain: while (omitting those instances I have commented upon) we get 13 cases of Graphic or Optative constructions, of which 7 are introduced by the interrogative relative, and 6 by the plain. [I add Herodotus' usage. First interro-

gative relatives (1) with Imperfect 6. 79. οὐκ ὤρων...ὅ τι ἐπρησσον (2) with Graphic or Optative constructions. 2. 181. ἐπύθετο αὐτῆς (learned by asking) ἣ τις εἶη. 4. 150. οὔτε Λιβύην εἰδότες (= θαυμάζοντες) ὅκου γῆς εἶη. 2. 2. ἠθέλησεν εἰδέναι οἵτινες γενοίετο πρῶτοι, where εἰδέναι is dependent. 2. 121. βουλόμενον εὔρεθῆναι ὅστις κοτὲ εἶη where the whole is in Or. Obl. and εὔρεθῆναι dependent. 3. 68. οὔτε ὅστις εἶη...εἰδέναι where εἰδέναι is in Or. Obl. 7. 208. ἔπεμπε...κατάσκοπον...ιδέσθαι ὁκόσοι τέ εἰσι καὶ ὅ τι ποίειεν where ιδέσθαι is dependent.

Secondly plain relatives (1) with Imperfect. 1. 78. οὐδὲν πω εἰδότες τῶν ἦν περὶ Σάρδις...ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο. 6. 52. λέγουσι...τοὺς Σπαρτιῆτας...τὴν μητέρα...λαβεῖν...οὐκ εἰδυῖαν τῶν εἵνεκεν ἐφυλάσσετο. 8. 13. οὐκ εἰδότες τῇ ἐξέροντο, ἐξέπιπτον. 9. 73. ἀνίστασαν τοὺς δῆμους, οὐκ εἰδότες ἵνα ὑπεξέκειτο ἡ Ἑλένη. 1. 191. ἔμαθε τὸ ποιητέον...ἦν. 1. 213. ἔμαθε ἵνα ἦν. 6. 100. μαθὼν ὡς εἶχε...φράζει (Hist. Pres.). 6. 70. πυθόμενος τὰ ἐβούλετο...ἐπορεύετο. 6. 97. πυθόμενος ἵνα ἦσαν...ἡγόρευε...τάδε. 6. 118. πυθόμενος ἐξ οὗ ἦν ἱροῦ, ἔπλεε. 8. 23. ἀπαγγελιάτων τούτων τὰ ἦν...ἡ στρατιὴ ἔπλεε. 9. 66. ἐξέπιστάμενος τὰ ἐμελλε...ἦγε τούτους. 1. 48. ἐμχανήσατο τοιάδε, ἐπινοήσας τὰ ἦν. 8. 101. ἐφαίνεται νοέουσα τὰ ποιητέα ἦν. 5. 92. ἔφη...ἀπηγγεμένους τάπερ...ὁπώπεε.

(2) with Optative or Graphic constructions 1. 21. εἰδὼς τὰ...μέλλοι ποιήσιν. 5. 92. εἰδυῖα τε οὐδὲν τῶν εἵνεκα ἐκείνοι ἀπικοίετο. 1. 78. μαθοῦσι πρὸς Τελμησσέων τὸ θέλει...τὸ τέρας. 3. 48. πυθόμενοι τὸν λόγον ἐπ' οἷσι ἀγοίετο. 3. 16. πυθόμενος τὰ περὶ ἐωυτὸν μέλλοι. 4. 79. ἐσημαίνον...τὰ ἴδοιεν. 8. 138. σημαίνει τις...οἶόν τι...ποιήσιν ὁ παῖς, καὶ ὡς...ὁ νεώτατος λάβοι τὰ διδόμενα.]

G. I now come to the apparent exceptions to the rule that in no case after a past tense of these verbs of knowing, perceiving, etc. is the direct interrogative used. The only instances are the following, and it will be seen that the governing verb is (α) in Orat. Obl. Xen. Mem. D. 4. 6. 1. Σωκράτης γὰρ τοὺς μὲν εἰδότες τί ἕκαστον εἶη τῶν ὄντων ἐνόμιζε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀν' ἐξηγεῖσθαι δύνασθαι. (β) in the Optative and thus subjectivity is already suggested. Xen. Hell. 3. 4. 13. ὡς προΐδοιεν τί τὰμπροσθεν εἶη. Cyr. 5. 4. 10. ὡς ἐπισκέψαιτο τὸν Γαδάταν πῶς ἔχοι. Oec. 6 § 14. ὅπως δὲ...ἐπισκεψαίμην, τί ποτ' ἐργαζόμενοι τοῦτ' ἀξιοῦντο καλεῖσθαι. Cyr. 6. 1. 3. διελεγόμεν, ἐρωτῶν εἰ εἰδείη τί ἐν νῶ ἔχεις. (γ) an Infinitive dependent on a verb. An. 1. 7. 8. εἰσῆσαν δὲ...ἀξιοῦντες εἰδέναι τί σφισιν ἔσται, ἐὰν κρατήσωσιν. An.

7. 6. 8. παρῆν δὲ καὶ Σεύθης βουλόμενος εἰδέναι τίπραχθήσεται. Cyr. 1. 6. 14. ἀπρόντα με ἐκέλευσας...πυθέσθαι, πῇ ἕκαστα τούτων γίνεταί. Cyr. 5. 1. 4. γινῶναι βουλόμενοι, ποία εἶη ἡ δέσποινα, πάσας περιεβλέψαμεν. Cyr. 7. 5. 28. κελεύσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως σκέψασθαι τί εἶη τὸ πρᾶγμα. (δ) a Future Participle equal to a Final Clause (cp. β). Cyr. 8. 3. 30. ὥχετο...σκεψόμενος τις εἶη. Cyr. 5. 4. 10. ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς σὲ ἦα ἐπισκεψόμενος, πῶς ἔχεις.

G². [I have not included An. 6. 3 (1). 25. ἐπυνθάνοντο τί τὰ πυρὰ κατασβέσειαν, nor An. 7. 1. 14. ἐπυνθάνοντο περὶ τοῦ Σεύθου πότερα πολέμιος εἶη, nor Cyr. 1. 4. 7. τῶν ἐπομένων...ἐπυνθάνετο, ποίοις οὐ χρὴ θηρίοις πελάζειν where πυνθάνομαι obviously equals to ask (cp. Herod. 1. 35., and 4. 167.). Also Demos. 434. 1. τί παρ' ὑμῖν ἐψήφισται, τοῦτ' ἐπετήρουν, Xen. Symp. 1 § 12. ἀπέβλεψεν εἰς τὸν Αὐτόλυκον δηλονότι ἐπισκοπῶν τί...δόξειε τὸ σκῶμμα (Xen. Cyr. 5. 4. 10. quoted G² is really the same) may fairly be omitted, for ἐπετήρουν and ἐπισκοπῶν are practically equal to ἐρωτᾶν].

H. So far I have said nothing about Future Indicatives, and Future Optatives. In all the authors I have examined both are common. Xenophon even employs them after impersonals e.g. Hell. 6. 4. 9. πρόδηλον ἦν ὅτι ἡ μάχη ἔσοιτο, and An. 6. 1. 25. (5. 9. 25.), Hell. 3. 5. 7., Cyr. 3. 3. 29., or after quasi-impersonals e.g. Oec. 7 § 8. But Demosthenes 1119. 25. writes—οὐκ ἄδηλον ἦν...ὅτι τοῦτο ἐμελλον ποιήσιν, and it seems likely that the imperfect of μέλλειν was frequently used to express the future objectively. This construction begins in Homer (see Goodwin M. and T. § 671), and in Attic are Thuc. 8. 88. 1., Dem. 1220. 11., Xen. An. 3. 1. 2., Thuc. 1. 130. 2., Xen. Hell. 2. 2. 16., Thuc. 6. 31. 5., Xen. An. 3. 5. 17., Xen. Hell. 7. 5. 16., Xen. Cyr. 7. 1. 3. [Herod. 3. 25., 3. 1., 3. 146., 7. 57., 7. 161., 8. 141., 9. 66.]. Of these only Dem. 1119. 25 and Herod. 7. 57. are after an impersonal verb; while Xen. Hell. 7. 5. 16., An. 3. 5. 17. and Herod. 3. 25. are after a negated principal verb. On the other hand Plat. Prot. 348 B. οὐδ' ἐν ἀπεσάφει...ὁπότερα ποιήσοι, and Lys. Epitaph. § 14. 1. 10. οὐκ εἰδότες ὁποῖοι...ἔσονται. are cases of Futures in spite of the governing verb being negative, and Dem. 946. 5. is an instance after ὁρᾶν. In Demosth. 1220. 11. we have both Objective Imperfect and Future Optative in the same sentence—ἦδειν οὖν ὅτι οὗτος...ἤμελλε...οὔτε γὰρ...χρήσοιτο κ.τ.λ.

K. I now add a list of verbs almost all

of which may take a participle. I quote in full those instances after *ὅτι* in which the imperfect occurs (some of these may be original), but give references only, in the case of relative clauses already cited, or of 'subjective' constructions.

All cases in brackets are omitted in my statistics. When the sign *a.* occurs the governing verb is already in *Oratio Obliqua*: *β.* signifies that the governing verb is in the optative: *γ.* that it is an infinitive. Lastly the sign *δ* means that a *Pres. Indic.* occurs in the subordinate clause, which is a 'present truth rather than a past fact.' (Goodwin M. and T. § 671).

The letter **A** means that an imperfect or pluperfect follows in the subordinate clause: **B** that an optative or graphic present occurs. The number (1) signifies that the clause is introduced by *ὅτι* or *ὡς*=that: (2) that the clause is relative. The totals include only Attic examples.

ὁρᾶν I have already dealt with (C 1-6 and C² 1-10). The result in Attic is **A** (1) = 4. **A** (2) = 6. and **B** (1) = 1.

Total A 10. B 1.

εἰδέναί which like *ὁρᾶν* never takes the infinitive (a future infinitive is found in *Xen. Hell.* 2. 2. § 2.) may be next examined.

A (1) [*Thuc.* 8. 88. 1. *ἐπλεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς... εἰδὼς ἐκ πλείονος τὴν Τισσαφέρνους γνώμην, ὅτι οὐκ ἄξιν ἐμελλε*] *Dem.* 683. 12. *καὶ γὰρ ὡς ἀνάξιος ἦν ἦδεν.* 874. 4. *Θεραπαινὰς ἐξήγησα αὐτὸν αἰ...ἥδεσαν...τὰ χρήματα ὅτι παρὰ τούτοις ἦν.* 1168. 27. *συνειδὼς ὅτι ἐψεύδετο καὶ ἀναισχυρντεῖν ἐπεχείρει, καὶ ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἦν...ὠργίσθη.* 1220. 11. *ἦδεν οὖν ὅτι οὗτος μὲν ἤμελλε τριηραρχήσιν.* *Isaeus XI.* § 16 (*Jebb's Attic Orators* p. 183) *οὔτοι οὖν...εἰδότες ὅτι ἐξω ἦσαν τῆς ἀγχιστείας οὐκ ἡμφισβήτουν.* *Lys.* II. (7) § 16. 109. *εὖ γὰρ ἂν ἦδεν ὅτι ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἦν καὶ ἐμὲ τιμωρήσασθαι...Xen. An.* 5. 8. 10. *ἔδοξας γάρ μοι εἰδοῖσι εὐκείναι ὅτι ἔζη.* *Ag.* 3 § 3. *εἰδὼς ὅτι Φαρνάβαζος γῆμαι μὲν τὴν βασιλῆως ἑπράττε θυγατέρα...Ἀγεσιλάῳ ἑαυτὸν...ἐνεχειρίσειν.* *De Ven.* 12 § 6. *εἰδότες δὲ καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι ἡμῶν, ὅτι ἐντεῦθεν ἠδύτχουν πρὸς τοὺς πολέμιους, ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν νεῶν ἐποιήσαντο.*

A (2). *Thuc.* 3. 22. 4. *Dem.* 925. 14. 1171. 14. and 1273. 20. *Xen. Cyr.* 2. 2. 9., 3. 3. 70., 6. 3. 19., 8. 5. 6. [*Herod.* 1. 78., 6. 52., 8. 13., 9. 73.]

B (1) *Thuc.* 3. 22. 2. *Dem.* 848. 9., 1285. 25. *Lys.* 5 (12). 15. 16. and 6 (13). 77. 549. *Xen. An.* 1. 6. 10., 1. 8. 21., 4. 3. 10., *Cyr.* 3. 1. 21., 8. 1. 11., *Symp.* 4 § 13. [*Xen.*

Hell. 4. 2. 6. (*β.*) *Oec.* 5 § 19. (*α.*) *Apol. Soer.* § 17. (*α.*) *Cyr.* 3. 3. 10 (*δ.*) *De Ven.* 12 § 9 and 12 § 22 (*δ.*) *Dem.* 717. 12 (*δ.*) and 871. 6 (*δ.*)].

B (2) *Thuc.* 5. 54. 1. *Dem.* 670. 25. *Xen. Hell.* 3. 3. 10. [*Herod.* 1. 21., 4. 150., 5. 92. *Dem.* 911. 11. (*β.*) and *Dem.* 1258. 27. (*γ.*) *Xen. Hell.* 3. 3. 9. (*β.*) *Xen. Mem.* D. 4. 7. 1. (*γ.*) *Oec.* 2 § 9. (*α.*)]. The result in Attic is **A** (1) = 9. **A** (2) = 7. **B** (1) = 11. **B** (2) = 2.

Total A 17. B 14.

δηλοῦν.

A (1) *Dem.* 675. 10. *οὐ προσήκεν...δηλῶσαι δ' ὡς εἶχον εὐνοικῶς ὑμῖν.* *Lys.* 10. (19) 39. 256. (quoted **A** 15) and 10. (19) 52. 351 (quoted **A** 16). *Xen. Cyr.* 1. 4. 26. *τέλος δὲ (sc. φασί) καὶ ἦν εἶχε στολὴν...δοῦναί τι, δηλῶν ὅτι τούτων μάλιστα ἡσπάζετο, and 5. 4. 2. δηλοῦν δὲ ἐνετέλλετο...ὅτι Κῦρος οὐ συνείπετο αὐτῷ.* *Lys. Epitaph.* § 58. *ἐδήλωσαν οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον ὅτι ἡ τῆς πόλεως δύναμις τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἦν σωτηρία.* *Xen. Ages.* I. 1. § 38. *τέλος ἐδήλωσαν ὅτι οὐ πλαστὴν τὴν φιλίαν παρέχοντο.* [*Thuc.* 5. 50. 3. is an original imperfect.]

A (2) *Thuc.* 1. 130. 2. *Arist. Poet.* 11. 1. 5. *Xen. Hell.* 2. 3. 56. *Cyr.* 5. 4. 2. *An.* 3. 5. 17. (*δῆλον ποιεῖν*).

B (1) *Thuc.* 4. 68. 6. *Lys.* 3 (9). 4. 20. *Xen. Hell.* 4. 3. 1. *Cyr.* 4. 1. 1.

[*Thuc.* 3. 16. 1. (*γ.*) *Herod.* 2. 116., 7. 210 (*δῆλον ποιεῖν*)].

B (2) *Thuc.* 4. 108. 2. *Xen. Cyr.* 5. 4. 2. and 5. 4. 3. *Ages.* 6 § 8. [*Xen. An.* 1. 9. 28. (*β.*)]. The result in Attic is **A** (1) = 7. **A** (2) = 5. **B** (1) = 4. **B** (2) = 4.

Total A 12. B 8.

αἰσθάνεσθαι.

A (1) *Thuc.* 1. 50. 1. (quoted **B** (1)). 2. 88. 1. *αἰσθόμενος ὅτι τὸ πλῆθος...ἐφοβοῦντο ἐβούλετο...θαρσύναι.* 7. 49. 1. *ἰσχυρίζετο αἰσθόμενος τὰ ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις...καὶ ὅτι ἦν αὐτόθι τὸ βουλόμενον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις γίνεσθαι τὰ πράγματα.* [For an exact parallel in form cp. *Thuc.* 6. 1. 1. quoted **B** 4.]. *Xen. An.* 1. 2. 21. *ἦσθε τοῦ τε Μένωνος στρατεύμα ὅτι ἦδη ἐν Κιλικίᾳ ἦν...καὶ ὅτι τριῖρεις ἤκουε περιπελοῦσας.*

A (2) *Dem.* 1071. 24. and 671. 23. *Xen. Cyr.* 6. 1. 46.

B (1) *Thuc.* 4. 122. 1., 5. 2. 2., 5. 10. 11. 8. 100. 2. *Plato. Prot.* 328 D. *Xen. Hell.* 3. 2. 28., 5. 2. 4., *An.* 1. 10. 5., *Cyr.* 1. 4. 5. [*Xen. Hell.* 3. 3. 10 (*γ.*), and 6. 4. 13 (*γ.*)].

B (2) *Dem.* 126. 10. *Andok. de Myst.* 63. *Xen. An.* 5. 7. 19. *Cyr.* 8. 6. 17. The

result in Attic is **A** (1)=4. **A** (2)=3.
B (1)=9. **B** (2)=4.

Total **A**=7. **B**=13.

-δεικνύναι.

A (1) Lys. 5 (12). 56. 388. φανερώς ἐπεδείξαντο ὅτι οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν Πειραιεῖ.... ἐστασίαζον, οὐδ' οἱ τεθνεώτες αὐτοὺς ἐλύπουν. Dem. 1073. 22. ἐνεδείξατο ὅτι τὰ οὐδὲν προσήκονθ' ἑαυτῷ ἔχειν ἐνόμιζεν. Xen. Hell. 1. 7. 4. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου καθήπτοντο, ἐπιστολὴν ἐπεδείκνυε μαρτύριον. 4. 5. 10. ἐπεδείκνυν ὡς οὐδεὶς ἀντεξήκει. [Herod. 7. 172. διέδεξαν ὅτι οὐ σφι ἦνδανε τὰ οἱ Ἀλειάδαί ἐμχανέωντο].

A (2) Xen. Mem. A. 1. 3. 1., An. 4. 8. 26., Cyr. 4. 3. 3.

B (1) Xen. Cyr. 8. 3. 21. [Herod. 1. 31. Xen. Cyr. 5. 4. 42. (8)].

B (2) Xen. An. 4. 6. 33. Andoc. de Pace. 3. 30. Xen. An. 1. 3. 13., 1. 3. 16., and Oec. 9 § 9. The result in Attic is **A** (1)=4. **A** (2)=3. **B** (1)=1. **B** (2)=5.

Total **A**=7. **B**=6.

λογίζεσθαι.

A (1) Dem. 380. 5. (quoted B. 6.). Andok. de Myst. § 52. ἐλογιζόμεν πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν... ὅτι οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἤδη ἐτεθνήκεισαν... οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες ᾤχοντο... Xen. Hell. 7. 5. 16. (quoted B. 2.). [Xen. Hell. 3. 5. 23. λογιζόμενος δὲ ὁ Πανσανίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι... ὡς Λύσανδρος τετελευτηκὼς εἶη, καὶ τὸ μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατεύμα... ἀποκεχωρήκοι, καὶ Κορίνθιοι μὲν... οὐκ ἠκολούθουν αὐτοῖς, οἱ δὲ παρόντες οὐ προθύμως στρατεύοντο, ἐλογίζοντο δὲ καὶ τὸ ἱππικόν, ὡς τὸ μὲν ἀντίπαλον πολὺ, τὸ δὲ αὐτῶν ὀλίγον εἶη, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ὅτι οἱ νεκροὶ ὑπὸ τῇ τείχει ἔκειντο.]

A (2) Thuc. 6. 31. 5.

B (1) Dem. 1168. 27. Xen. Hell. 3. 5. 23., 7. 4. 35., 7. 5. 1.

B (2) None. The result in Attic **A** (1)=3. **A** (2)=1. **B** (1)=4.

Total **A**=4. **B**=4.

γινώσκειν.

A (1) Lys. 5 (12). 73. 505. ἐγινώσκετε γὰρ ὅτι περὶ δουλείας... ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐξεκλησιάζετο. Xen. An. 2. 2. 15. εὐθὺς ἔγνωσαν πάντες ὅτι ἐγγὺς πον ἐστρατοπεδεύετο βασιλεὺς. Cyr. 4. 2. 35. ἔγνω ὅτι τούτους εἰκὸς μάλιστα... κατεῦληφθαί ἂν ἦν. Cyr. 6. 1. 2. γινώσκων, ὅτι Γαδάτας πάλαι ἀπωλώλει τῷ φόβῳ... εἶπεν.

A (2) Lys. 6 (13). 36. 249., Thuc. 1. 134. 1., Xen. Cyr. 5. 4. 5.

B (1) Thuc. 3. 113. 3., 7. 42. 5., 7. 83. 3., 8. 102. 1. Lys. 6 (13). 17. 10. Xen. Hell. 2. 4. 27., 3. 4. 23., 4. 7. 2. An. 2. 2. 21.,

3. 3. 4., 3. 4. 19., 5. 8. 8., 7. 5. 11. Cyr. 1. 1. 3., 6. 3. 5., 7. 5. 38., 7. 5. 52. [Herod. 4. 136., 6. 69., 7. 194., 9. 47. Xen. Cyr., 7. 5. 59. (8). Oec. 7 § 25. (8)]. Xen. Ages. 1 § 31.

B (2) Andok. de Myst. 134. Xen. Cyr. 7. 1. 38. The result in Attic is **A** (1)=4. **A** (2)=3. **B** (1)=18. **B** (2)=2.

Total **A**=7. **B**=20.

ἀγνοεῖν.

A (1) Dem. 1210. 12. ἔδωκά τι... οὐκ ἀγνοῶν τὴν παροῦσαν χρεῖαν, ὡς ἀναγκαῖα ἦν ἐκάστω. Xen. Hell. 2. 3. 55. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν... οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντες παρήσαν. 4. 5. 12. ὅτι μὲν πολλοὶ ἦσαν ἐν τῇ Κορίνθῳ... οὐδὲν ἠγνόουν.

A (2) None.

B (1) [Xen. Oec. 20 § 3. (8)].

B (2) Xen. An. 4. 5. 7. (quoted B² (3)). The result in Attic is **A** (1)=3. **B** (2)=1.

Total **A**=3. **B**=1.

πυνθάνεσθαι.

A (1) [Thuc. 5. 55. 4. most unlikely]. Xen. An. 6. 3 (1). 23. ἐπυνθάνοντο ὅτι οἱ μὲν Θράκες εὐθὺς ἀφ' ἐσπέρας ᾤχοντο ἀπιόντες. Hell. 3. 2. 11. πυνθόμενος δὲ ὅτι πολὺς σίτος ἐνῆν αὐτοῖς... ἐπολιόρκει. [Herod. 8. 50. ἐνέπρησε δὲ Θέσπιάν τε καὶ Πλάταιαν πυνθόμενος Θηβαίων ὅτι οὐκ ἐμῆδιζον].

A (2) Xen. Hell. 2. 2. 13. [Herod. 2. 121., 6. 70., 6. 97., 6. 118.].

B (1) Thuc. 4. 3. 1., 4. 27. 1., 5. 42. 3., 5. 82. 3., 7. 1. 1. Dem. 1172. 20. Lys. 3 (9). 5. 25. Xen. Hell. 3. 4. 4. An. 7. 6. 2. [Thuc. 2. 57. 1. (a). Herod. 1. 96., 1. 163., 3. 140., 3. 154., 6. 41., 7. 196., 7. 226., 8. 57., 8. 136.].

B (2) Thuc. 4. 108. 2. [Xen. An. 6. 3. (1). 25. and An. 7. 1. 14. and Cyr. 1. 4. 7. are exceptional; τί follows, and πυνθάνεσθαι = ἐρωτᾶν. Xen. Cyr. 1. 6. 14. πῇ (γ). Herod. 2. 181., 3. 16., 3. 48. In 1. 35. and 4. 167. πυνθάνεσθαι = ἐρωτᾶν]. The result in Attic is **A** (1)=2. **A** (2)=1. **B** (1)=9. **B** (2)=1.

Total **A**=3. **B**=10.

ἐνθυμεῖσθαι.

A (1) None.

A (2) Thuc. 6. 30. 3. Xen. Hell. 4. 2. 3.

B (1) Xen. Hell. 4. 3. 13., 6. 5. 1. Lys. 5 (12) 70. 480. [Dem. 979. 3. (8)].

B (2) None.

Total **A**=2. **B**=3.

νοεῖν.

A (1) Xen. An. 3. 1. 2. ἐν πολλῇ δὴ ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν... ἐννοοῦμενοι μὲν ὅτι ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις ἦσαν... followed by ἐμελλεν and a plu-

perfect. Xen. Cyr. 3. 3. 9. κατανοῶν δὲ...ὡς εὖ μὲν αὐτῷ εἶχον τὰ σώματα οἱ στρατιῶται... ἐπιστήμονες δὲ ἦσαν...έώρα πάντας εὖ παρεσκευασμένους. 4. 1. 3. ἔφθασεν ἔξω βελῶν τὴν τάξιν ποιήσας, πρὶν τοὺς πολεμίους κατανοῆσαι τε ὅτι ἀνεχωροῦμεν [Note change of person and cp. Dem. 970. 12. quoted C² (7)]. 5. 2. 18. ἐνενόησε δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὡς ἐπρωτῶν ἀλλήλους...καὶ ὡς ἔσκαπτον...α τε ἔπαιζον, ὡς πολὺ μὲν ὑβρεως ἀπῆν. Symp. 2. 16. προσενόησα, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄργον τοῦ σώματος ἐν τῇ ὀρχήσει ἦν.

A (2) Lys. 3. (9). 7. 40. ἐννοεῖν. [Herod. 1. 48. ἐπι-, 8. 101.]

B (1) Xen. Cyr. 3. 1. 1., 4. 2. 3., 6. 1. 52., 7. 5. 58., [Xen. Cyr. 8. 2. 24. κατα- (δ)].

B (2) None. The result in Attic is A (1)=5. A (2)=1. B (1)=4.

Total A=6. B=4.

-μιμνήσκειν.

A (1) None.

A (2) Xen. Hell. 2. 1. 14. and 4. 8. 17.

B (1) [Xen. Oec. 16. § 7. (δ)].

B (2) None.

Total A=2. B=0.

-μανθάνειν.

A (1) None.

A (2) Xen. An. 2. 3. 11. κατα- Plato Prot. 315 E. [Herod. 1. 191., 1. 213., 6. 100.]

B (1) Xen. An. 7. 2. 18. κατα- Xen. Cyr. 2. 1. 21. (δ). De Rep. Lac. 5 § 8 κατα- (δ). and ibid. 10 § 4. κατα- (δ). Herod. 1. 79., 3. 21., 3. 43., 3. 52., 3. 61., 3. 64., 3. 119., 4. 201., 6. 2., 6. 69., 8. 93., 8. 107., 9. 77., 3. 23. (α)].

B (2) [Xen. Hell. 2. 1. 1. (β), Cyr. 6. 1. 31. (γ), Ages. 11 § 4. (α), Herod. 1. 78.]

Total A=2. B=1.

ἐπίσταμαι.

A (1) [Herod. 3. 1., 3. 146., 7. 161., 8. 141.]

A (2) [Herod. 9. 66.]

B (1) [Herod. 7. 18. Lys. v. (12). 9. 61. (δ).]

B (2) Thuc. 7. 44. 3. [Xen. Oec. 15 § 2. (α)].

Total A=0. B=1.

διδάσκειν,

A (1) None.

A (2) Xen. Cyr. 3. 3. 12.

B (1) Xen. Cyr. 1. 6. 31. [Xen. An. 3. 3. 4. (γ).]

B (2) [Xen. De Re Equest. 8 § 13 (δ)].

Total A=1. B=1.

-σκοπεῖν.

A (1) [Herod. 1. 30].

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A (2) Xen. Hell. 5. 2. 8. ἐπι-. Oec. 9 § 11. ἐπι-.

B (1) and (2) None.

Total A=2. B=0.

-φαίνειν.

A (1) None.

A (2) Xen. Hell. 3. 5. 10.

B (1) [H. 1. 210. προ-, 5. 84. ἀπο-]. B (2) None.

Total A=1. B=0.

φανερὸν ποιεῖν.

A (1) Lys. 11 (22). 3. 24. πᾶσι φανερὸν ἐποίησα ὅτι οὐχ ὑπὲρ τούτων ἔλεγον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νόμοις.. ἐβοήθουν.

A (2) None. B (1) and (2) None.

Total A=1. B=0.

σαφηνίζειν.

A (1) Xen. Hell. 7. 5. 21. σαφηνίζειν ἐδόκει ὅτι εἰς μάχην παρεσκευάζετο. A (2) B (1) and (2) None.

Total A=1. B=0.

σημαίνειν.

A (1) None. A (2) Xen. Cyr. 8. 7. 3.

B (1) None. B (2) [Herod. 4. 79., 8. 138.]

Total A=1. B=0.

μηνύειν.

A (1) None. A (2) Andok. de Myst. 15.

Total A=1. B=0.

ἀποβλέπειν.

A (1) None. A (2) Xen. Cyr. 7. 1. 3. B (1) and (2) None.

Total A=1. B=0.

ἀφανίζειν.

A (1) Xen. Hell. 3. 3. 9. (quoted B. (3)).

Total A=1. B=0.

ἀπειρος εἶναι.

A (1). Thuc. 6. 1. 1. (quoted B (4)).

Total A=1. B=0.

ἐπιτηρεῖν.

A (1) None. A (2) Xen. Hell. 2. 2. 16.

[Instance with τί Demos. 434. 1. τί ἐψήφισται, τοῦτ' ἐπετήρουν quoted G². where ἐπετήρουν practically = ἡρώτων].

B (1) and (2) None.

Total A=1. B=0.

A A

Thus we get this final result in Attic Prose

Imperfects and Pluperfects.

A=94. consisting of 49 cases after ὄτι etc., and 45 after Relatives.

Optatives and Graphic.

B=87. consisting of 66 cases after ὄτι etc., 21 after Relatives.

NOTE.—As I have ignored all Fut: Indicatives or Optatives, it would be fairer to omit the nine cases with ἐμελλε. This will change the figures to:—

A=85. consisting of 45 cases after ὄτι etc., and 40. after Relatives.

B=87. consisting of 66 cases after ὄτι etc., and 21 after Relatives.

The conclusion of the whole matter seems to be as follows:—in any clause of Reported Statement, Dependent Question, etc., a Future Indicative or Future Optative may stand: but an Objective Imperfect or Pluperfect occurs (1) regularly when the principal clause is (a) non-personal, or, what is equivalent to non-personal; (b) negatived or quasi-negatived: (2) in about 50 per cent. cases after verbs of perceiving, knowing etc., and then (c) a plain relative is preferred, and (d) a direct interrogative is never used.

H. DARNLEY NAYLOR.

ORMOND COLLEGE.

MELBOURNE UNIVERSITY.

LUCRETIANA.

III. 992 sqq.

Sed Tityos nobis hic est in amore iacentem
quem uolucres lacerant atque exest anxius
angor
aut alia quauis scindunt cuppedine curae.

I print the MS. text even in the last line, though Bruno's emendation adopted by Brieger is very plausible.

993 could hardly have been defended so long, but for the presence of a phantom interpretation by which the mind of the commentator has been unconsciously confused. Lucretius might have said: The man *whom the birds devour* is with us: he is the man 'quem exest anxius angor, &c.' But he has not said this, for 'uolucres lacerant' belongs to the description of the unfortunate victim of whom Tityos is said to be the allegory; nor would he have said it when he had just devoted eight lines to what the birds had been doing to Tityos. The addition 'quem uolucres lacerant,' correct though wholly superfluous as a description of the Giant, is absurd (as Brieger has seen) when transferred to the lover whom the Giant typifies. A mere inspection of the context shows that Lucretius throughout keeps allegory and interpretation sharply distinct. In the myth of Tantalus there is an overhanging stone: in real life there is fear of heaven's wrath and calamity. In that of Sisypheus there is a rolling stone: in real life a fruitless pursuit of office. In that of the Danaids a leaky jar: in real life unsatisfied desire. Giussani indeed finds the use of *uolucres*

'only a little bolder' than the double sense of *casum* in the application of the myth of Tantalus and that of *iacentem*—'Acherunte iacentem' (984), 'in amore iacentem'—but he forgets that these double meanings help the reader to understand the correspondence between the myth and the reality, performing in fact the same function as *lacerant exest* and *scindunt*, instead of mocking him by saying, 'In reality the prey of the birds is the lover whom the birds prey on.' Munro's examples for the use of *atque* in the sense of *id est* do not of course touch this objection. Brieger would make *uolucres* an adjective, supposing a lacuna such as <curae summeque sequeas | et dolor usque recens>. The supplement is criticised by Giussani, and not without justice. The fact is, the expression is already as full as it need, I had almost said as it can be. It might be thought that *iacentem* is corrupt and should be replaced by a noun in agreement with *uolucres*. It is however difficult to think of an appropriate one, as *curae* is out of the question: and *iacentem*, though of course it might have come from 982, is in itself unobjectionable. Compare *iacere* in a similar connexion Prop. 1. 6. 25, Tib. 2. 5. 109.

It accordingly seems more likely that *uolucres* has intruded from the same line and has taken the place of a word which expressed some torment of love. *Stimuli* satisfies the conditions, and the piercing pricks of love were not likely to be omitted from a recital of its woes.

V. 1009 *sqq.*

illi inprudentes ipsi sibi saepe uenenum
uergebant: nunc dant sollertius ipsi.

The MSS. have *nudant*: but that *nunc dant* is certain, there is general agreement. It however stops there. Lucretius' theme is that in early times the loss of human life was not greater but rather less than now, as the increase of knowledge has been turned to ill account. The destruction of life was formerly accidental: now it is wilful and criminal. Deaths were caused once by taking poison accidentally: the mortality now is due to its being administered (*dant*). Of *ipsi* (nom.) Munro wrote that it was 'quite meaningless' and most scholars since have agreed with him. As Giussani however writes that it is 'an intentional repetition of the poet, a repetition full of irony,' it may be just as well to say that it is necessary to prove that in sentences of the type 'quondam ipsi sibi uenenum uergebant, nunc aliis (Giussani's text) dant' a second *ipsi* is Latin before accusing it of irony. The simplest alteration is *ipsis* (Bergk, Polle, Purmann). But neither *Marsis* or *Colchis* nor *patribus* is satisfactory; the first two because they make the allusion needlessly remote and artificial, the third because it leaves *sollertius* without its ablative. I should much prefer *medicis*, which agrees very well with *dant*, almost a technical term of physic, as we may see from turning the pages of Celsus. It seems better to place the word before *nunc dant*. Considerations of haplography have been no help in the present passage; and simple omissions of

words are found elsewhere in the text of Lucretius, as IV. 526, V. 736, 776, VI. 112.

VI. 82 *sqq.*

quamquam sunt a me multa profecta,
multa tamen restant et sunt ornanda politis
uersibus est ratio caeli <species>que
tenenda,
sunt tempestates et fulmina clara canenda
qui faciant et qua de causa cumque ferantur.

In line 83 I print Munro's supplement as the best hitherto proposed: Brieger's criticism upon it seems mistaken: on the other hand Brieger is right in objecting to *tenenda*. As I have said before, Lucretius is speaking throughout this passage of exposition only: 'sunt a me multa profecta, ornanda politis uersibus, canenda': and *tenenda* = *intellegenda* introduces a reference to his own or his reader's thoughts wholly out of place. I propose *notanda* with which the idea of *uersibus* is carried on. Lucretius uses the word rather frequently in the later part of his poem, e.g. V. 1058 'pro uario sensu uaria res uoce notauit'; ib. 1090, 584, 612. It is worth noting that *ornata* and *notare* occur in the same context at V. 695, 'omnia dispositis signis ornata notarunt.' In the last line I print *qui faciant* for the MS. *quid faciant* (Bockemüller *qui fiant*), a change which was briefly defended in the Cambridge University Reporter of Dec. 15, 1896, where I also made the following suggestions: II. 1169 'mores saeculumque fatigat,' V. 387 *exalto* for 'ex alto.'

J. P. POSTGATE.

A SUPPLEMENT TO THE APPARATUS CRITICUS OF MARTIAL.

I.

It was Schneidewin who first divided the extant MSS. of Martial into three families, (A) the family of Excerpt MSS. (*H R T'*), (B) the family of MSS. derived from the recension of Torquatus Gennadius (*P Q*), (C) the 'Vulgate' family, to which most of our MSS. belong (*EXABVCG*, etc.); and Friedlaender has shown that these three families represent in the main three distinct recensions or editions of the text of Martial, possibly in some cases the earlier and later forms in which the poet himself published

his epigrams. The first requisite therefore for an apparatus criticus of Martial is the presentation of the readings of each of these three rival versions, wherever they differ from each other.

But the student will look in vain to Schneidewin's edition for this information. Schneidewin did not know that *T'* was a copy of *H* and consequently undeserving of notice where *H* was available; he omits all mention of *R*, save in the Appendix at the end of his second volume. In respect of the second family of MSS. he was even worse provided. He wrongly identified the lost

'Palatinus' (*Pal.*) of Gruter with *P*, and he had no collation of *P* for Books I–IV. This, too, is relegated to the Appendix. Of *Q* he knew only isolated readings. The true character of *F*, whose text combines readings of the second and third families, he had not detected. Of the third family the oldest and best MS. is *E*; but of *E* there is scarcely a mention in Schneidewin's critical apparatus, though we have copious information about the thousand and one corruptions and alterations of the text of this family which appear in Renaissance copies.

Friedlaender, in accordance with the plan of his edition, has supplied an apparatus criticus only for a select number of passages; and Gilbert's small Teubner edition is no more generous. It may therefore be of service to students of Martial if I put together some readings of important MSS. which will help to determine the version exhibited in this or that recension of the text. For the sake of saving space, I give only the necessary supplements or corrections of Schneidewin's and Friedlaender's apparatus, and instead of saying in so many words 'This reading enables us to determine that so-and-so was the text of this or that recension,' I leave the student to make the inference for himself.

A word of explanation is necessary in regard to the two extant MSS. of the second family, the family exhibiting the recension made by Torquatus Gennadius c. 400 A.D. Both belong to the fifteenth century:—

P, in the Vatican Library,

Q, in the British Museum.

P is the more trustworthy of the two; for *Q* often exhibits the reading of *P* in a 'doctored' form (e.g. I. xx. 3). In quoting the readings of *Q*, I ignore all corrections made in light grey ink (*Q*²), as well as the occasional variants supplied by the writer of the marginal commentary (*Q*³). The light-ink corrections have not been taken from the original of *Q*, and the mere mention of them (e.g. *captas* I. iii. 7) would be misleading, for it would suggest this as their source. The *Q*³-variants have, of course, still less claim to mention; and I pass over in silence the fact of epigrams omitted by the scribe (*Q*) being added by a later hand (from a different original) in the margin. I notice only the corrections made by the scribe himself, and a few that cannot be definitely referred to *Q*² or *Q*³, and therefore may conceivably have come from the original of *Q*. Since both *P* and *Q* are

fifteenth century MSS., the suspicion that they may contain some mere 'Renaissance readings' is natural. I do not think however that it can be justified. The comparison of their variants seems always to take us to the version presented by their common original, a version of the Gennadian text which has perhaps been corrupted by clerical error, but which bears no trace of a Renaissance editor. Thus in II. xi. 9, where the true reading is *decoxit*, a comparison of *P*'s *detorsit* with *Q*'s *detexit* leads us to *detoxit* as the reading of their common original, a mis-writing of *decoxit*, with the familiar substitution of *t* for *c*.¹

Where the *PQ*-reading appears in other fifteenth century MSS., and in early printed editions, the explanation, I fancy, is that a text or texts of the Gennadian recension had found its way into the hands of the scholars who prepared these MSS. or editions (e.g. *rides* III. xiv. 1). *Q* lays itself more open than *P* to suspicion, for it contains, in addition to the fourteen books of Epigrams, the 'Liber Spectaculorum,' a work omitted in the Gennadian text (as is shewn by the combined testimony of *Pal.* and *P*), and taken by the scribe of *Q* from some 'Itala recensio.' But in respect to the text of the fourteen books, *Q* is perhaps as free of Renaissance editors as *P*, except that I xli. vv. 4–20, omitted in *Pal.* and *P*, seem to have been taken from some inferior MS. (probably also I. xlii.).

I. Epist. 7 locorum *Q*, 11 latina eloqui *Q*; i–ii. *om.* *Q*; iii. 2 nocent *Q*; v. 1 naumachias *Q*; viii. 2 salvus *Q*, 5 facili virum *E*; x. 4 appetitur *Q*; xii. 10 parta *QF*; xiii. 4 tu quod *Q*; xiv. 2 hos *Q*; xv. 1 sodalis *EX*; xvi. 2 sit *E*; xx. 3 tanto ventrique guleque (*om.* tibi) *Q*; xxi. 5 igne *E*, 7 decepta *E*; xxvii. 2 Qui nunc est *EX*, paratos *Q* 3. 7 procelle *Q* (*et in lemm.* AD PROCELLUM *Q*; AD PROCILLUM *E*), 4 foedam (fae. ?) *Q*; xxix. 4 haec *Q*; xxxiv. 5 testes *Q*; xxxv. 1 ne *E*, 2 Ne quos *E*; xxxvi. 5 siqui *Q*; xxxix. 3 madius *E*; xli 18 nasu *E*; xliii.–xlvi. *om.* *Q*; xlviii. 6 caveae *QF*; xlix. 5 catum *E*, 11 breve *QF*, 21 repetens *Q*, 28 cinctus *QF*, 41 vitae *Q*, 42 Quem (*e ex corr.*) *Q*; li. 3 terris *QF*; lii. 2 si tamen dicere *Q*; liii. 4 interposito—uncto *Q*; liv. 2 hic tibi *E*; lv. 3 peccet *Q*, 6 avem *E*, 11 vilia *Q*, 14 urbanus *E*; lviii. 3 dolet hoc mea mentula mecum *Q*; lix. 1 balana *QF*, 3 luci *E*; lx. 5 dom. nem. *Q*; lxi. 1 mamat *Q ut vid.*, 3 aponi *F*: apponi *Q*; lxii. 6 veniet *E*; lxiv. 3 dum

¹ The Renaissance MSS. have *decoxit*, exhibiting, as usual, the reading of the third family of MSS.

Q; lxv. 1 *ficus Q*, 4 *ficus Q*; lxvi. 4 *numis* (mm?) *sophos Q*, 5 *querere Q*, 7 *partae E*, 10 *punicata Q*; lxvii. 2 *es E*: *est Q*; lxix. *om. Q*, 1 *maxima F*; lxx. 10 *chorybate tholus E*, 15 *amat Q*, 17 *Si E*; lxxi. 2 *lycis F*, *licis Q*, 3 *effuso QF*; lxxvi. 9 *deorum E*, 10 *semper inane Q*, 13 *at c. et p. Q*; lxxviii. 7 *Sancta romanam Q*, *Sancta romana F*, 8 *rogo Q*, *vita E*; lxxxiii. 1 *manneia E* (*in lemm. DE MANNEIA EA*); lxxxvi. 7 *iliacam Q*: *miliacam E*, 12 *ut inq. QF*; lxxxviii. 3 *Spice Q*, *marmore*

saxa Q, 9 *pervenerit QF*; xc. 3 *Omnis et QF*; xciii. 1 *amicus Q*, 6 *raros Q*; xevi. 1 *Si non est mol. tu (ut vid.) quod Q*, 2 *mamaterno Q*; ciii. 3-12 *om. Q*; civ. 8 *in sontes QF*, 11 *Qui E*, 20 *venerit Q*; cvi. 3 *Dilutibilis EA*; cviii. 9 *te serius F*: *vel serius Q*; cix. 8 *nisa ut vid. Q*; cxi. 3 *quid Q*; cxiii. 1 *quond. pu. Q*, 5 *lopilio Q*: cxiv. 5 *Et stigas sed dum fueras Q*; cxv. 1 *invidere Q*, 2 *Toto Q*; cxvi. 1 *cinerem Q*, 15 *a. nido nomen QF*; cxviii. 2 *deciliane QF*.

W. M. LINDSAY.

ROMAN INDIFFERENCE TO PROVINCIAL AFFAIRS.

IN our present-day discussions of colonial affairs, one frequently hears the statement made by keen observers that the most serious obstacle which the development of a just and intelligent colonial system finds in its way is the absolute lack of real interest in their own colonies shown by the vast majority of citizens of the home country. There seems to me to be a great deal of truth in this view of the case, but it is quite outside my purpose to discuss it here. It occurred to me, however, that it might be worth finding out how much interest the Romans under the Republic felt in the news which came to them from day to day from their provinces. The Gallic campaigns of Caesar and the contemporaneous letters of Cicero seemed to offer a fairly satisfactory basis for an investigation of the point in question, and, although the result is largely negative, it may not be of less value on that account. Caesar's stay in Gaul extended from March, 58 to January, 49 B.C., and about 250 of Cicero's letters written during this period are extant. Within these nine years occurred the campaigns against the Helvetii, against Ariovistus, the Belgae, the Veneti, the expeditions to Britain, and the uprising under Vercingetorix. On a priori grounds one would feel sure that the picturesqueness of the movement of 350,000 Helvetii in search of a new country, the novelty of the island campaign against the Veneti, and the audacious invasion of the Ultima Thule of the world would appeal strongly to the Roman imagination. At all events, one would expect that the opening up of Germany by the defeat of Ariovistus, and the dramatic death struggle of the Gauls under Vercingetorix, would open the eyes of the Romans to the tremendous significance of the movement in the north, and that

these events with their future meaning for western Europe and for Rome itself would occupy a large place in the thoughts of serious minded men. But, if we can base an opinion on the Correspondence of Cicero during this period, this was not the case, if we except some show of interest in the effect which events in the north might have on the political fortunes of Caesar and the democratic party. Doubtless, the stories of valiant deeds and perilous adventures (fam. 8. 1. 4) served to while away the time of the 'subrostrani' of the forum, and to make a dinner party successful on the Palatine, but the whole matter was not of significance enough to find an important place in the letters of Cicero, which are so full of references to great and small questions of domestic politics.

If we except references to the political question involved in Caesar's retention of his proconsular office, of the 250 letters mentioned, less than a dozen contain any real mention of matters in Gaul, Germany, or Britain. These are, in their chronological order: fam. 7. 7. 1; Att. 4. 17. 6; Q. fr. 2. 15. 4-5; 3. 1. 10; Att. 4. 18. 5; fam. 7. 10; 7. 13. 1-2; Att. 5. 2. 3; Caelius fam. 8. 1. 2 and 4; Att. 5. 11. 2. A glance at these passages shows one that the interest in almost every case is a purely personal one, conditioned on the fact that Cicero's brother Quintus and his protégé Trebatius were serving under Caesar. So, for instance, the failure to find gold and silver in Britain (fam. 7. 7. 1; Att. 4. 17. 6) is a matter of interest simply because it will lessen his friend's chance to get rich.

It may be urged that Cicero does not fairly represent his contemporaries in the matter under consideration. That may be the case. It is true that he twice declined

a provincial government, and that he wrote (fam. 2. 12. 2) to his friend Caelius from Cilicia, *omnis peregrinatio...obscura et sordida est*, but, since he was a man of wide interests, and of great political foresight, and showed a stricter sense of justice toward provincials themselves in his own government of a province, than Roman governors ordinarily showed, he would certainly seem to represent his countrymen fairly in this matter. The indifference which Cicero shows towards provincial affairs is quite in harmony with the attitude of those who secured provincial legislation before his day. Of the two men in previous generations who did most to improve the condition of the provinces, C. Gracchus and Sulla, Gracchus was inspired solely by a partisan motive,

while Sulla's primary purpose was to increase the receipts from taxes and systematise their payment. To the cultivated Roman of the day Gaul, Germany, Asia, or Africa had no importance in and for themselves. They gained their significance only through the influence they might exert on the fortunes of political parties or individuals, or through their value in filling the purse of the state or the governor. As for the attitude of the average citizen toward the provinces, his primary motive was a desire for trade, overpowered now and then by a thirst for revenge, when Roman arms had been defeated or Roman dignity offended.

F. F. ABBOTT.

University of Chicago.

ON CICERO, *CATO MAIOR*, § 28.

MR. CHARLES KNAPP'S contribution, in the May issue of the *Classical Review*, on this passage was as welcome as it was unexpected. While fully alive to the qualifying force of the *omnino* clause, I must admit that the restricted and literal application of *languescat* had escaped me. Mr. Knapp has successfully shewn that *languescat*, as used in this passage, is compatible with the retention of *splendescit*. There remains, however, a second difficulty—one which presented itself on my first examination of the passage but which, unfortunately, I omitted to specify in my query. Is the retention of *splendescit* compatible with actual fact? As the text stands, Cato maintains that the characteristic (*illud*) full clear ring or resonance of tone actually (*etiam*) acquires increased brilliancy in old age. This is not true in regard to 'old age' as we understand the term. It was not so in the case, for instance, of Mr. Bright or of Mr. Gladstone. Is it perhaps true in the Roman conception of the term? According to Varro (*apud* Censorinum) 'senex' was applied to those between the ages of 40 and 60. But that a man of, say, 45 was 'senex' only in name and not in nature, as the Romans themselves understood it, is I think perfectly clear. When Horace (*Sat.* 2, l. vv. 33, 34) speaks of Lucilius as '*senis*' it has

been understood that the use of the word was in this case complimentary (Gesner's edition (1826) on this passage: 'Lucilius saeculo *senex* erat, non aetate: neque enim supergressus est quadragesimum sextum aetatis annum.') Livy, 29, 3 says of Hannibal, then under 50, 'et fama senescere et viribus.' According to the philosophers, 35 or 40–50 constituted the *aetas virilis*; 50–65, *senectus prima*: and, 65—death, *senectus ultima*. Then again, the parenthetical clause *quod equidem . . . annos*, in which Cato refers to his own age (84) at the time of the supposed dialogue, is directly confirmative of the *omnino* clause and would therefore seem opposed to any exception in favour of a young old age. The whole tenor of the dialogue and the express purpose with which it was written (§ 2) lead us to conclude that *senectus* embraces a period commencing not earlier than the 60th year of a man's life. In view of this conception of 'old age' I still find, even after Mr. Knapp's careful commentary, that the passage is unsatisfactory owing to the retention of the one word *splendescit*.

Cicero, *Cato Maior*, § 1. What authority, if any, is there for the general explanation of 'ille vir' as a reference to the poet Ennius?

PAUL O. BARENDT.

ON A PONTE, JUV. IV. 117.

In the discussion regarding 'The "Bridge" at Aricia' in the *Classical Review* for Feb. 1900, the construction of a ponte, while it has no particular bearing on the point at issue, is one of considerable interest. Mr. Owen seems to be in error in saying that 'the analogies produced by Mayor, a manu, a theatro, etc. are misleading, for these phrases all denote an office or dignity.' This may be true of a manu, which Mayor does not appear to cite, but it certainly is not true of a theatro, nor of a goodly number of other expressions of the same sort. Thus we read *C.I.L.* vi. 9868 'sagarius a theatro Marcelli; *id.* 5845 'Anicetus a Iano medio'; *id.* 9180 'argentarius a foro Esquil(ino); *id.* 9189 'coactor a portu vinario.' In all of these passages, and in numerous others, a with the abl. refers to the stand or business location of the persons mentioned.

This use of *ab* with substantives arises from the ellipsis of a verb, and the relation of the phrase with *ab* to the word which it limits is often equivalent to that of a genitive or of an adjective. It belongs to all periods. Thus we read in Plaut. *Bacch.* 196 'ab illo nuntius,' *i.e.* nuntius ab illo missus, or nuntius illius; Mil. 160 'quemque a milite videritis hominem'; Liv. i. 50 'Turnus ab Aricia,' *i.e.* Turnus Aricinus; Varr. *R. R.* 2. 2. 1 pastores a Pergamide, etc., etc. Sometimes the relation of the phrase with *ab* is that of a partitive genitive: *e.g.* Manil. 1. 589 'superest unus ab his'; Cypr. *Test.* 2. 1 'maledictus ab omni pecore,' where the Vulgate (Genesis 3. 14) has inter omnia animantia. The construction appears to occur in Caes. 2. 25 'scuto ab novissimis uni militi detracto,' where it seems difficult to separate ab novissimis from uni.

The *officia servorum* and titles of honour, with the exception of Pollucem servum a pedibus meum Romam misi, Cic. *ad Att.* 8. 5. 1, do not appear before Seneca, *Apoc.* 15. 8. See *Archiv f. lat. Lex. u. Gramm.* x.

pp. 496 f., where I have given a list of all the cases occurring in the literature. Add Ambr. *de Ioseph* 35 Aman quoque a cubiculo regis et ipse praepositus, and cf. *C.I.L.* vi. 8734-35 'praepositus ab auro gemmato,' and Suet. *Tib.* 42 'novum officium instituit a voluptatibus, praeposito equite R.'

There seems to be no syntactical objection to taking a ponte in the sense of 'hailing from a (the) bridge,' or 'of the bridge.' See the examples quoted in *Archiv* x. 498 f., which are only selected instances of a construction of considerable frequency. That Juvenal uses 'de ponte' in that sense in xiv. 134 is of little importance, unless we are to assume that a writer always expressed the same idea in exactly the same language. In this connection it is interesting to compare with the passage from Ambr., which is cited above, 'Doec praepositus erat...regis animalium,' in the same chapter of the same work.

Mr. Haverfield rightly distinguishes the two forms of expression, and makes the interesting suggestion that a ponte may be taken in the same sense as (servus) a rationibus, a libellis, etc. I cannot make this seem a natural interpretation, in spite of the very great variety of such formulas which occur in the literature and in inscriptions; see *Archiv* x. 481 ff. If we do take it in that sense, the expression becomes one of peculiar interest, for it seems to be the only instance of such a formula in poetry, and the only case in which such an expression is used in jest, or in any but the most literal and prosaic way. To my mind both the sense of the passage and the word order demand that a ponte be taken with satelles, either in the sense of '(hailing) from a bridge,' or 'from the bridge,' using 'the' in a general sense; or possibly as a satirical title of honour. If the latter interpretation is preferred, we have another and a most striking example of Juvenal's peculiar and daring humor.

JOHN C. ROLFE.

ON THE INTERWEAVING OF WORDS WITH PAIRS OF PARALLEL PHRASES.

THERE are few stumbling blocks which cost the English schoolboy more bruises in his pursuit of knowledge, than the artistic elaborations of the order of words

possible to writers in an inflected language, but almost foreign to our own idiom. One of the commonest of these I have found so fruitful of mistakes as to

have earned something like a right to a name of its own, and as far as I know, the motive for the departure from the natural, logical order, has not yet been pointed out, though many, if not all of the passages I have noted have attracted the attention of commentators.

This particular derangement arises when any one part of a sentence happens to consist of two words or phrases connected by a coordinating conjunction, or, what is the same thing, by the repetition of an emphatic word at the beginning of each. Now this amplification of one part of the sentence, be it Subject, Object, Verb or Adverb, tends to destroy the proper rhythm; this element of the statement acquires disproportionate weight in sound: the weight of emphasis runs, so to speak, into one corner. To redress this, the other parts of the sentence are artificially distributed between the members of the coordinate phrase, so that, to speak algebraically, if x and y are the halves of the phrase and the rest of the sentence be represented by $c+d$, we have $x+y \cdot c+d$ written $xc+yd$. This may perhaps be called 'Interweaving,' an 'in and out' arrangement. Most of the examples I have noted are so transparent that in themselves they are hardly worth the attention of the readers of this Review, but one or two of them have caused real distress of mind even to distinguished editors. As might be expected, the use is commonest in Oratory and Poetry, where the requirements of rhythm are more severe.

It is at least ten years since I began to note examples, and I have not thought it worth while to collect all those I have noted. But it has become clear to me recently that the point may often have a bearing on textual questions (see the passages from Livy below), and it therefore seems desirable, slight as the matter is, to call attention to the principle of rhythm involved in it.

In the examples which follow, the parts of the phrase which is split up to secure the balance of sound are printed in italics.

FROM VERGIL.

Aen. ii. 69 :

'heu, quae *nunc* tellus, inquit, quae *me*
aequora possunt
accipere?'

Aen. vii. 419 :

fit Calybe Junonis *anus* templique *sacerdos*

Aen. viii. 52 :

qui regem Euandrum *comites*, qui signa
secuti...

Aen. viii. 289 :

monstra *manu* geminosque *premens* eliserit
anguis...

Aen. viii. 294 :

...tu nubigenas, inuicte, bimem-
bris,
Hylaeumque Pholumque, *manu*, tu Cresia
mactas
prodigia.

Aen. ix. 9 :

sceptra *Palatini* sedemque petit *Euandri*.

Aen. ix. 12 :

nunc *tempus* equos, nunc *poscere* currus.

Aen. x. 392 :

(proles) indiscreta *suis* gratusque *parentibus*
error.

Aen. xi. 567 :

non *illum* tectis *ullae*, non moenibus *urbes*
accepere.

FROM HORACE.

Odes 2. 8. 3 :

dente si nigro *fieres* uel uno
turpior ungui.

Odes 2. 15. 19 :

oppida publico
sumptu *iubentes* et deorum
templa nouo *decorare* saxo.

Here it seems further probable that *publico sumptu* and *nouo saxo* are also rhythmically distributed and that both belong equally to both *oppida* and *templa*.

Odes 3. 4. 19 :

ut *premerer* sacra
lauroque *collataque* myrto.

FROM OVID.

Heroid. 12. 26 :

hoc illic Medea fui noua nupta quod hic est
quam *pater* est illi tam mihi *diues* erat.
A characteristically violent use of the
device by a chartered libertine in Grammar.

FROM CICERO.

De Fin. iii. § 15 ad fin. :

Quamquam haec quidem praeposita *recte*
et reiecta *dicere* licebit.

De Fin. iii. § 26 :

Congruenter *naturae* conuenienterque *ui-*
uere.

Pro Rosc. Amerino § 30 :

Testes *in hunc* et accusatores *huiusce*
pecunia comparant.

Ad Fam. v. 8. 5 :

ut intelligeres *nil* neque te scripsisse
neque quemquam tuorum *frustra* ad me
detulisse.

FROM LIVY.

ii. 15. 3 :

The bulk of MSS. give *hostibus potius quam portas regibus patefacere*, which I am inclined to think a corruption, due to the attraction of *quam* to *potius* for the reading of a corrector of the Parisiensis *potius portas quam regibus patefacere*, where *portas* and *patefacere* give a balance of sound.

ii. 41. 6 :

quid ita enim adsumi socios et nomen Latinum, *quid attinuisse* Hernicis, paulo ante *hostibus*, *capti agri partem tertiam reddi*, nisi ut *eae gentes* pro Coriolano duce Cassium habeant? Here *eae gentes* shows, despite the editors, that the clauses must not be separated, i.e. that *adsumi* is governed by *attinuisse* as much as is *reddi*.

ii. 55. 8 :

nihil cuiquam sanctum, non publici fore, non priuati iuris.

vi. 42. 10 :

prope secessionem plebis res terribilesque alias minas ciuiliū certaminū uenit.

xxi. 36. 7 :

seu manibus in adsurgendo seu genu se adiuiuissent.

xxi. 49. 11 :

demendis armamentis eo tempore aptandaque ad pugnam classe absumpto.

I may add one or two Greek examples.

FROM ARISTOPHANES.

Acharn. 717 :

κάξελαύνειν χρὴ τὸ λοιπὸν, καὶ ν. φύγη
τις ζημιῶν,
τὸν γέροντα τῷ γέροντι, τὸν νέον δὲ τῷ νέῳ,

i.e. in prose order: τὸ λοιπὸν, ἂν φύγη τις ('is prosecuted'), χρὴ καὶ ἐξελαύνειν καὶ ζημιῶν τὸν γ. τῷ γ., τὸν ν. δὲ τῷ ν. This removes all the difficulties due to the old connexion of ἂν φύγη only with ζημιῶν.

FROM THUCYDIDES.

iii. 10 :

τοὺς λόγους ποιησόμεθα, εἰδότες οὔτε φιλίαν ἰδιώταις βέβαιον γιγνομένην οὔτε κοινωνίαν πόλεσιν ἐς οὐδέν, εἰ μὴ μετὰ...

iii. 12 :

δεῖτε τε τὸ πλεον ἢ φιλία κατεχόμενοι ἐνύμχοι ἡμεν.

iv. 17 ad fin.

ὁ τῇ τε ὑμετέρᾳ πόλει δι' ἐμπειρίαν καὶ ἡμῖν μάλιστ' ἂν ἐκ τοῦ εἰκότος προσείη.

Every reader of Thucydides will recognise that examples from the Speeches in his History could be multiplied with great ease.

R. S. CONWAY.

CARDIFF, July 1900.

P.S.—Besides the fairly simple type of examples just considered, I have noted one or two others which involve an additional difficulty, and are likely to give rise to some difference of opinion. The same principle seems to me to underlie them, but they are certainly on a different level, and until their number is increased, it is best to separate them from the examples where there seems no room for doubt.

The peculiarity of these passages seems to be that the writer takes advantage of the Interweaving to make an *et* or *-que* do double duty, standing as the solitary link between the halves of each of two pairs of words. I have only three passages to cite, and I feel a doubt as to the third.

Lucr. 5. 375.

Sed patet IMMANI et UASTO respectat hiatu
must, I think, stand for

Sed patet et respectat immani et uasto hiatu.

Verg. *Aen.* 8. 694.

Stuppea flamma MANU TELISQUE uolatile
ferrum
Spargitur.

This passage has given much trouble; see Henry, *Aeneidea*, ad loc. Burning tow is so light and so inflammable that it cannot be thrown any distance at all 'by hand.' The required sense, namely that burning tow is tied to the darts and that this compound missile is then hurled at the enemy 'by hand' (i.e. with all the force that a hand can give it), seems to me to be extracted most easily by reading the line as a rather bold synecopation of

Stuppea flamma ferrumque uolatile manu
telisque spargitur,

the pairs of phrases being 'interwoven' as closely as the darts and the tow, and suggesting in what, I think, is a not un-Vergilian manner, the confused intermingling (to the eye of an onlooker) of the gleaming points of spears and darts with the surging yellow flames of tow.

Propert. 3. 4. 17.

Tela fugacis EQUI et BRACATI MILITIS arcus is taken by Rothstein as standing for *tela et arcus fugacis equi et bracati militis*, and if

this is right it is parallel to the two lines just quoted. But the friend to whose kindness I owe this example, urges that *arcus* is in Apposition to *tela*, comparing Ovid's line *altera tela arcus, altera tela faces*. This seems to my ear to involve a rather harsh

and prosaic pause after *militis*, followed by a word conveying a bald (and surely superfluous) explanation of the rest of the line. But more things are possible in Propertius than in Vergil, and I am not at all inclined to dogmatise about the passage.

REVIEWS.

LEAF'S *ILIAD* (ED. II.).

The Iliad. Edited with Apparatus Criticus, Prolegomena, Notes, and Appendices by WALTER LEAF, Litt.D. Vol. I. Books I.-XII. Second Edition, 1900. 18s.

THE writer of this book is more than justified in saying that 'it has grown into almost a new work.' It is, as it stands, the most helpful and complete handbook to the first twelve books of the *Iliad* that exists, and no one however abreast of Homeric criticism can but read its vigorous and original annotations with profit. The quality which strikes one as most characteristic of the book is the generosity with which Dr. Leaf tells us all he knows, and the versatility which leads him to take an equal interest in text, metre, language, archaeology, and history. A reviewer can hardly be expected to be so all-round: but I may note as typical of the book that four appendices are peculiar to this second edition, of which one deals with the pronouns *ὅς*, *ἐός*, another with the epic lengthening of short vowels, a third with armour, while the fourth provides the Homeric house with a new ground-plan.

The most striking point, however, in which this edition differs from the former is in the matter of text and textual criticism. It is the first English edition since Joshua Barnes which offers an original and adequate apparatus criticus, and an apparatus which as the editor most truly states is more valuable and authentic than that of La Roche. Two sources contribute to it. Dr. Leaf has been the first to display the new papyri in an apparatus: he is to be congratulated on having tapped these fresh springs. La Roche exhibited readings of the Ambrosian fragments, the Cureton palimpsest, the Bankes and the Harris books: Dr. Leaf presents eighteen papyri or uncials. The papyrus of E in the Oxyrynchus Papyri II is given on a fly-leaf, and Mr. Goodspeed's fragment of Θ is crowded out. However,

no edition is likely to be final in this respect for years to come, if the semi-official account be true of the vast store of Homeric material housed not far from where these lines are written. Dr. Leaf's second addition of MSS. is more original, the product of his own energy. It is well-known that he laid down a canon of discrimination between MSS. and published some brief results of its application, in two papers in the *Journal of Philology*, xviii. p. 181, xx. p. 237, which have been called 'epochemachend' by such an even-minded critic as Dr. Paul Caer. In this book he has advanced along these lines, and collated four new MSS. entirely, Harley 1771, Paris grec 2766, 2767, and 1805, and 15 other London and Paris codices on a large scheme of typical passages, viz., Harley 5693, 5600, 5672, 5601, King's 16, Paris grec 2681, supplément grec 497, grec 2894, 2680, 2682; 2683, 2684, 2685, 2768, 2697; he has also recollated the Townley MS. and included the older material compiled by La Roche, and Professor Nicole's readings of his thirteenth century Geneva MS.; I am not aware of any published material which has escaped him, unless it be the scholia of the MS. in the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele at Rome, which offer some remarkable lemmata (Sittl, *Sitzungsab. d. Akad. zu München*, 1888, p. 255), the vase (*J.H.S.* 1898 p. 286) which by its reading ΑΙΑΣΙΑΙΑΔΕ[Σ] so singularly rehabilitates Zenodotus, the two lines added after A 69 according to Porphyrius ap. Eust. 51. 8, the quotation of A 265 by Dio of Prusa lvii. 1 (a little earlier than Pausanias), and the parody of B 558 (the famous addition about Salamis) by Matro 79.

The total of this material is a remarkable collection, and deserves detailed study. The prominent novelties are the new Aristarchean family, brought into notice by Dr. Leaf, and secondly, a number of sporadic variants in different MSS. which attest readings hither-

to resting only upon the scholiasts or Eustathius. Many, though not all of these γράφεται are now confirmed. Many inferences also as to the opposites of attested readings are substantiated. Dr. Leaf apologises for the brevity of his apparatus: I am inclined to pass the criticism that it is, for a professedly summary collection, unduly large. I notice too many unmeaning scribes' errors, and also, as was to be expected, several mistakes in the reports of B, C, D, and the other MSS. which are taken over from La Roche or earlier.

Dr. Leaf prefixes an interesting account of the origin of the poem and the history of the text. He states at the outset that his theory is provisional, a working hypothesis only, and it is impossible to read his preface without finding many points which invite discussion. It is hardly necessary, however, to raise general topics in a review, the more so as Dr. Leaf has left his account of the value of the scholia and the MSS.—subjects which involve many crucial questions—till the second volume. He assumes the Pisisistratean recension and the μεταχαρακτηρισμός and intends to represent in his text the ancient vulgate when it had passed into the new alphabet. With this definition of the aim of a practical editor, I find myself in agreement; whether the editor has carried out his purpose I am less sure. I am not sure if he has not introduced too many grammarians' readings into the common text, and why he has accepted some linguistic alterations without MS. evidence and not others. However, consistency is not a quality on which an advertised editor of Homer would wish to dwell, and I recognise with satisfaction the independence of Dr. Leaf in these matters, in face of Aristarchus on the one hand, and modern linguistic dogma on the other.

One or two expressions puzzle me. I do not understand the remark (p. xxiv.), 'it may be said here that readings of Aristarchos are taken as equal to those of the best MSS.; readings of Zenodotus are treated as of the second rank.' We may believe—I do so myself—that Aristarchus adhered to MSS., though the opinion involves an act of faith, but I do not know that his MSS. were 'good,' and if they were, I am sure Zenodotus' were 'good' in exactly the same sense. So far as we can see, both critics were eclectic: they diversified the κοινή with lections which struck their fancy from any quarter where they could find them; but of Aristarchus' *trouvailles*, which is in point of 'goodness' equal to *ἀας* or *ἰλιάδης* or

φῆ? I find Dr. Leaf more appreciative of Zenodotus in his notes (e.g. B 144, 435, © 470, T 152) than in his general statement, and the same holds of his treatment of quotations. In his preface (p. xxiv.), he is severe upon their inaccuracy, but in the notes (e.g. B 15, I 539) he treats them with a respect which I, a firm believer in them, find grateful.

Another statement at which I stumble is in the note on I 458 '... the editions current in the book-trade, such as the early papyri recently discovered, *which were displaced under Alexandrine criticism by corrected copies of the old Attic vulgate.*' Whatever the cause was which extinguished the eccentric editions,—both the *κατὰ πόλεις* and *κατ' ἄνδρα*, and the unidentified Ptolemaic fragments,—it is hard to see how it can have been Alexandrine criticism. What did Aristarchus, the typical Alexandrine, do? He exasperated the ordinary man by distracting his attention to dots and stars and bars and tweaks, touched up the spelling by taking out the augments and writing *τεθνηῶτας* for *τεθνεῶτας*, and refreshed the style by fancy lections such as *ἀλαὸς σκοπιῆν* and *κακελεγχέες* and *κύκλος* out of the *πολύστιχος* or the edition of Sinope:—and naturally the publishing trade preferred their mumpsimus. His edition exercised no effect, the augments remained where they were, and the Aristarchean school were left to fight among themselves over what their master had read, and what he had meant by his signs. The tendency of Aristarchus' recension, had it affected tradition, would rather have been to support and continue the eccentric editions.

In some few cases Dr. Leaf has made more general statements about readings than his materials warranted; e.g., in A 65, 93, E 808, H 342, © 377, I 414 there is MS. evidence for the reading which he thinks a conjecture. Moreover the balance is not always held between the 'majority' and 'minority' of the MSS. Dr. Leaf's symbol Ω for the majority often represents in reality the lesser number of witnesses. E 118 the evidence of the papyrus of E (Oxyr. Pap. II.) should correct the statement that the scholion is corrupt (and another so-called corrupt scholion, that which cites the reading *ὁ δὲ νυ λῖαν φίλος*—not given by Dr. Leaf on A 381—is perfectly correct: for *δὲ* compare O 478 *ὡς πάθ' ὁ δὲ τόξον*; the metre is certainly curious, but this is what the scholiast meant when he called the variant *ἀπίθανον*.) B 206, the editor would have done well to accept *βουλεύησι* with

Bergk from Dio of Prusa. The analogy of 199 is cogent, and βασιλεύη, surely too unmetrical for any age, is probably a graphical

corruption from βουλεύη. ^{σι}Θ 548 note. It is surely fallacious to formulate the statement that 'this spurious quotation is found in a spurious Platonic dialogue.' Are we to suppose that a Greek making a quotation for a purely literary purpose, cared, or knew, what edition he was using? Many difficulties follow from such a parallelism.

Conjectures in the ordinary sense hardly enter into this edition. The following changes have been made in the text, usually on slight MS. authority. H 171 πεπάλεσθε for πεπάλασθε or πεπάλαχθε, I 204 ᾗ for οἱ, I 562 αὐτῇ for αὐτῆς or αὐτῇ, I 563 οἶκτον (surely merely a clerical error in 'H') for οἶτον, K 61 τάρ for γάρ, K 183 δυσωρήσονται with the MSS. for Ἀπολλωνίου' δυσωρήσωσιν which has so long held the field. Λ 35 λευκοί for λευκοί, Λ 309 κάρηνα for καρήνθ'. On K 466 Dr. Leaf conjectures δὲ ἐλὼν for

δέελον, but he does not put it in the text. He is to be congratulated on being the first to remove the accretions Θ 548, 550-552, I 543.

I doubt if the evidence shows that B 558 was 'omitted in prae-Aristarchean times'; my view is that Aristarchus athetised it, as he athetised many lines of the κουνή, but that its omission was due to the stories about its origin which found their way into scholia and influenced readers and scribes.

In the note on the scholia on Z 4, I agree with the editor that the attempts to emend ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις into ἐν τῇ ἁ τῶν Ἀρισταρχείων and the like are superfluous, but I am not sure that we need his own ἀρχαίαις (sc. ἐκδόσεσιν): τὰ ἀρχαῖα (sc. βιβλία or ἀντίγραφα) may pass in scholiastic language for the same thing: so H 238 (in T) ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἐγγράπτο βόν. For ἀρχαῖος one may compare Γ 122 Τρύφων ἐν ἁ περὶ ἀρχαίας ἀναγνώσεως, E 83 οἱ ἀρχαῖοι κριτικοί.

T. W. ALLEN.

SIDGWICK'S TEXT OF AESCHYLUS.

Aeschyli Tragoediae cum fabularum deperditarum fragmentis poetae vita et operum catalogo. Recensuit ARTHUR SIDGWICK, litt. Graec. apud Oxon. praelector publicus Coll. Corporis Christi Socius. Oxonii e. Typ. Clarendoniano. 3s. 6d.

MR. ARTHUR SIDGWICK is well known to be a scholar of the first rank. The text of Aeschylus owes to him more than one correction, and in his versions from English poetry his happiness in catching the manner of the Greek tragic poets proves him to be equipped with that insight into the niceties of the diction of Attic poetry without which no one, be he never so learned, can be an adequate editor of an Attic poet. In so far, therefore, as he falls short of an ideal text, we must infer that there is something imperfect in his method. This we venture to think is the case. His method, or rather that of the Clarendon Press Series, which he has undertaken to carry out, is to choose the best MS. and adhere to it if possible, abandoning it only when it clearly conflicts with grammar or metre. In that case the tradition of other MSS. may be preferred, and (failing these also) the more certain (*certiora*) among conjectural restorations may be admitted (but as sparingly as

possible) into the text, if they are near enough to the diplomatic evidence. Less certain emendations (*probabilia*) may be mentioned in the notes, while the rest however ingenious (*cetera quamvis ingeniosa*) are to be omitted. It is plain that as regards the last two classes at all events there will be a large variety of opinion. Thus, in Eum. 27 Πλειστοῦ for πλείστους of the MSS. has been read by each successive editor ever since it was suggested by Turnebus about 350 years ago; while an equally certain correction of Conington's in Agam. 717, λέοντος ἵνιν for λέοντα σίνιν, though at once accepted as universally, has been rejected by an excellent scholar, Dr. Blaydes, in his edition of 1898; and, finally, an emendation of Professor Tucker's in Supplices 104, λινουσινῆ for λίνουσιν ῆ (vulg. λίνουσιν ῆ), though nearer to the MSS. than either of the other two mentioned, and (as it seems to us) as absolutely required by the sense, only attains to the honour of a mention in the note in the edition before us, while Dr. Blaydes in his *Adversaria* of 1896 does not even record it, registering only the impossible ξὺν λακίδ' ἐν λίνουσι καὶ of Burges. The fact is, the pioneers of Greek literature—Pietro Vettori, Francesco Robertello, Jean Dorat, Adrien Turnèbe,

Henri Estienne, the L'Escales—having had the privilege of reaping the first crop of easy and certain emendations, still enjoy an authority hardly less than that of the MSS., so that even almost impossible conjectures made by them hold their own against modern criticism, for instance the *βιβῶντ' ἀν' αἰὲ τὴν πλανοστιβῇ χθόνα* of Stephens in Eum. 76, which is accepted by Dr. Campbell, but justly obelised by the present editor.

From these considerations it follows that the duty of a reviewer of such a work as the present is both difficult and thankless. Having premised that the editor has, as a rule, carried out the principles of the series to which he is contributing, he has only to regret that those principles have sometimes compelled the editor to overlook what seems to the reviewer very important and to mention things of less weight; to regard with disfavour the corrections of modern scholars, while attaching undue importance to the long-received reading, even though it be due to conjecture; and to overlook objections against received readings unless those objections are founded on violations of grammar or metre. For instance, when the Eumenides are called on by Athena (Eum. 421) to declare what are their functions, they reply according to all the MSS. and editions: *βροτοκτονούντας ἐκ δόμων ἐλαύνομεν*. Now Davies pointed out that such an answer in the mouth of the Eumenides would be impossible. Would the Eumenides pursue a man who slew another in battle, against which *οὐδὲς ἐμποδὼν κείται νόμος* (Eur. Ion 384)? But Davies fully accounts for the false tradition. The poet wrote *αὐτοκτονούντας* meaning 'Slayers of Kin.' The first copyist who did not know enough Greek to recognise in that word any meaning but 'suicides,' and who saw the obvious absurdity of driving suicides from their homes, deliberately changed the word to *βροτοκτονούντας*, which has ever since usurped the place of the true reading. The suggestion of Davies has every ingredient of a palmary emendation: it shows that the received reading is wrong, and it shows how it ousted the true reading. We think it ought to have been accepted by Mr. Sidgwick on the same principle as Cobet's *διανομὰς* for *δαίμονας*, which is rightly restored in 727 of the same play. We regret to find that in obedience to the principles of the series he

does not mention Prof. Tucker's *τορόν τι* for *παρόντι* in Suppl. 245, nor Wecklein's *ἐν ἀρμῶ* for *ἐν ὄρμῳ* in Agam. 655, nor Housman's *ἀπάτη λεχαίων* ib. 50, nor his *παμονὰς* ib. 1012, nor his *κρηνὶς ἀπέσβηκ'* for the unmeaning *κρηπὶς ὕπεστιν* in Pers. 815, nor Verrall's *τίς τίν' ἂν εὐξάιτο βροτῶν ἀσινεῖ* Agam. 1341, nor Davies' *εὐκαλοῖ* for *εὐμορφοῖ* ib. 454. Further, we do not see why in an edition which holds so closely by the Medicean *φοῖβος* in Cho. 32 (well defended by Verrall) and *ῥυσᾶς* in Agam. 1408 should be replaced by words so common (and therefore so unlikely to suffer corruption) as *φόβος* and *ῥυνᾶς*. As regards the latter, why should not Aeschylus call the sea 'wrinkled' as Tennyson does, especially when he has used the more daring figure of *κυμάτων ἀνήριθμον γέλασμα* in the Prometheus? The difference in quantity between *ῥυνᾶς* and *ῥυσᾶς* does not affect the question, a spondee being admissible as well as a trochee, and the epithet is full of poetry. Another needless (though very slight) departure from the *codices* would seem to be the acceptance of C. G. Haupt's *μέριμνα φραστός* for *μέριμν' ἄφραστος* in Pers. 165. On the other hand, in Pers. 189 the editor maintains *ἀλλήλοισι* of M., while in Agam. 577, 654, 1179, he corrects Ionic forms to the Attic.

However, if the reviewer's task is hard and thankless, still more so is that of the editor of a text of Aeschylus. Unless his notes gave a complete register of conjectures, like the *Appendix* of Wecklein, he could not but omit suggestions valuable in the eyes of some of his readers, and such a register would of necessity record corrections worse than useless in the estimation of others. If his notes were written on that scale he would be compelled to record much which he himself could not help regarding as futile, much which would make "the judicious grieve." We have the highest respect for the editor's learning and taste; and we cannot help regretting that the plan of the series compelled him to present to his readers a good many passages which he cannot believe to be of Aeschylean origin. At the same time we confess we do not know what principle of editing would be quite free from objections, and we hold that his text on the whole compares favourably with any text of Aeschylus that we have seen, whether British or foreign.

R. Y. TYRRELL.

BLAYDES' *EUMENIDES* OF AESCHYLUS.

Aeschyli Eumenides. Annotationes criticae et commentario exegetico instruit FREDERICUS H. M. BLAYDES. Halis Saxorum. 1900. 3 M. 60.

DR. BLAYDES asks indulgence if he should be found to blunder or should appear too daring, reminding his readers of the difficulty of the task essayed. We are not likely to find rifts in the scholastic panoply of Dr. Blaydes, nor do we complain of too great boldness under certain conditions. But certain conditions we think we have a right to exact. A conjecture which does not make the slightest attempt to account for the supposed corruption, and which bears in itself no kind of verisimilitude on palaeographic grounds, is 'from the purpose' of criticism. Such conjectures bring the art of criticism into contempt and do not advance the study of classics. For instance, in *Eum.* 44,

λῆναι μεγίστῳ σωφρόνως ἐστεμμένον,

the adjective *μεγίστῳ* cannot be right. Aeschylus would not have said 'crowned with a great big flock of wool.' Dr. Blaydes mentions a dozen conjectures, some of which have hardly a letter in common with the reading of the MSS. What is the use of suggesting that for *λῆναι μεγίστῳ* we should read *οἶδς νεοπόκῳ*? Aeschylus might have written these words, as he might have written scores of other substantives and adjectives. But how did *οἶδς νεοπόκῳ* suffer corruption into *λῆναι μεγίστῳ*? There is no attempt to account for so curious a transformation of common words, and the suggestion is therefore mere trifling with an interesting problem. Of the other conjectures recorded all but one lie open to the same criticism, though not quite in the same degree. The single exception is that of Davies who would read *λῆναι γεμιστόν*. For *κλάδον λῆναι γεμιστόν* he compares *colum lana gravem* Ov. *Her.* ix. 115. We do not think this is what Aeschylus wrote; but it is worthy of the name of a conjecture, for if Aeschylus had written *γεμιστόν* the first copyist would very probably have changed that rare word to the common *μέγιστον*, and the next would have assimilated it to the case of *λῆναι*. Other conjectures put forward by Dr. Blaydes without any palaeographic probability, and without any attempt to

account for corruptions which completely transform the tradition of the MSS., are the following: *καρδίας ἐμῆς* for *καρδία σέθεν* 103, *ἐστί σοι* for *ἡρέκσω* 213, *γυμνὸν* for *ἄρθον* 294, *πράσσομεν* for *μαυροῦμεν* 359, *πρόσω δίκης ἔστ'* or *οὔτοι δίκαιον* for *πρόσω δικάων* 414, *χοιροκτόνοις δρόσοισι* (Wecklein) for *οἴκοισι καὶ βοτοῖσι* 452, *ἐστὶν ἢ τιν' εἰδέναι* for *εἴ τις οἴεται τόδε* (with five other suggestions equally far from the MSS.) 470, *ἀμηνίτως σφ' ἀμηνάων* *ἔχω* for *δυσπήμαντ' ἀμηνάων* *ἐμοί* 481, *παλαίοντ'* for *λέπαδνον* 562, *φίλησον* for *κατὰ χθόν'* 901. Now be it observed that what we condemn is not the wide divergence from the MSS., but the absence of any attempt to account for it. Prof. Housman in his very able and brilliant paper on the Agamemnon in the *Journal of Philology* vol. xvi. often travels as far from the MSS., but he never fails to essay an answer to the question *unde irrepsit corruptela*? The criticism which neglects this question is naught. Moreover, in all these passages the MS. reading is either defensible or admits of far less violent correction. For instance, in 452 Weil reads

πάλαι πρὸς ἄλλοις ταῦτ' ἀφιερῶμεθα
οἴκοισι, καὶ βατοῖσι καὶ ῥντοῖς πόροις,

'Long have I thus been sanctified at homes Of other men, by trodden and liquid paths.' The conjecture of Weil *βατοῖσι* for *βοτοῖσι* gives an excellent poetic parallel to our 'by land and sea,' 'by fell and flood,' 'over moist and dry' (Milton), and is a variant such as the Greek poets loved of the epic *τραφερὴν τε καὶ ὕγρην*. Orestes says that in all his travels over land and sea he has had the rite of purification renewed whenever the occasion offered itself. Again, in 481 the scholium *πέμπειν αὐτὰς ἀμηνίτως δυσχερές ἐστιν ἐμοί* shows that *ἀμηνάων* in the MSS. is the corruption of *ἀμηνίτως*, which the scholiast must have found in his text, while *δυσχερές* answers to *δυσποίμαντα* (*δυσπήμαντα* MSS.). The passage should run:

ἀμφότερα, μένειν
πέμπειν τε, *δυσποίμαντ'* ἀμηνίτως ἐμοί,

'both alternatives, that they should remain and that I should send them away, are difficult for me to manage without exciting wrath.' In 562 we agree with the editor in condemning *λαπαδνόν* as a by-form of

ἀλαπαδόν, but we cannot accept παλαίοντα which could not have arisen from λέπαδνον. Very possibly ἰδὼν (which ought to be ὄρων, as Dr. Blaydes suggests) was added, to secure a regimen for τὸν αὐχοῦντα, by some scribe who did not see that γελᾶ takes two constructions, the dative with ἐπὶ and the accusative as the direct object. We should then read

τὸν οὐποτ' αὐχοῦντ' ἀμαχάνου δύας
δύειν (or δύναι) λέπαδνον.

Everyone will remember ἀνάγκας ἔδν λέπαδνον in Agam. 217, and δύειν (or δύναι) would fall out after δύας. In the antistrophe we would read πάμπολλα not ἅπαντα for τὰ πολλά.

In 248 Dr. Blaydes suggests ἀνδροδμήσι for ἀνδροκμήσι, but the vowel could not be shortened before δμ, and the same may be said of φρενοβλαβῆς read in 330. A short vowel before βλ is found in Tragedy only before βλαστάνω and its derivatives (and never in thesis), and there may have been some special reason why it should be shortened in those cases and not before other words in βλ. Is there any authority for κνέφα, introduced into the text 387 as dative of κνέφας and for the λάμπα of the MSS? In 393 Herwerden's τεθέντα for δοθέντα is accepted. But θεσμὸν. . . τεθέντα is a poor phrase; would not κείμενον, as the passive of τίθημι, certainly have been used? The fine verse 423

ὅπου τὸ χαίρειν μηδαμοῦ νομίζεται

is explained in the commentary by the note 'μηδαμοῦ νομίζεται nusquam exstat.' But surely μηδαμοῦ must be taken closely with the infinitive, 'where the law of life is never

a throb of joy,' (or 'Farewell comfort'). Davies appositely observes that *Fin d'aise* was the name of the condemned cell in the *Donjon du Châtelet*. Another clever comment by the same editor is in 181, where λαβοῦσα = ἐν χροῖ κομισαμένη. He points out that slingstones have been found with λαβέ 'take that' on them. This curious use of λαμβάνειν is neglected by the other editors and is not referred to by L. and S., though of course λαμβάνειν νόσον, κακόν τι, is like it.

We cannot refrain from moralising on the very fleeting and subjective nature of the critic's certitudes, in connexion with line 803, βρωτῆρας αἰχμὰς σπερμάτων ἀνήμερους, in which Athena calls the foam-flakes of the Awful Goddesses 'cruel shafts consumers of the seeds.' We see nothing to condemn in this. The masc. form of βρωτῆρας need not offend anyone who remembers τύχη σωτήρι in Soph. Oed. Rex and the commentators thereon. But we have no doubt that Wieseler had considerable confidence in his conjecture when, accepting Weil's βοτῆρας he proposed ἄχραις 'the sheaths of the young seeds,' though to us it seems that to call the σταλάγματα of the *Eumenides* 'ungentle shepherds of the sprouting seeds' would be an example of ultra-Aeschylean boldness. Davies is ecstatic. 'Corrections such as these' he writes 'are like beautiful poems.' But alas! Wieseler subsequently withdrew his conjecture, and few editors have even mentioned it. It is sad to think with how little enthusiasm most of us can regard the conjectures of others, and how, as time rolls on, we come to consider even our own dispassionately.

R. Y. TYRRELL.

GRADENWITZ'S EINFÜHRUNG IN DIE PAPYRUSKUNDE.

Einführung in die Papyruskunde, von OTTO GRADENWITZ, Professor an der Universität Königsberg. I. Heft: Erklärung ausgewählter Urkunden. (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1900.) 5 M.

THE study of papyri is rapidly becoming a separate branch of philology. Six years ago, the recognised students of it in all Europe could have been counted on the fingers of one hand; now they have become a respectable band, with a periodical and a literature of their own. The book now before us is a

striking proof of the changed situation; for it owes its origin to a course of lectures given by Prof. Gradenwitz in Berlin, which (if we may assume that a lecture implies pupils) indicates a methodical study of the subject, characteristic, no doubt, of Germany, and tending to produce a trained body of expert papyrologists in the near future.

Prof. Gradenwitz's book is described as a first part only. There is nothing to show what the scheme of the entire work is intended to embrace; but at present its scope

is certainly not as wide as its title. It is therefore advisable to indicate to the reader what its contents actually are. In the first place, it is not concerned with the palaeography of papyri. Secondly, it does not deal in any way with literary papyri. Thirdly, it bears but slightly upon the study of those non-literary papyri which may be styled public or official documents,—those census-lists, tax-receipts, petitions, and the like, which form so large and interesting a part of the contents of most recent publications of papyri. Its subject is rather the documents relating to the dealings between man and man in private life,—loans, leases, sales, and similar contracts,—and these not from the economical, but from the legal point of view. In short its interest is chiefly for jurists, especially (as it deals only with papyri of the Roman period) for those who wish to study the relations of the law in this somewhat special province with that of the Roman Empire in general.

The first section of the book is occupied by a discussion of the theory of decipherment, with illustrations of the restoration of mutilated documents, drawn mainly from the published Berlin papyri, which Prof. Gradenwitz has studied in the originals, but with examples also from papyri in the British Museum. This section (apart from the emendations of published documents which it includes) will be of use mainly to beginners, for it contains little that must not necessarily have forced itself on the attention of those who have had practical experience of the work of decipherment. The method of which Prof. Gradenwitz makes most use is that of comparison with similar documents; and it is not to be supposed that the editors of the Berlin or the London papyri were ignorant of this method, though they may have been less successful in applying it in these selected cases than Prof. Gradenwitz. The bulk of the volume, however, is concerned with an analysis of the different forms of contract found in the papyri; and here Prof. Gradenwitz is working in a field which has hitherto been little touched. Editors of papyri have generally had but little special knowledge of Roman law; while comparatively few jurists have as yet concerned themselves with papyri. Indeed, in this particular branch of the subject almost the only scholar who can be bracketed with Prof. Gradenwitz is Mitteis. Gradenwitz's conclusions do not always tally with his; but I do not propose to discuss their differences, having no claim to an opinion on juristic questions. It is

sufficient to say that Gradenwitz's analyses of the various forms of contract, though sometimes longer than necessary, are clear and sound; while the restorations of the special documents selected for study are almost always satisfactory. I have re-examined the six British Museum papyri with which he deals in some detail, and should be prepared to accept most of his corrections and restorations; and his work on the more numerous Berlin documents examined by him appears to be equally sound and effective.

It is, then, as an introduction to the study of Greek papyri in their juristic aspect that this book is planned; and as such it is useful and good, and may be cordially recommended to all who have to do with this branch of the subject. A special word of reference is due to the indices, which are four in number. The first is a 'Conträr-Index,' or index of words according to the alphabetical order of their terminations instead of their commencements, to the use of which Prof. Gradenwitz calls especial attention. Such an index is indeed exceedingly useful in the restoration of mutilated papyri, when, as is often the case, the end of a word is preserved, but not the beginning; and Prof. Gradenwitz's index, consisting of some 4,500 words extracted from the Berlin, British Museum, and Oxyrhynchus (Vol. I) publications, will be very valuable to future editors of papyri. The idea, however, is not so new as he thinks, a lexicon on this principle, extending to 606 pages and containing some 85,000 words, having been prepared by H. Hoogeveen and printed at the Cambridge University Press in 1810. Hoogeveen's work, however, is not now generally accessible, and it deals, moreover, rather with literary Greek than with the Greek of business documents; so that there is plenty of room for Prof. Gradenwitz's index, or (what would be better) for a new and extended edition of Hoogeveen. The other indices contain (1) a list of the papyri dealt with or referred to, (2) a table of corrections or restorations proposed in published papyri, (3) a list of words discussed in the course of the volume. The last index might with advantage be larger. It contains neither *φροντιστής* nor *ἀγορανομέων*, both of which terms are dealt with in the body of the work, nor *γραφείον*, which should have been dealt with, but which (unless my recollection is at fault) is passed over.

F. G. KENYON.

BAILEY'S *Lucretius*.

Lucreti de rerum natura libri sex, recognovit breuique adnotatione critica instruxit CYRILLUS BAILEY, collegii Exoniensis socius. Oxonii, e typographeo Clarendoniano. No date. Pp. 248. 2s. 6d., 3s., and 4s.

THIS work is not ill done; but to compose a good text of Lucretius is now an easy task, and it might have been done better. Some care, some judgment, and some independence are shown here, but not quite enough.

To begin with, the *adnotatio critica* is not merely *brevis* but defective and therefore misleading: it lulls the reader into a false security. No one would guess from this edition how unstable a foothold the MSS really afford. For instance, it is hardly fair to conceal that in vi 103 they have *pepides* instead of *lapides*, especially when you mention that they have *igna* and *igna* instead of *tigna*. Mr Bailey says that he has often omitted 'mera errata quae simili modo omnes correxerunt'; but he has omitted much else, and robbed many critics of the credit due to them. Thus vi 402 *eas tum* is a noteworthy correction first made by Lambinus: Mr Bailey neither mentions Lambinus' name nor divulges that the MSS have *aestum*. In some places he even adopts conjectures which are probably erroneous without warning us that they are not in the MSS, as v 1160 *medium peccata*, vi 804 *domus*. And in this last verse it is useless to record that Lambinus reads *febris* instead of *seruis* unless you record at the same time what the MSS read instead of *domus* and how he emends their reading: there is a similar oversight at v 1189, where Mr Bailey alters *nox* to *sol* without altering *sol* to *ros* in 1192. He often assigns emendations to those who are not their authors: i 356 sq., iii 306, 684 sq., iv 308, v 531 *siet*, 545, 614, 947 *late*, 1006 *cum*, vi 793, 927, 972 *amarini* 'frondeat', 1195 *in ore*. Elsewhere the assignment though literally right is essentially wrong. iii 1017 '*lammina* Lachmann, *iam mina* O Q.' Quite true; but the honour is due to those correctors who centuries earlier restored *lamina*, not to Lachmann who finished the correction. So at i 32, ii 275, iv 804, 1096. I have noticed a misprint in the text at v 31 and in the note at vi 977.

The recension is what would be called NO. CXXVI. VOL. XIV.

conservative; and in one particular it is rightly so. Lucretius' text contains an unusual number of corruptions for which no plausible remedy has been found: in such places Mr Bailey generally retains the MS reading and marks it as corrupt. It would be well if he had done this even oftener, and not printed such futile conjectures as ii 547 *sumam hoc quoque uti* or v 1006 *navigiis* or 1010 *aliis*. In other places he adopts changes which only injure the text, as i 122 *permanent* (as if *corpora* could *permanere*) or iii 717 *sincera ex* (as if *sincera* could mean *illibata*); or wooden conjectures like v 396 *ardens*; or such outrageous innovations as a dative *aquai* in i 453 and a postponed *et* in vi 800. But after all, what most disfigures this text is the retention, as if genuine, of corruptions expelled by our betters and restored by our contemporaries. Lachmann is half a century in his grave; and German criticism, having at length plucked up courage to follow its own inclination, like the Israelites when they saw that Moses delayed to come down out of the mount, is gradually slinking back to the heel of its old master, our countryman Gilbert Wakefield. Mr Bailey has not altogether yielded to this reaction, but he does not resist it very stoutly: too often *ἔστι τοῦ λέγοντος, οὐδ' ὅποι' ἀνὴρ ἔνους τὰ καινὰ τοῖς πάλαι τεκμαίρεται*. He returns for instance to the MS reading iii 420 '*digna tua pergam disponere carmina uita*' (*cura* Lachmann Munro Brieger, *perpetua...uita* Bernays). Why? Because Mr R. Heinze has lately served up anew, without saying whence he took it, the explanation given, '*nullo iudicio*' as Lachmann said, by Wakefield a hundred years before? Again, Mr Bailey accepts the traditional reading ii 342 *praeterea* etc. To this Lachmann made two objections: Mr Brieger, who is much fonder of refuting Lachmann than of reading him, has endeavoured to answer one of these, and has forgotten all about the other: that is his way. If Mr Bailey thinks that Mr Brieger has defended the anacoluthon, well and good; but what does he, and what does Mr Brieger, suppose to be the meaning of the Latin adverb *praeterea*? Mr Brieger's services to Lucretius, and his intellectual superiority to Mr Heinze, are so very considerable that one neither desires to insist upon his faults nor to blame a subsequent editor for following one who is by no means

the worst of guides; but the mixture of negligence and confidence with which he controverts Lachmann is, to use the mildest term, inappropriate. Mr Bailey seems to have detected this sometimes (e.g. iii 198, iv 858-876), but at other times it escapes him (e.g. i 454, v 110-234). At iv 632, where the MSS have *umidum*, he prefers *umectum* to *umidulum*, which he does not mention. Does he believe Mr Brieger's assertion that 'Lucretius adiectivis deminutivis

non uti solet nisi quantitatem significantibus'? It is not true.

Mr Bailey says in his preface that he has been sparing of original conjectures because he does not wish to inflict new wounds upon the text. This estimate of his own talent in that department is certainly modest and seemingly correct. He prints only one emendation, and it is *intus*. Better one than two.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

BRIEFER NOTICES.

Euripides Iphigenia auf Tauris, herausgegeben von DR. SIEGFRIED REITER. Leipzig. G. Freytag. 1900. (Pp. xx., 126, 6 engravings; price 1 M. 20 Pf., bound 1 M. 60 Pf.)

AN excellent school book, thoroughly equipped. The constitution of the text shows scholarship and judgment. It is in fact as good a text of the play as is to be found anywhere. The explanatory notes, which are not copious, consist largely of idiomatic translations which throw clear light on the character and force of the Greek words and phrases. The critical appendix is the least satisfactory part of the book. It professes to give the more important deviations from the MSS., but many which are left out are more important than some which are given. Of the four emendations proposed by the editor himself 414 *βροτῶν* omitted, 452 *συμβαίη*, 'ν for *συμβαίην*, 454 *ἀπολαύσειν* for *ἀπόλαυσιν*, 1260 *ἀπενάσσαθ'* ὁ for *ἀπενάσατο* (Barnes *ἀπενάσσαστο*)—the two first have been made long ago, though probably no other editor would be content with the metre of 414 thus shortened as the equivalent of that of v. 399 in the strophe. As an instance of the independence and at the same time the soundness of the editor's judgment, may be mentioned the adoption of Mekler's beautiful ὅπ' *ἄφθελκτον* (which Reiter translates *mundtot*) for *ἀπόφθελκτον*, at v. 951, an emendation which, however, Wecklein regards as third-class. Noticeable also is his punctuation of vv. 6 f.; where he puts a comma after *Εὐριπὸς* and another after *ἄλα*.

E. B. ENGLAND.

Die Forschungen zur griechischen Geschichte, 1888-1898, verzeichnet und besprochen von ADOLF BAUER. (München, Beck, 1899). Pp. 574.

DR. ADOLF BAUER has undertaken to render account of the contributions to Greek History which have been made between the years 1888 and 1898. The extension of research in the spheres of Archaeology and Epigraphy, the multiplication of histories and monographs, the dissipation of results in learned periodicals will explain the magnitude of the task; and the record of ten years' work, which has hitherto been a section in a *Jahresbericht*, now appears as a volume of nearly 600 pages. That anyone should carry through a study so minute and so laborious constitutes in itself a claim on our gratitude; and Dr. Bauer's book must serve a useful purpose for those who desire to know what work has been done in different branches of Greek History. At the same time one cannot but regret defects which seriously diminish the value and usefulness of the book. With a thousand or more separate works and articles cited in the footnotes, nothing is done to facilitate reference; there is only one brief index of authors' names and there is not even a detailed list of contents prefixed to the chapters. On the other hand Dr. Bauer undertakes the impossible in attempting to give a digest and appreciation of so many diverse books and studies. Controversial criticism seems out of place in what should have the neutral character of a bibliography. Full lists of works and articles classified according to subject, brief abstracts of contents in the case of the more important

books, summaries of new theories or results, would have been easier to compile and would have proved more useful to the student. It is only natural that many of the works (especially those not by German scholars) should be cited at second hand. In the

main justice is done to the contributions of English scholars, especially in the sphere of Archaeology, but it is surprising that Mr. Frazer's edition of Pausanias should be dismissed with the briefest mention.

LEONARD WHIBLEY.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

QUESTIONS CONCERNING ATTIC TOPOGRAPHY AND RELIGION WITH REFERENCE TO THUCYDIDES II. 15.

MANY vital questions concerning Attic topography and some questions of interest touching Attic religion depend on the interpretation of the 15th chapter of the second book of Thucydides, in which the prehistoric City of Athens is contrasted with the Athens of his day. I venture reluctantly and diffidently to approach the thorny topographical problem. I am constrained to do so because many of the inquiries in which I am more specially interested depend upon it; and also because a certain theory has been put forward in recent years by Dr. Dörpfeld concerning that chapter, which claims acceptance or refutation. Hitherto it has met with little acceptance; the criticism has been mainly hostile, but not sufficiently searching and conclusive. The question at issue is at first purely literary, a question of translation or of paraphrase. Beginning with the words § 4 τὸ δὲ πρὸ τοῦτον Dr. Dörpfeld would translate this and the following section somewhat in this manner. 'In the days before Theseus that which is now the Acropolis, together with the district at its foot that lies more or less towards the South, constituted the City. The proof that the Acropolis with this small outlying portion was the ancient city, is that the temples on the rock itself are dedicated to (...? Athena) as well as to other deities, and the temples that lie outside (the wall of the ancient Acropolis) are situated in the main near to this latter portion of the city (viz. near to the ancient Acropolis), and there are other ancient shrines situated near to the ancient Polis (ταύτη)...§ 7. And the fountain now called Ἐννεάκροννος, but formerly Kallirrhoe when the springs were above ground, was used by our ancestors for all the

most important purposes as being conveniently near to the Burg-gate, and even now from ancient tradition its water is customarily employed for the religious preliminaries of the marriage ceremonies and for other ritualistic purposes, and the Acropolis is still called the Polis by the Athenians, owing to the original settlement here.'

Dr. Dörpfeld, in accord with the modern editors (e.g. Klausen), assumes in § 5 a lacuna after the words καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἐστὶ; and the logic of the passage may seem to justify this assumption.¹ But his version is at variance with the received interpretation in all the essential points. As regards the mere translation, the controversy turns mainly on the meaning of the sentence τὰ ἔξω πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἰδρύνται: as regards interpretation, it turns mainly on the intention of the words τεκμήριον δέ. What is it that Thucydides wishes to prove and ought to prove? According to Dr. Dörpfeld, he only succeeds in proving, or making probable that the old Polis was confined to the rock of the Acropolis, and this was all that he desired to prove; the additional statement made in § 4 that the old city extended below the rock in a southerly direction, becomes a matter of indifference to Thucydides the moment after he had uttered it: it was merely added to show that he was aware that the ancient Polis was of rather larger compass than the rock itself; the extension towards the south is not established by any kind of proof; the temples that are

¹ This article was written before I had the opportunity of reading Dr. Verrall's paper in the May number of the *Classical Review*. Dr. Verrall is right, I think, in rejecting the theory of the lacuna. His criticism is confined to the textual interpretation. But no criticism is satisfactory that does not take account of the archaeological difficulties as well. Another paper on the same subject has just appeared in the *American Journal of Philology*, which I have not yet been able to consult.

mentioned as proof of ancient settlement are not to be located towards the south, but rather to the west and north-west and as near to the rock itself as possible, although outside the Pelasgic wall and therefore called τὰ ἔξω ἱερά.

The rival, and as it may be called, the received interpretation of the controverted passage may be thus expressed. 'In the days before Theseus the city consisted (a) of the present Acropolis (b) of a portion extending more or less towards the south, μάλιστα πρὸς νότον (including the southerly points of the compass S.S.E., S.S.W. and even S.W. and S.E.): these two statements may be proved as follows: the most ancient temples are on the Acropolis itself: and the ancient temples off the Acropolis, ἔξω, lie mainly towards the southern portion of the city—the temple of Zeus Olympios etc...and there are other temples also in this southern quarter (ταύτην).'

The object of this paper is primarily to consider these two theories of an important passage, and then to raise a question concerning τὰ ἀρχαιότερα Διονύσια.

Looking then at the two interpretations first from a purely literary and textual point of view, we may admit that the Greek words, taken by themselves, allow of Dr. Dörpfeld's rendering: but most of us will feel that *a priori* the nexus of the sentences is strongly against it. Thucydides makes two quite distinct statements, one that the ancient Polis was partly the present Acropolis, and then that it included a portion below the Acropolis stretching more or less towards the south. The second statement would probably require even more substantiation than the former for the ordinary Athenian reader, whose city had extended towards the north and north-west. Thereupon Thucydides produces his proofs; and the proof at once takes a dual form, as though he was aware that he had two separate propositions to prove. The two proofs seem also skilfully phrased so as to be naturally accepted as proofs of the two statements, and if they are intended only to prove the first and to ignore the second, as Dr. Dörpfeld would have us suppose, we must charge Thucydides with artfully constructing his sentences so as to deceive his readers. To this I only wish to add that Dr. Dörpfeld's rendering of τὰ ἔξω ἱερά appears to be strained and unnatural; the word ἔξω in such a context can only be naturally interpreted in relation to the words ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκροπόλει and as meaning 'outside the Acropolis', the Acropolis of the fifth century.

Turning now to the archaeological side of Dr. Dörpfeld's exposition, I feel constrained to say that his argumentation, which I have laboriously considered, appears to me weak and sophistical, and that in dealing with the religious designation of temples, he writes and judges in the fashion of an amateur. Before we deal with the topographical question concerning each of the temples mentioned, we may stop for a moment to consider whether there is any real value at all in Thucydides' main argument. He argues that the locality of ancient temples proves the locality of ancient settlement. Taken in a very general sense, we may admit that this principle might hold good in most cases. We know that the temple was often the germ of the Polis, and often gave its name to the settlement that arose around it. But the ancient city-temples (the phrase is used advisedly) might not always be within the city-wall; where they were found outside the aboriginal frontier of the city, they could hardly be regarded as evidence of the demarcations of that frontier, but rather as indications of the directions in which the original city was tending to grow. Thus if any of the temples mentioned by Thucydides is admittedly to be located at some appreciable distance from the Acropolis, and this is the case, even on Dörpfeld's theory, with the temple of Dionysos ἐν Λίμναις, then it could not reasonably be quoted as evidence that the primitive city was on the rock, but rather in support of his other statement that the city before Theseus had already extended somewhat away from the rock in a southerly direction. How far he conceives the original extension to have gone, the vague phrase τὸ ὑπ' αὐτήν leaves an open question. Again, whatever temple Thucydides quotes in this connection he must believe to date from the period before Theseus, or at least to occupy the site of one that belonged originally to that period. We are not obliged to show that the belief was justified; but only that it was tenable.

Coming now to the details of the topography, we may mark at the outset that three out of four of the shrines mentioned are the names of famous temples that are actually known to have existed on the south or south-east of the Acropolis towards the Ilissos. In each case Dr. Dörpfeld labours to show that it is not the well-known temple that Thucydides has in his mind, but another of the same name on the actual slope of the Acropolis rock.

The first-mentioned is the ἱερὸν Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου. We naturally think at once of the

sacred spot on the south-east, where Deucalion was fabled to have erected a shrine to this deity, and where Peisistratos laid the foundations of a temple which was carried on by Antiochus Epiphanes, and afterwards completed by Hadrian. Thucydides might of course apply the term *ἱερόν* to the sacred inclosure, although no building had as yet risen above the ground: and the great antiquity of the site is attested by the legend of Deukalion attaching to the spot and by the sacrifice of the barley-cake that was thrown once a year into the cleft of the ground. Here then is an *Ὀλυμπίον* which Thucydides would have the right to believe was aboriginal. What evidence have we of any other shrine of Zeus *Ὀλύμπιος* in Athens? Dr. Dörpfeld is led to imagine that there must have been another, merely because Plato in the *Phaedrus* (p. 227) speaks of the house of Lysias *ἐν ἄστει* as being *πλησίον τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου*, and he maintains that the *Ὀλυμπίον* of Peisistratos was outside the Themistoclean wall. I do not know on what grounds he maintains this: but even if he were correct in this point, I do not understand why a house that may have been just within the wall, might not be described as near a very famous locality that was just outside. But Curtius places the *Ὀλυμπίον* within the wall of Themistocles; and there is this reason for doing so, a reason ignored by Dr. Dörpfeld, that a late Attic inscription (*C.I.A.* 3, 291) refers to a *Φαίδωντῆς Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἐν ἄστει*: *Φαίδωντῆς* must designate the official who was charged with the care of the chryselephantine image of Zeus which Hadrian dedicated in the *Ὀλυμπίον* near the Ilissos. The spot which Dr. Dörpfeld selects as the site of the oldest *Ὀλυμπίον* is on the north-west of the Acropolis wall, a little eastward of the most ancient Python that he believes to have discovered near the same spot. The latter hypothesis will be examined directly. For the moment it is enough to note that there is not a particle of independent evidence for assuming an *Ὀλυμπίον* on or immediately adjacent to the Acropolis. He quotes an inscription with a dedication to Zeus found on the Acropolis (*C.I.A.* 3, 198). Such inscriptions are liable to be found in any locality of the Greek world: it is needless to say that they give us no right to assume a *τέμενος*, unless they occur in considerable numbers; still less ought we to assume a temple of Zeus *Ὀλύμπιος*, on the ground of a single monument dedicated vaguely to Zeus. Still worse is Dr. Dörpfeld's suggestion that this Zeus *Olympios*, whose house

he imagines as on the slope of the Acropolis rock, might be the same as the Zeus *Μεγίχιος*, whose feast was held, according to Thucydides, *ἔξω τῆς πόλεως* (1, 126). Dr. Dörpfeld might not have known that *Ὀλύμπιος* and *Μεγίχιος* are almost antithetical terms, the former expressing the heavenly, the latter the nether or chthonian character of Zeus. But it is difficult to understand how he could have come to identify a worship whose centre was outside the city with one whose home was on the slope of the Acropolis. For it is obvious that *πόλις* is not being used in any technical sense in 1, 126, and *ἔξω τῆς πόλεως* must mean outside the Thucydidean, not merely the prehistoric city.

The next temple adduced by way of evidence is called *τὸ Πύθιον*. The reader is naturally, and as I hope to show rightly, led to think at once of the celebrated *τέμενος* on the south-east of the Acropolis not far from the Ilissos, and near to the *Ὀλυμπίον*, but, according to Curtius, separated from it by the wall of Themistocles. The locality was fixed by the fortunate discovery in 1877 of the inscription on the altar dedicated *Πυθίον ἐν τεμένει* by the younger Peisistratos, mentioned by Thucydides 5, 54. It was here, according to Plato and Isaeus, that the tripods, the prizes won in the contests of the Thargelia, were dedicated (*vide* Suidas, s.v. *Πύθιον*), and both the literature and the inscriptions from the fifth century onwards speak of *τὸ Πύθιον* without any special designation as though there was no possibility of any confusion. If this place was first consecrated by Peisistratos to the worship of the Pythian god, then of course the *τέμενος* could not be regarded by Thucydides as proving anything about prehistoric Athens. But we have no reason for supposing this. Hesychius and Suidas attribute the construction of the *ναὸς* called *τὸ Πύθιον* to Peisistratos. It is possible that they are merely enlarging on the statement of Thucydides that the younger Peisistratos dedicated an altar in the inclosure; or they may be correct, and the *ναὸς* may well have been one of the architectural works with which the Peisistratidae embellished the city. But the cult of Apollo *Πύθιος* was certainly not introduced into Athens by Peisistratos, but was probably planted some centuries earlier on the banks of the Ilissos: the cult-names *Πύθιος* and *Δελφίνιος* are closely connected, and, as we gather from Pausanias, the temple of the latter stood near the Python in the same south-east quarter of the old city, and was connected in legend

with the arrival of Theseus. Is it likely, we must now ask, that there was some other Python in Athens which would better suit the purposes of Thucydides' argument? Dr. Dörpfeld appears to think that there were even three. *A priori*, it is extremely improbable that there were three or even two, as every one familiar with the nomenclature of Greek cult will allow.¹ The list of the Greek states that worshipped Apollo Πύθιος is exceedingly large; but in none of them is there any record of more than one Python. And further we may venture to dogmatise about Athens itself, that city of shrines, that there was no single known instance of a double place of worship of the same deity designated by the same cult-name. The temples of Athena, Demeter, Apollo were numerous indeed, but they severally possessed their special and distinguishing appellatives, by which they are referred to in exact descriptions or in state documents. What then are the traces pointing to the existence of other Pythia in Athens? There may seem at first sight some evidence in the description given by Philostratus of the route followed by the sacred ship which was rolled along in the Panathenaia bearing the peplos of Athena (*Vita Soph.* ii. 1, 5); 'starting from the Ceramicus, it proceeded to the Eleusinion, and having encompassed that temple it went along the Pelasgic wall and arrived *en route* at the Python, where it is now at anchor.' Philostratus is a late writer, not particularly versed in Athenian ritual, still his account may be accurate as far as it goes, though apparently incomplete. Curtius (*Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, p. 85) finds no embarrassment in it, and naturally interprets it to mean that the ship passed along the northern side of the Acropolis, rounded the eastern extremity, and visited the Python on the south-east. And in fact this circuitous route may have been dictated by ritualistic reasons easy to understand. Wachsmuth, who anticipated Dörpfeld's theory about the Python and utterly rejected it (*Stadt Athen*, p. 296), finds the passage in Philostratus altogether corrupt. Dörpfeld maintains its accuracy and clear-

ness and finds in it an inevitable proof that there was a Python near the entrance to the Acropolis, and he discovers it in the cave in the north-west face of the rock, where there are three caverns. The middle one has been proved by recent inscriptions to be the cave of Apollo (*Eph. Arch.* 1897, p. 6, Πύθ. 2, 1 B) hitherto called the cave of Pan. Dr. Dörpfeld believes that Apollo was here worshipped as Πύθιος, and therefore the holy place was a Python. But the inscriptions found just before the entrance show that the official name of the god was here Ὑπακράϊος or Ὑποακράϊος or Ὑπὸ Μακράϊς, Μακράϊ being the name recorded in Euripides for the long ridge of the Acropolis on the north. However, Dr. Dörpfeld presses the lines of Euripides (*Ion* 285) into the service of his argument, and here as elsewhere he handles his literary sources in an unscientific fashion. The poet touches briefly on the story of the love of Apollo for the Athenian princess Creusa, and of the union which took place in the cave near Μακράϊ, and of which Ion was the fruit. 'Therefore the Pythian god and the lightnings from Pytho honour that place.' To understand this language we must read the passage in Strabo, p. 404, which tells us that for three months the Πυθαῖοι watched near the altar of Zeus Astrapaῖος, that stood on the wall between the Python and Olympieion, until they saw lightning in the sky above Harma, near Phyle.² It would be indeed a grave difficulty, if careful topographical investigation were to show that Harma must have been entirely invisible to the watchers on the wall in the south-east, near the famous Python and the famous Olympieion. And Dr. Dörpfeld seems hesitatingly to imply that it was, or at least that his 'Python,' the cave on the north face of the Acropolis, was a much better place of observation. When it is a question of observing lightning above a peak some twelve miles away, it is a matter of indifference whether one's standpoint is three hundred yards nearer or further. It is merely a question whether the peak is visible or not from that point. And Dr. Dörpfeld might have tested this, but does not appear to have done so. Curtius (*Hermes* 12, p. 489) clearly implies that Harma could be seen from a high point on the Themistoclean wall on the south-east near the Python of Peisistratos. Having

¹ Dr. Verrall, in his article in the May number of the *Classical Review*, misunderstands the point in saying 'that Athens should have contained more than one such sanctuary (of Zeus Olympios), and more than one Python, is as little surprising as that in a mediaeval city there should be more than one church of St. Mary.' The analogy would only suggest that there might be several temples of Apollo in Athens. We know that there were. What we want is evidence or analogy for the theory that there were several temples there of Apollo Pythios.

² The lightning was a sign sent to the Python in Athens that the god was ready to receive the Athenian *θεωρία*, and the holy procession started thereupon.

failed to make the observation myself and desiring explicit testimony, I have recently consulted the Director of the British School at Athens. His kind communication sets the matter at rest. From careful experiments that he was good enough to make, he concludes that 'from the wall (near the Peisistratid temples), still better from a tower on the wall, the whole of Parnes and Harma was visible.' Therefore we can now understand the statement in its only natural sense; and can perfectly well explain the Euripidean lines, as signifying that the Pythian god graciously sends the sign to the watchers in Athens, because he is associated by the closest ties with the Athenian people, and because he holds in loving remembrance and honour the spot on the Acropolis where Ion was begotten. To force his words into meaning that the cave on Μακραί was the Pythion, is to misunderstand the value of the evidence from poetry. But what has given the *coup de grâce* to Dr. Dörpfeld's theory is the discovery of the inscriptions *in situ* which have been found since he promulgated it. Equally unsound is his dogma that the temple of Apollo πατῶος in the market-place was also a Pythion. This he maintains on no other ground than that Demosthenes (18, 141) speaks of Apollo Πύθιος as the ancestral god of the state. So he certainly was, for the legend of Ion's birth especially associates Athens and Delphi. But Apollo πατῶος who lived in the market-place, was never officially in any certain record styled Πύθιος, nor was the Πατρώον styled a Πύθιον. Poets and private dedicators, especially in later times, show a tendency to accumulate epithets in addressing the divinity, the poets in order to display their learning, the private dedicator to capture the god, if not by one name, then by another. But the general rule of religious economy prescribed that the public shrine should have one name, and that there should not be two public shrines in the city dedicated to the deity under the same name.

We next find the temple of Γῆ adduced by Thucydides as proof of his main thesis concerning the locality of the ancient Polis. She is mentioned without any qualifying name; and this would only be natural if there was no other Γῆς τέμενος among the ἔξω ἱερά with which this one might be confused. Now there was a τέμενος Γῆς Ὀλυμπίας within the precincts of the Olympieion on the south-east as Pausanias attests. The worship of the earth-goddess might well have been regarded

as *primaeval* in this spot, on account of the legend of Deukalion and the yearly offerings flung into the chasm. But Dr. Dörpfeld is able to point to a ἱερὸν Γῆς Κουροτρόφου standing near the entrance to the Acropolis and associated with the worship of Demeter Chloë. The earliest authority for this is Pausanias; but there is reason for believing that, in the fifth century at least, the name of the goddess was merely ἡ κουροτρόφος. An ancient boundary stone with archaic characters gives the name as κουροτρόφος; and no inscription yet discovered designates her as Γῆ. The official name of the shrine was Κουροτρόφιον, and Aristophanes in the formula of prayer given in the *Thesmophoriazousai* names her Ἡ κουροτρόφος.¹ In the Attic Tetrapolis we have found the cult of the same mysterious figure. It is then in the highest degree improbable that Thucydides would have given her the unqualified personal name of Γῆ.

Before considering further points, we may thus summarise the argument against Dr. Dörpfeld's interpretation of the Thucydidean statement. After telling us that the old city extended in a southerly direction, the historian mentions the names of four temples among the ἔξω ἱερά; three temples standing in close proximity to each other in the south-east answer to three of these names; two of these, the Pythion and Olympieion, were as well known in Athens as Westminster Abbey in London; there is not the slightest trace of any Pythion or any Olympieion existing anywhere else in or near the city; *a priori*, for reasons shown, it is as improbable that there should have existed two temples of each of these names as that there should be two Westminster Abbeys. We may maintain, in spite of Dr. Dörpfeld, that Thucydides was bound to prove that the ancient city extended southwards; and on the interpretation of the passage which is here being defended, he has proved it after his own fashion. He may not have marshalled his arguments in perfect order; in fact he gives evidence first for the first part of his thesis, then for the second, then for a moment at the close of the argumentation he returns to the first proposition. And Dr. Dörpfeld makes this a strong objection against the traditional interpretation. Others may be allowed to consider that a slight laxity in the arrangement of arguments is a trifling peccadillo

¹ L. 299: the words τῇ Γῇ which follow in the MS. are evidently an interpolation; the scholiast's comment proves that he read τῇ κουροτρόφῃ merely and was not sure about the proper name.

in comparison with the utter viciousness of style which the new theory imputes to Thucydides. Dr. Dörpfeld further objects, that if the historian conceived of the ancient Polis extending as far to the south as these shrines near the Ilissos, he would be refuting his own contention, which was that the ancient city was much smaller than that of the fifth century. Even if this be admitted, the objection falls; for Thucydides need not be supposed to maintain, on our interpretation, that the old city actually extended towards the south as far as these shrines: temple buildings may be pushed forward beyond the frontier-line of the dwellings; but a number of ancient temples in the south would indicate that the *primaeval* city tended to spread away from the rock in this direction.

Into the great controversy concerning Enneakrounos I do not propose to plunge. If the cisterns discovered by Dr. Dörpfeld near the Pnyx are really the Enneakrounos-Kallirrhoe of Thucydides, then the fountain is mentioned as being near to the Acropolis and as therefore indicating that the settlement on the rock was in the main the ancient city. But if Kallirrhoe is still to be sought in the Ilissos, then the fountain, as being near to the southern suburb of the ancient city, is mentioned as indicating that the city had extended in ancient times somewhat towards the south. The evidence on both sides is ably stated and estimated by Dr. Frazer in his Commentary on Pausanias. I can add nothing to his exposition, and merely express my own opinion that the evidence is in favour of placing the fountain in the Ilissos.

Of greater interest perhaps, and certainly of greater difficulty, is the question concerning the temple of Dionysos *ἐν Λίμναις*, mentioned by Thucydides last of the four *ἔξω ἱερά*. It would appear, according to the interpretation of the whole passage which I have been maintaining, that this temple also must be looked for in the south: and this has been the opinion of many writers on the topography of Athens, Curtius placing it near the theatre, Wilamowitz-Möllendorf nearer to the Ilissos. That there is a marshy region between the theatre and the Ilissos appears to be proved by recent investigation. But in 1894 a very interesting discovery was made by Dr. Dörpfeld, of a *τέμενος* lying west of the Acropolis, between the Areopagus and the Pnyx, east of the former and north of the latter. The excavations, penetrating to the lowest stratum, revealed a large peri-

bolos with a small *templé* and an altar which he pronounces, on the evidence of the architecture and fragments of potsherds found with them and belonging in part to the geometrical period, to be probably older than the sixth century. He discovered also within the precincts a wine-press which he attributes to the fourth century, but under which he believes to have found traces of one still older. The whole peribolos was overlaid with a structure dating from the Roman period, which an inscription found within it shows to have been a place of meeting for the guild of the Iobacchoi. This fact and the presence of the wine-press seems to justify him in regarding the archaic peribolos with its shrine and altar as consecrated to Dionysos. This then is one more brilliant discovery which we owe to the skill of the accomplished excavator. The problems which we are challenged to solve are very intricate, and have not yet been adequately treated, so far as I can discern. The discoverer himself identifies the temple with that of Dionysos *ἐν Λίμναις* and at first with the *Λήναιον*, but afterwards distinguishes it from the latter, which he regards as originally no temple of Dionysos at all, but as an old dancing-place named after the wine-press (*ληνός*) and situated near to this ancient peribolos. But he adheres most firmly to the belief that he has discovered the habitation of Dionysos *ἐν Λίμναις*: for the cisterns which he found near the Pnyx are sufficient proof in his eyes that the place was once marshy. His argumentation is certainly stronger here than in the question about the former temples. But a doubt at once arises. Granting his view, we must wonder why Thucydides should have quoted the temple of Dionysos *ἐν Λίμναις* in proof of his thesis: for a shrine situated so near to the Pnyx and Areopagus is scarcely evidence either that the ancient Polis was mainly confined to the Acropolis or that it extended some way towards the south; for the geographical position of the peribolos has in relation to the Acropolis scarcely one point of south, but lies almost due west: we must be content then to say that either *μάλιστα πρὸς τὸν νότον* is a phrase used with the greatest laxity or that Thucydides has in some way got his orientation a little wrong. But we ought only to say this if we find it to be the only way or the easiest way out of the difficulty.

I fear one cannot do justice to Dr. Dörpfeld's theory without raising the whole question of the Dionysiac festivals at Athens.

I will endeavour to summarise the conclusions at which, after a long and bewildering study, I have been able to arrive, and indicate the reasons for them as briefly as possible, reserving a fuller discussion for another occasion.

(a) The usual fourfold classification of the festivals, as Διονύσια κατ' ἀγρούς in Poseideon, the Lenaia in Gamelion, the Anthesteria in Anthesterion, the μεγάλη Διονύσια or the Διονύσια ἐν ἄστει in Elaphebolion, is erroneous: setting aside the Δ. κατ' ἀγρούς, not properly a city-festival at all, we must identify the Λήναια with the Anthesteria and leave only two city-festivals; (b) the Λήναια is not derived from the word ληνός—a wine-vat—and is not the festival of the wine-god but is the festival of the wild women Λήναι, the followers of the wild Thracian Dionysos; (c) Dionysos entered Athens as Λήναιος from Eleutherae, and his oldest temple ἐν Λίμναις is also the Λήναιον, and also the most ancient temple of Dionysos Eleuthereus.

In regard to the first proposition, I find myself at variance with Mommsen's views expressed in his *Feste der Stadt Athen*, but in agreement with Gilbert (*die Festzeit der attischen Dionysien*) and many other scholars. Its main support is the passage in Thucydides we are debating. In a context where he was most likely to be exact in his phrases, he tells us that the temple ἐν Λίμναις was that in which τὰ ἀρχαιότερα Διονύσια were held on the twelfth of Anthesterion. The use of the comparative seems inexplicable, if there were three city-festivals of the God. But Mommsen finds an easy solution. 'Thucydides does not count the Lenaia among the Dionysia because their official name was Λήναια &c. and not Διονύσια.' This is like saying that the festival of Christmas is the only Christian festival in the year, because Easter and the others are not called by the name of Christ. But in fact, in later Attic inscriptions we find the term τὰ Διονύσια τὰ ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ; and we know that official language was singularly conservative. Therefore in the time of Thucydides the Λήναια not only were Διονύσια but might have been so called. Thucydides is worth a host of lexicographers and scholiasts. And even these never explicitly distinguish the Λήναια from the Anthesteria, but usually speak of two Dionysiac festivals in the city in contrast to the Διονύσια κατ' ἀγρούς. The scholiasts who place the Λήναια in Gamelion may have been led astray by the fact that the old Ionic cities were in the habit of celebrating their Λήναιά in the month Ληναιών which was probably identical

with the Attic Gamelion. (This confusion appears in Hesychius s. v. Διονύσια). The two festivals were perhaps originally distinct at Athens, as the separate Ionic months Ληναιών and Ἀνθεστηριών prove the distinction of the two festivals in Ionia. It may have been in consequence of their coalition, owing to exigencies of the Attic ritual calendar that the name of the month Ληναιών disappeared from Athens. A testimony worth mentioning in corroboration of Thucydides is the statement of the scholiast on Aristophanes (*Acharn.* 960) that the singular practice at the Χόες in the Anthesteria which was associated with the story of Orestes and his reception in Athens was first instituted at the feast of Dionysos Λήναιος.

The next point of importance is the meaning of the name. The first, I believe, to suggest the right view was Ribbeck in his *Anfänge und Entwicklung des Dionysos-Kult in Attika* (p. 13) who derived the name from Λήναι = Μαινάδες. He does not attempt however any philological proof. It has not yet so far as I know been observed, that the derivation from ληνός is a philological solecism. It is an invariable rule that substantival stems in 'ο' produce the adjectival form εἰος, never αἰος. The adjectival forms in αἰος can only come from nouns of the α (η) stem. Therefore Λήναιος must be derived from the stem Λήναι, the word attested and explained by Hesychius, and giving rise to the verb ληναίζω. Thus we can understand why the Ionic festival could be held in January, a month when nothing happens to the wine worth commemorating by a festival, but when Mainades were particularly active to evoke the magical powers of the vegetation-god. The epithet Λήναιος then attests for the earliest Dionysiac cult, as it was imported into Attica, the orgiastic element and the prominence of ecstatic women, which is a marked and peculiar characteristic of the religion in Thrace and many Hellenic communities, but which was almost obliterated by the spirit of Athenian sanity with tendency to suppress the female. But the shadow survived in the part played in the Anthesteria by the wife of the king Archon and her fourteen ministrants, the Γεραραί, the sobered descendants of the wild Mainades.

In them and their ministrations we may discern the influence of the Λήναια which were engrafted upon the Anthesteria, a festival perhaps originally non-Dionysiac. Again, the great antiquity of the Λήναια,

which was perhaps, like other Dionysia, a mystic cult in origin, is attested by the practice of excluding strangers: we may compare the inscription found at Myconos ordaining the sacrifice to Διόνυσος Ἀγνείς on the 12th day of Lenaion and forbidding strangers to take part. Finally we must cease to regard a wine-press as certain evidence of a Lenaion, though popular etymology may have come to associate Dionysos Ἀγνείας with a ληνός.

Thirdly, we have fairly clear proof afforded by legend and ritual that Dionysos came to Athens from Eleutherae. The scholiast on Aristophanes (*Acharn.* 242) explains the phallic ritual in the Athenian cult as instituted to propitiate the μῆνιμα of the god to which the Athenians were exposed when they refused to receive Pegasos from Eleutherae, the apostle of the new religion. The legends concerning Dionysos Μελαιναιγίς point to the same fact of origin. And once a year the image of Dionysos, apparently the only ancient idol of the god at Athens, was taken from the shrine of Eleuthereus by the theatre to a chapel in Academia, as though to the last halting-place of the god coming from the north-west (Paus. 1, 29, 2, Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 2, 1, Kayser p. 235). Again, we are told by Hesychius that the Λίμναι was the place in Athens where the Ἀγνεία were performed, and by the scholiast on Aristophanes (*Ran.* 218) that the Λίμνη or the peribolos of Dionysos ἐν Λίμναις contained 'a house and a shrine of the god.' The temple ἐν Λίμναις was the 'most ancient and holy of all' his temples at Athens, according to the pseudo-Demosthenes. But Pausanias tells us that the temenos of Eleuthereus by the theatre was the most ancient habitation of the deity, and that it contained two shrines, a younger by the side of the older. Shall we not say then that this is the Διμναῖον and that the two buildings mentioned by the scholiast on Aristophanes are the same as the two shrines mentioned by Pausanias? *A priori*, I think we should expect the Διμναῖον to lie on the south of the Acropolis, and that the theatre, which was also a religious place, would arise near the holy place where the plays of the Ἀγνεία had long been performed. Moreover, the Anthesteria, which were undoubtedly celebrated ἐν Λίμναις, are associated with the legend of Deukalion's flood which was localised in the south by the Ilissos. Or are all these indications misleading, and was Pausanias wrong in calling the temple by the theatre the most ancient in Athens? Must we look for the Διμναῖον elsewhere, and

then believe that that ancient temple which excavation has revealed near the theatre, and which was the temple of Eleuthereus, gradually effaced the memory of a still older temple, the Διμναῖον, which was on Dr. Dörpfeld's newly discovered site by the Pnyx? In affirming this, he explains that this Διμναῖον of his was destroyed long before the time of Pausanias, and therefore the traveller judged according to his lights. But we know how tenacious was Greek conservatism of the association of holy sites. To change a temple's position, the Delphic oracle might have to be consulted, and might refuse its sanction. I need not consider the argument derived from the statements about the ἵκρια in the ancient market-place and the poplar from which the dramas were witnessed before the erection of the theatre: for the views concerning the position of the old ἀγορά are still conflicting, and may agree with either theory of the position of the Ἀγνείον or temple ἐν Λίμναις. And one ancient authority places the poplar near the theatre.

To conclude, if Dr. Dörpfeld's designation of the peribolos discovered near the Pnyx is correct, we must say that this was the Ἀγνείον, this the temple ἐν Λίμναις and this the temple of Dionysos Eleuthereus. Then we must also reckon with the fact that in the time of Peisistratos, or much earlier, as Curtius would maintain, another temple was built on the south of the Acropolis in honour of Eleuthereus. The question then remains—why at so comparatively early a time did Dionysos Eleuthereus change his habitation in Athens? or why were two ancient temples erected to the same god? The difficulty of this question does not seem fully appreciated by Dr. Dörpfeld. I cannot pretend to solve the problem, nor am I anxious to maintain that the old temple by the theatre was in very truth the oldest. But I can better understand its construction, if it arose near a Διμναῖον in the south which became gradually disused owing perhaps to the marshy nature of the soil. Still this very ancient Dionysion recently discovered by the Pnyx, whatever was its special designation, would perplex us none the less. But is a wine-press, the only evidence, evidence sufficient, and is it a Dionysion at all? The result of Dr. Dörpfeld's admirable work has been so far the increase of our difficulties.

L. R. FARNELL.

MICHEL'S GREEK INSCRIPTIONS.

Recueil d'Inscriptions Grecques. Par CH. MICHEL, Professeur à l'Université de Liège. 8vo. Pp. i-xxvi and 1-1000. Paris: E. Leroux, 1900.

THIS *Recueil* is a collection of over 1,400 Greek inscriptions anterior, with a few exceptions, to the Roman occupation. The leading feature of the collection is the absence of any kind of commentary; it is simply a collection of epigraphical texts. The text in each case is preceded by a short title, with a specification of the actual or approximate date, and a summary of the bibliography, upon the compilation of which scrupulous care has been bestowed. The absence of commentary has naturally enabled the editor to include a far greater number of texts than has been possible in any similar general collection, such as that of Dittenberger's well known *Sylloge*. The principle of arrangement in Michel depends upon (1) subject-matter, (2) chronological sequence, (3) geographical provenance. There are two main divisions, one, by far the larger (containing inscriptions Nos. 1-1332), falling under the head of *Droit publique*, and a smaller division (Nos. 1339-1422) entitled *Droit privé*. The inscriptions comprised in the first division serve to illustrate *Institutions publiques*, and the first few texts deal with the international relations of the Greek states. They include treaties, conventions, and decisions of international arbitration-courts. These are followed by letters and rescripts (Nos. 32-69) of kings and princes. To this point the chronological order is strictly observed irrespective of locality. In the next section (Nos. 70-555) are given *Lois et Décrets* arranged geographically with a subordinate chronological sequence. Then follow (Nos. 555-668) *Documents Administratifs*, inscriptions representing finance, public contracts, ephebic decrees and lists, documents relating to the administration of the army and the naval forces, the arsenal and the dockyards, lists of state officers, proxeni and burghers. A second subdivision of the work is headed *Institutions Religieuses* under the several sections of *Lois et Règlements* (669-809), *Administrations des Sanctuaires* (810-839), Oracles (840-856), Lists of Priests and Theori (857-878), Agonistic Inscriptions (879-960), Regulations of Phratries, Thiasi and Corporations (961-1018), Dedications, Imprecations

and Invocations (1016-1332). The second main division (1339-1422) is that which relates to Private Law. It includes the full text of the famous Gortyn Code, to which the editor has been compelled to add a page and a half of critical commentary in defence of his text. In Nos. 1336-1342 we have examples of judicial awards: Nos. 1342-1426 represent deeds and contracts of various kinds, wills, donations, sales, loans, mortgages, manumissions. It was inevitable that the divisions according to subject-matter should to some extent overlap each other: thus many of the inscriptions relating to religion would equally well be classed among the Decrees of the Senate and People. Similarly some Ephebic inscriptions and many documents which appear under the head of Finance have strictly the form of a Decree.

In issuing a collection of inscriptions printed in minuscule text and transcribed in the case of the earlier documents from texts in archaic characters, the editor must at once make up his mind as to the mode of transcription which he will adopt; whether he will follow the example of the Corpus, which persistently uses the normal minuscule of our classical texts, and render, e.g. ΤΟΙΛΟΛΟΙ by τῶ λόγῳ, ΤΕΝΒΟΛΕΝ by τὴν βουλὴν, or on the other hand he will prefer the system of Dittenberger and others, who write τοῖ λόγοι, τὴν βουλὴν—a system which as an interpretation of the original text goes only half way. Professor Michel has chosen the latter plan. We think that he might have done well to add, as Dittenberger has done in his *Sylloge*, at the head of each inscription some indication of the characters used in the original, but he may have deemed it to be dangerous to depart from his determination to give no commentary.

As a representative collection of inscriptions traversing the whole ground of Greek Epigraphy Professor Michel's work stands alone. To the scholar in many branches of Hellenic literature who has already a fair acquaintance with the language and formulae of Greek inscriptions, but who has no time to thread his way through the mazes of a Corpus or the periodicals, Michel's work supplies a long felt need, though it will not supersede collections framed on the lines of Hicks's *Greek Historical Inscriptions* or Dittenberger's *Sylloge* or such works as may hereafter be designed for introductory studies in Greek Epigraphy. But for class-room purposes it will be indispensable. Lastly,

no scholar can fail to be grateful to the editor for the thoroughness of the 'Tables of Concordance' at the end of the book. They enable the student to see at a glance, whether any given inscription in the *Corpus* of Boeckh or in the *Attic Corpus* or the other great collections, or in the manuals of Dittenberger, Hicks and Roberts, or, in default of any of these, in the current periodicals, is to be found in Michel's *Recueil*.

The Greek type leaves little to be desired in attractiveness and clearness. It would be possible indeed to note here and there instances in which the printer might have been more resourceful; e.g. it is strange, in view of the general accuracy, to find in No. 561 (Accounts of the *λογισταί*) the combination-symbol denoting 10 talents represented by a T under and disjoined from a Δ. But these and other defects are trifles which do not seriously impair the value of one of the most useful of students' aids which have appeared in recent years.

E. S. ROBERTS.

REINACH'S PAINTED VASES.

Répertoire des Vases Peints Grecs et Étrusques. Tome II. Par S. REINACH: Paris, Leroux, 1900. 5 francs.

THE second volume of Monsieur Reinach's inexpensive yet excellent collection reproduces the vase-paintings published by Millingen in the *Coghill Vases*,¹ Gerhard in the *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, Laborde, Luynes, Tischbein, etc. In noticing the first volume in an earlier number of the *Classical Review* this year, I spoke of the illustrations in this *Recueil*. At present I need only add a brief but well-deserved reference to the learning shown in the notes, and the care with which illustrative references have been collected. In the notes to one vase we find a warning against its spuriousness quoted from De Witte; in another case Mr. Cecil Smith's opinion as to the inaccuracy of Gerhard's drawing is referred to. Such useful notes recur continually. As in all these astonishingly cheap volumes, even those who possess the original volumes will find M. Reinach's notes an indispensable addition to their library. This volume contains 425 pages, of which 56 are devoted to an elaborate Index and Bibliography of vase studies.

W. M. RAMSAY.

¹ Millingen's *Peintures Antiques et Inédites de Vases Gr.* have already been republished by M. Reinach in Vol. II. of his *Bibliothèque des Monuments Figurés*.

MONTHLY RECORD.

ITALY.

Rome.—Explorations in the church of S. Cecilia in Trastevere have brought to light remains of a Roman house, which had been converted into the church. A wall of tufa of Republican times and other architectural remains were found, but the house was rebuilt of brick in the early Imperial times. Various tiles were found with stamps dating from the first half of the second century. It is a commonly-accepted tradition that S. Cecilia suffered martyrdom on this spot about A.D. 180. In one of the brick walls was a *lararium* with altar, a relief of Minerva in tufa, and terracotta reliefs representing a sacrificial scene, a Maenad, and a young Pan. Two marble sarcophagi were found, one with busts of a husband and wife of the time of Trajan or Hadrian (to judge from the lady's coiffure), and a pastoral scene below, with a shepherd milking a goat; the other represents Atalanta and Meleager, attended by the Dioscuri and other figures. Lastly may be mentioned a travertine *cippus* with inscription referring to the completion of the *pomoerium* under Vespasian and Titus; cf. *C.I.L.* vi. 1232 and *Hermes*, xxii. (1887), p. 622.¹

Sig. Savignoni's report has been issued on the *sacra stipes* or group of votive offerings in which the grave of Romulus was embedded (*C.R.* 1899, p. 330). Most of the objects belong to the sixth century B.C., some even to the middle of the seventh; a later group dates from the first century B.C., consisting of fragments of wine-jars and other vases, and bones of victims. These objects are not stratified, but mixed and confused. Originally there was a circle of *favissae* or places for storing rubbish, eighteen in number, round the tomb, which was a centre of worship of Romulus; their antiquity is vouched for by the fact that the Cloaca Maxima cuts through two of them. About the end of the Republic these wells were emptied and the contents spread round the sacred spot.²

Under the demolished church of S. Maria Liberatrice are traces of the fountain of Juturna, consisting of a *puteal* and a marble altar with the name of the nymph; part of her statue has also been found, and remains of statues of Apollo, Aesculapius, and Hygieia, with the niches in which they stood; also inscriptions relating to the *Curatores Aquarum*. It was here that the Dioscuri appeared after the battle of Lake Regillus.²

Macciano, Etruria.—An Etrusco-Roman tomb of the first century B.C., recently found, contained various objects of interest, including five urns, two with Latin inscriptions, and two with Etruscan; one of the latter has a head of Medusa, the other, Echelos with his ploughshare in combat with warriors. Among other objects were a ring with intaglio of warrior and Sphinx, and a series of glass cups, vases, and other objects from the toilet-equipment of the woman buried in the tomb. Her name is shown by an inscription to be Satellia Philematium, wife of C. Vettius Plintha.¹

Giulianova and Crognaleto.—At these two places, in the ancient Picenum territory, large finds of coins have recently been made, and are now in the Museum at Teramo. All are of the Republican period; those from Crognaleto (167 in number, all silver) belong to the time immediately before the Social War. Those from Giulianova (the ancient *Castrum Novum*)

¹ *Notizie degli Scavi*, Jan. 1900.

² *Athenaeum*, September 15 (cf. *Notizie degli Scavi*, April 1900).

consist of varieties of the *as*, and consular coins ranging from L. Aemilius Paullus, B.C. 234 to Licinius Murena, B.C. 158.^{1, 3}

Nola.—Excavations have been carried on for the last few years, but the results are only now published. They include two sepulchral *cippi*, one mentioning a PAGVS MYTTIANVS (see *C.I.L.* x. 1278-1280, for mention of other *pagi*), and other inscriptions. Two important sculptures are now in the Naples Museum, the one a torso of a Roman Emperor wearing a cuirass, on which are reliefs: a Gorgon's head within knotted serpents, a trophy, and two Victories sacrificing bulls. It is perhaps intended for Augustus, who died at Nola; but the work is far inferior to the Prima Porta statue. The other is a bust of a bearded man in a paludamentum, which Prof. De Petra identifies as Decimus Clodius Albinus, the heir designate of Septimius Severus.

A series of tombs of earlier date contained Greek vases, of which the most noteworthy is a 'Nolan' amphora, exhibiting on the obverse Athena handing to Kadmos the stone with which he is to slay the dragon of Ares; he carries a pitcher for the water from the fountain, and also a sword, and makes an obeisance before her. [For similar vases, cf. *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, Ser. 1, 7, and *Abhandl. d. k. sächs. Gesellsch.* 1875, pl. 3, Cl. Besides a Proto-Corinthian lekythos, the other vases are all plain, some of local fabric.⁴

SICILY.

Selinus.—A circular base of terracotta has been found with the archaic Greek inscription ΑΡ+ΕΓΑΜΟ, which dates not later than 500 B.C., and is the earliest known from this site. The forms of the letters resemble those of the earliest coins of Zancle (*B.M. Cat. Coins of Sicily*, p. 99).⁴

³ *Notizie degli Scavi*, Feb. 1900.

⁴ *Ibid.* March, 1900.

GREECE.

Corinth.—Some details have come to hand of the newly-discovered fountain, close to the temple. It is built into the rock, in the form of a rectangular grotto, the side-walls lined with poros-stone. Rectangular pillars of rock support the roof, and ten steps lead down to the spring. The water issued from spouts in the form of lions' heads, below which marks in the rock are visible where jars had stood (as represented on b.f. vases with 'Hydrophoria' scenes, e.g., *Brit. Mus. Cat.* ii. B 330 ff.). Two colossal statues were found which had supported the roof of a semicircular building, and two colossal female heads from similar supporting figures. On the pediment of this building were represented Helios and Selene.⁵

Erctria.—M. Kouroniotes has found the shrine of Apollo Daphnephoros, but of the temple only the foundations and a few architectural members of poros-stone remain. Among the finds were two archaic male heads, sundry inscriptions, and a relief of Artemis and Apollo at the Omphalos.⁶

Donsula (*Thesula*?), near the ancient Andania, in Messenia. A large περίβολος of regular ashlar masonry has come to light, which M. Kabbadias takes to be the site of Karnasion (Paus. iv. 2, 2), also the remains of three mosaic pavements of the Roman period. One of these is very fine, measuring 19 by 16 ft. It represents in the centre a combat of two men with wild beasts, surrounded by smaller pictures: four female busts alternating with four young warriors in chariots drawn by panthers. Three of the warriors are named Eunondas, Euenion, and Hieron, the name of the fourth being unintelligible.⁵

H. B. WALTERS.

⁵ *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, July 14.

⁶ *Athenische Mittheilungen*, xxv. (1900), pts. 1, 2, p. 114 ff.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie. 1900.

6 June. W. Hünerwadel, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Königs Lysimachos von Thrakien* (A. Höck), favourable. J. Endt, *Beiträge zur ionischen Vasenmalerei* (K. Wernicke). 'Promising as a first writing.' *Taciti de origine situ moribus ac populis Germanorum liber*, ed. J. Müller. Ed. maior. Ed. II. (U. Zernial), favourable.

13 June. *Sylloge inscriptionum Gracarum*, it. ed. G. Dittenberger. Vol. II. (W. Larfeld), very favourable. Tacitus, *Dialogus de oratoribus*, erkl. von C. John (E. Wolff), I. W. Heraeus, *Die Appendix*

Probi (P. Wessner), favourable. Walker, *The sequence of tenses in Latin. A study based on Caesar's Gallic War* (C. Stegmann). 'The general results must be accepted.'

20 June. M. Müller, *Beiträge zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie*, übers. von H. Lüders (Bartholomae), unfavourable. 'Many doubtful hypotheses are put forward as scientific facts.' A. Kütze, *Xenophons Anabasis als Grundlage des griechischen Elementarunterrichts*, favourable. C. Vitelli, *Sulla composizione e pubblicazione della Farsaglia* (R. Helm), favourable. Tacitus, *Dialogus de oratoribus*, erkl. von C. John (E. Wolff) II, very favourable.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

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SYNTAX AND STYLE.

THERE is a method of investigating problems in syntax, a method still too common, which eliminates the one supremely important element, life. In the study of languages, we are taught rules, very early if not first of all: and we generally acquire as boys the fixed habit of conning each page in the more or less conscious effort to discover examples that fit the formulae. Scientific devotion requires the making of 'collections.' The wise naturalist digs his specimen up as Wolfgang von Goethe did his precious flower: 'Ich grub's mit allen Den Wurzeln aus.' But too often a mere phrase withers, like a rootless spray or blossom, between the note-book's leaves.

Now, as no line in all Naevius' poetry illustrated the ideally regular Saturnian, so there is not, in all Cicero or Livy, a pure and simple ablative of time, or place, or attendant circumstance. Each fits into three or four such categories—or into none. The optative is never used twice alike, because, even if the same form of words recurs, the circumstances must have suffered some change in the meantime. An urgent expression of desire is decisive, or nugatory, according to the weight of the wisher's hand.

Every rational utterance fits into a new place in a new conversation. A sentence is fully intelligible only in its environment. I appealed the other day to Plato, *Apology* 28 D, as proof that the potential or conditional optative cannot be confined to the future, or to any time: but that sentence must be heard in the light of the whole masterly plea, the whole heroic life, which neither had nor craved in that hour any earthly future.

The biological uniqueness of any genuine sentence may be illustrated even from the thrice-familiar roadside of the great Retreat. Thus, *Anabasis* IV, 2, 1: καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα δῆσαντες παραδιδόασιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ συντίθενται τὴν μὲν νύκτα, ἣν λάβωσι τὸ ἄκρον, τὸ χωρίον φυλάττειν, ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ σάλπιγγι σημαίνειν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄνω ὄντας ἰέναι ἐπὶ τοὺς κατέχοντας τὴν φανεράν ἔκβασιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ συμβοηθήσειν, ἐκβαίνοντες ὡς ἂν δύνωνται τάχιστα. ταῦτα συνθέμενοι οἱ μὲν ἐπορεύοντο... Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἡγείτο πρὸς τὴν φανεράν ἔκβασιν... The most curious feature here is the repeated narrowing and widening of the subject, like a regiment keeping an irregular road always full. δῆσαντες agrees with οἱ στρατηγοί, or more especially Ξενοφῶν τε καὶ Χειρίσοφος: αὐτοῖς is a band of volunteers, sent at dusk to seize a height, whence they may fall upon the foe who are guarding the exit from a great glen or interval. But straightway the volunteers are included in συντίθενται. Yet we must keep in mind, that any such military 'arrangement' takes the form of a command from generals to subordinates. For λάβωσι, φυλάττειν, σημαίνειν, the subject narrows to 'the volunteers.' But the next phrase, ἰέναι ἐπὶ κ.τ.λ. would be somewhat ambiguous, as the volunteers and the main body are to make a simultaneous attack. So the express divisions into τοὺς μὲν ἄνω and αὐτοὶ δὲ are inserted. The reason for the difference in cases has been already mentioned: the commanders are the real arrangers. Furthermore, we are now far enough away from συντίθενται to forget that it was not, exactly, a verb of utterance. The Greek vividness, the instinctive effort to recall the form of an actual con-

versation, crops out in the change from the objective present infinitives, φυλάττειν etc., to a *future* infinitive, βοηθήσειν: another line or two, and the lively narrative would doubtless have taken the second step, and become *direct* quotation: for a Greek is always tempted toward the more dramatic form. Then again συνθέμενοι repeats συντίθενται with its widest subject, which however is instantly cleft with a οἱ μὲν etc. Ξενοφῶν δὲ comes in a line later, but the other generals are not alluded to again.

There is no 'irregularity' here, unless it be irregular for a man's coat to fit him perfectly and be a misfit for his brother. Yet it would be impossible to codify these variations, in the width of the subject, by general rules of grammar.

The next sentence cited is a no less familiar one from Thucydides I, 2, 1. φαίνεται γὰρ ἡ νῦν Ἑλλὰς καλουμένη οὐ πάλαί βεβαίως οἰκουμένη, ἀλλὰ μεταναστάσεις τε οὔσαι τὰ πρότερα καὶ ῥαδίως ἕκαστοι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπολείποντες. The brief note in the excellent Classen-Morris-White edition remarks, that the three participles 'belong to the imperfect.' Now, of course, the imperfect indicative tended to pass into *present* participle, if any. But every such transition was liable to produce ambiguity, which is 'the unpardonable sin' in style. Hence it is most carefully guarded. In this case, οἰκουμένη represents ὅτι οὐ πάλαί οἰκεῖται, not ὥκειτο. To be sure, an English translation uses a perfect or past indicative ('It appears that it was permanently settled not long ago,' or 'It appears that it has not been settled long'), but this is itself a grave ambiguity found in English only. Action continuing from the past *into* the *present* is expressed by the present, with the proper temporal adverb, in most languages. τὰ πρότερα makes the real time of οὔσαι clear, and yet the apparent parallelism with πάλαί may have disguised the transition to the imperfect. Finally, the close link τε...καὶ makes us realise without effort that καταλείποντες is in the same time as οὔσαι.

There is a similarly brief note on the

series of 'imperfect' infinitives in Thuc. I, 3, 2. The passage seems to admit us into the very workshop of Thucydides, while he struggles for absolutely clear and logical expression, with by no means adequate command of graceful style. δοκεῖ δέ μοι, he begins, emphasizing the conjectural nature of his whole statement. Then he passes to the past tense: οὐδὲ τοῦτομα τοῦτο ξύμπασά πω εἶχεν. Yet, having thus made the time-relation plain, he is again more anxious to regain the connection with the modest δοκεῖ, which now becomes personal and ceases to be parenthetical. So we have an infinitive, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πρὸ Ἑλληνος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος καὶ πάντῃ οὐδὲ εἶναι ἢ ἐπὶ κλησὶς αὐτῇ. We may say, that the subject of δοκεῖ has narrowed, from the whole long sentence to ἐπὶ κλησὶς alone. Now, here again the lack of any past tense to use makes the present, εἶναι, less striking, like οὔσαι in the other passage. Yet even so, besides εἶχεν, the temporal phrase πρὸ Ἑλληνος guards it. It is true, that two real 'imperfect infinitives' follow: παρέχεσθαι and καλεῖσθαι. Yet anyone who patiently traces the long sentence through its windings will be struck, not merely with the careful timing references to the Pelasgians, Hellen, etc., but especially with the reversion, at the last, to the indicative, ἐδύνατο. The use of an 'imperfect' infinitive, then, cannot be denied: but it is a delicate crossing line between tenses which must not be confounded, and the stylistic effort for perspicuity is therefore especially instructive.

The present purpose is, however, to illustrate not a particular construction, but the infinite variableness of all so-called types. Nothing can be understood or enjoyed aright, when torn out of its proper place. This is true of shell-fish or algae, but certainly no less true of the delicate perishable organisms we call sentences. They yield themselves up wholly only to him who sees the life in language, ay, the life behind language, steadily, and sees it whole. Linguistics is biology, not anatomy.

WM. C. LAWTON.

THE TEXT OF THE *ILIAD*, III.

I HAVE shown (*C.R.* March 1899) that the existing MSS. of the *Iliad*, with the exception of several fragments of the Ptolemaic era, constitute a vulgate, that is,

a body the members of which diverge from each other in different degrees, but in degree only and not in kind. An apparent exception to this uniformity, the family *h*,

was shown (July 1900) to be a special case of the general tradition.

Upon analysis of the readings of the MSS. (October 1899) it appeared that in 60 cases the modern vulgate was identical with the text to which the ancients gave the same name—so far as it can be recovered; in 16 the reading of the ancient vulgate had been displaced by that of Aristarchus, and in the remaining 24 the MSS. varied between one and the other. This did not imply that the only ancient readings to be found in our text are those of Aristarchus, but that considering the predominant position of Aristarchus as regards his predecessors, and the small number even of his readings ($\frac{6}{11}$) that have found their way into even a single MS., it seemed probable that the readings of other ancient critics where they exist otherwise than sporadically in the vulgate, owe their survival to their having adopted or coincided with the ancient *κοινή*. This was most demonstrably the case with Zenodotus.

There being then in the modern manuscript text 40 per cent. of non-vulgate readings, of which 16 per cent. have expelled their contraries, we have to seek an explanation of their presence in these proportions. The explanation will at the same time supply a theory of the genesis of the actual Homeric text.

The old view which started with Wolf and may still be met with, that our text is that which the Alexandrians formed out of the vulgate by the exercise of their criticism, needs no refutation: the opposite position that the Alexandrians exercised no influence on the Homeric text, is in fact correct; their influence directly was nil, they did not supplant the ordinary editions with the copyists. Yet the Alexandrian readings stand in the ordinary modern text, in certain proportions.

That this partial admixture of Aristarchean readings is the result of a recension, the deliberate choice of a learned man—an idea which may perhaps commend itself to some enquirers—again almost disproves itself: the table which I have given *C.R.* 1899 p. 432 shows an irregularity in the survival of Aristarchus' readings far beyond the possibilities of a recension. This irregularity, and the fact that no sort of merit distinguishes the survivals from the neglected readings, seem inconsistent with any process which involves the idea of intention or choice.

As I have said, one family (*h*) seemed a possible exception to the general modern

vulgate, a possible actual descendant of Aristarchus or even of a time earlier than he. I have tried to show (*C.R.* July 1900) that the higher percentage of Aristarcheanism in this family is due to natural and automatic causes. I venture to propose the same process as the explanation of the non-vulgate element in our Homeric text generally. I advance that from late classical times at least the lections of the commentators were written upon the margin of many of the ordinary copies, and that the substitution of these marginal readings for those of the text, in varying proportions, during centuries of transcription, produced the mediaeval text.

The evidence for this hypothesis is rather circumstantial than direct.

It may be taken as a general rule that all, or nearly all, minuscule MSS. of the *Iliad* are corrected, not clerically, but in substantial particulars. They are corrected in different degrees, some occasionally, others systematically, and in exactly the lines on which known variants occur. There being no apparent source for these corrections, it is to be supposed they proceed from comparison with other manuscripts (as we are occasionally explicitly informed).

Marginalia are a more fruitful source of textual alteration. We find long scholia, short scholia or—another form of these—lists of variants introduced by $\gamma\rho$. All of these influence a scribe as he copies his archetype, and induce him to transfer some of them to his text, or to append them as corrections to it. The effect of scholia, long and short, on the text which they accompany, may be studied in the Venetus A; a certain number of interlinear corrections can hardly be denied to proceed from the marginal or intermarginal scholia (and my remark *Journal of Philology*, xxvii. p. 171, that the scribe did not pay attention to the scholia, needs modification). Compressed scholia with $\gamma\rho$. are to be found also in T, and in the 'scholia minora.' Lists of mere variants with $\gamma\rho$. are less common, but still are often found: a remarkably consistent example is in Ven. 458, a MS. of the *h* family, which has the non-*h* readings collected on the margin throughout; other noticeable MSS. are 'Ang.', Vat. 5, and many more occasionally.

In the Ven. A we can watch the process of the casual attraction of variants into the text; in the others it cannot be doubted that if they were used as archetypes a

certain proportion of their variants must have won a place in the resulting text. In the rare instances where one MS. can be proved to have been copied from another this is the case (*e.g.* Vat. 27 from Vat. 4.)

The adscription and attraction of variants is a constant feature in minuscule MSS. In uncials and papyri also we find correction and adscription frequent, and as far back as the third century B.C. The Ptolemaic fragments have readings superscribed at Φ 397, 398 X 152; the Bankes MS. of s. II. A.D. has corrections and marginal variants, the Ambrosian of s. IV.-V. has among many clerical one or two real corrections; the Bodleian papyrus (s. V.) has several marginalia and a few corrections.

The critical signs also, which occur systematically in Ven. A, and systematically or sporadically and at wide intervals of time in several uncial and minuscule MSS. (Brit. Mus. pap. 128 s. I. B.C., Bodl. MS. gr. class. a. 1 (P) s. V. A.D., 'C' (s. XI.), 'D' (s. XI.), 'T,' Ven. cl. ix. cod. 3 and others) are examples of the tendency to annotate, according to the material which was at hand, the margin.

We see then the tendency constant, from our earliest MSS. onward, to annotate the margin of a MS. with readings of the opposite sense to those of the text; and we can sometimes trace, and must often assume, the supplanting of the text by them.

To turn to more general considerations, to account for such a casual and arbitrary collection of variants as the Aristarcheanisms of our text, a process is required which contains the element of chance. Now the operation of copying is admittedly one of these: the business of a scribe is conditioned by semi-conscious and mainly physical circumstances. Graphical similarities act only at random, the gloss supersedes the original incalculably, homoeoteleuton, homoearchon, and the other principles of criticism now work and now do not. Their casual operation is no hindrance to any of them. The incorporation of marginalia into a text, the correction of a text by comparison with other copies of the author, are eminently phenomena of this sort. The theory therefore suits the fact that in book A out of 34 Aristarcheanisms the MSS. have 2, in B 2 out of 28, in Γ 2 out of 25, in Z 4 out of 19, and so on.

If the hypothesis appears to account for the facts in general, we have next to ask if there is any circumstance which contradicts it, and what consequences its adoption implies.

I will ingenuously confess that I do not see any valid objection that can be made to this theory. I can imagine however that it might be observed that while such a theory accounts for sporadic or occasional cases of Aristarcheanisms in the text, it is hardly able to explain the presence of the 16 per cent. in all MSS., or in other words of the 67 Aristarchean readings which have found their way into all MSS. To this I answer (1) that in this case too, for the reasons given above, no other hypothesis seems admissible. No recension could have selected exactly these 67 cases to the exclusion of the other 664, and it is equally improbable that these 67 readings come from any particular edition which had a special influence upon the vulgate. (2) The case of a reading, not original, entering and pervading an entire text, is far from an uncommon phenomenon. Upon it rest in fact most modern conjectures; it is assumed without question by the enterprising critic that the graphical corruption, the interpolation, the gloss, which his conjecture is to displace, has entered *ab extra* and conquered the entire tradition. However unfounded in the case of most conjectures this assumption may be, it can hardly be validly objected to my theory that a quasi-graphical and mechanical process has imposed Aristarchus' readings to the extent of 16 per cent. upon the whole text.

A more important consideration is, what consequences follow from the adoption of this hypothesis? what view of the history of the Homeric text does it involve?

The hypothesis which I have stated, that the divergences from the ancient vulgate in our text are due to the gradual and casual incorporation of variants registered on the margins of manuscripts, evidently implies that the *κοινή* *ἑκδοσις* had come to be the one direct source of tradition, and that the MSS. other than the *κοινὰ* were only known, and only exercised an effect upon the Homeric text, indirectly and through commentaries and scholia. This no doubt is a considerable assumption, and also the less interesting or attractive account. Our modern text loses in interest if it is cut off from all direct affiliation to the Alexandrian and prae-Alexandrian editions.

It is however a conclusion pointed to by the whole of the independent evidence. This evidence consists of the only contemporary authorities, the papyri and the quotations.

The only papyri which depart in such a marked degree from the average as to deserve exclusion from the *κοινή* are the third century Ptolemaic fragments, published

by MM. Mahaffy, Nicole, Grenfell and Hunt. Their number may we hope be increased, but the vulgate papyri of the first century B.C. and later are already so numerous that we should be justified in treating such additions as exceptions and survivals.

The quotations tell the same tale. It may be seen from Professor Ludwich's collections (*Ueber Homercitate aus der Zeit von Aristarch bis Didymos*, 1897) and from comparison of authors not included in that work or in his *Die Homervulgata als voralexandrinische erwiesen*, 1898, p. 71 sq. that the post-Aristotelian citations down to Diodorus yield very few variations from the vulgate.¹ If we were to bow entirely to their evidence we should say that the κοινή swept the field in the second and first centuries B.C. The quotations of the first and second centuries A.D. however show a certain reaction. Strabo exhibits a considerable number of omissions and additions, severe grammarian though he is: Apollonius the lexicographer, when every allowance is made for his system of quotation and the corruption of his text, has certain undoubted variants. Dio of Prusa and Pausanias though they use vulgate texts have each occasional valuable information. Plutarch has numerous and important variations (B 413, E 518 a b, I 458-461, A 451 and 453, Σ 206, 207, 208) besides the striking passage Ψ 223 sq. confirmed by Bodl. ms. gr. class. b. 3 (P) (*Greek Papyri*, series ii. 1897). Athenaeus,

¹ Among the prae-Alexandrian writers who contribute variants to the text we have to reckon, beside Plato, Aristotle, Aeschines, and Lysurgus, not only Dioscurides the disciple of Isocrates (adds I 119 α), but Chrysippus the Stoic. Chrysippus, whose name occurs frequently in the Homeric scholia (see Bekker's index), is quoted by Galen, *de plac. Hipp. et Plat.* (ed. I. Müller, 1874) iii. 114 sq. Galen says (114 end, 115) πάντα μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ ἔπη καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι μυρία ἕτερα τὸ πλῆθος ὧν Χρύσιππος παρατίθεται... ἐγὼ δὲ εἰ πάντα παραγράφωμι, πληρώσω τὸ βιβλίον ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Χρύσιππος ἐπλήρωσεν. Galen's variants therefore may be supposed to represent Chrysippus' text. We find several verses not in our Homer:

§ 115 πρῆσεν ἐνὶ στήθεσφιν ἔρισθενέος Διὸς ἀλκὴν γυνάμεναι.

ιβ. τότε δὴ στήθεων θ' ἅμα φρένας ἐξέλετο Ζεὺς (sic).

§ 134 ἄλλο δ' ἐνὶ στήθεσσι νόος καὶ μήτις ἀμύμων.

And these variants:

§ 115 = O 322 φόβου δ' ἐμνήσαθ' ἕκαστος = λάθοντο δὲ θεοῖδοις ἀλκῆς MSS.

iv. § 153 καθάπερ ἐπὶ Ἀχαιλλέως ταῦτα λέγει ὁ ποιητὴς πενθοῦντος τὸν Πάτροκλον ἄλλ' ὅτε δὴ κλαίων τε κυλινδόμενός τε κορέσθη (= δ 541, κ 499).

Immediately after this Galen quotes Ω 514, so that Chrysippus apparently read this verse instead of Ω 513 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥα γόοιο τετάρπετο διὸς Ἀχιλλεύς. At X 212 the scholia tell us he read ῥῆμα for μέσσα.

while he preserves to us many stories about the text, uses in his quotations MSS. mostly of the vulgate type; his variations are usually of single words or at most half lines. The same remark is true of Diogenes Laertius. After him, or more correctly, after Plutarch, there is no sign of extensive variation in the quotations. Plutarch, an antiquarian, who lived in a country district of continental Greece, will have possessed a copy of some ancient edition, but even in his day it was an exception; and neither MS. nor quotation suggest such a survival after his time. Ammian and Julian are quite vulgate, and so is Macrobius—a valuable witness on account of the range of his quotations. The κοινή will have gradually choked off the sporadic editions, and by the epoch when the first Homeric scholia were collected, it may be doubted if any of them survived in the book-market.

My hypothesis therefore, derived from the analysis of the readings of the mediaeval text, agrees with the conclusion of the direct history of tradition, so far as it is known to us. The book-trade, which had never been largely affected by either the special editions nor the criticism of the Alexandrians, continued in its course of propagating the κοινή; the influence of the other editions was only conveyed through the casual aberration of the copyist's eye, roving between his text and what he presumed were corrections of it upon the margin. Genealogical relation therefore between the mediaeval text and the Alexandrian and prae-Alexandrian editions there is none; the actual survivals of the readings of these editions do not suggest any thread of real connection. The one permanent and organic element in the text of Homer is the κοινή; the rest is accidental and casual accretion.

The value of the collation of Homeric MSS. is necessarily affected by this conclusion. The Homeric apparatus does not, as that of most authors, testify to the survival of good elements of an original text: it indicates where and how accidental adscription has diversified a common stock; its value is mainly historical, and consists in the light it throws upon the nature of the clerical transmission of a familiar and much-commented author.

T. W. ALLEN.

POSTSCRIPT.

Professor Arthur Ludwich has honoured the first of these articles (March 1899) with

some remarks in the very important list of manuscripts of the *Iliad* which he has published in the *Festschrift für C. F. W. Müller* (*Supplementband d. Jahrb. f. klass. Phil.* xxvii. p. 31 sq.). It is of course impossible, except in the prolegomena to an edition, to present the details and calculations upon which a classification of MSS. rests, and I agree with the general considerations by which Ludwig (p. 44, 45) is kind enough to explain some differences in our results. The method of distinguishing MSS. must be quantitative: where the total of agreements exceeds the total of differences there is relationship, and I have generally found agreement in one or two striking variants delusive.

Ludwig mentions two cases of agreement which I have passed over: first, the omission of B 166-181 in my M 1 and M 9. These lines were omitted for a graphical reason, the identity of 164, 165 and 180, 181 and therefore we might have expected

to find them left out in MSS. of no relationship, and so they are left out in my L 8, L 11, L 12, Ang. Vat. 19, Vat. 25, and other MSS.

The omission of the Catalogue is a very striking phenomenon: I know of eleven MSS. in which it occurs, besides the one family *o*, and most of them have no point in common beyond it. The case is not so simple as the last, for that the Catalogue should have been omitted at all is quite mysterious, as Ludwig himself has observed (*Die Homervulgata*, p. 32); but whatever cause started the omission, it is certainly sporadic in most of the cases where it occurs.

As I have stated, several of my minor families have not much stability, and on re-treatment might be fused into other groups: one I should have added, the combination G (Vindobonensis 39) Mori (Trinity College, Cambridge) O₂ (Barocci 203), which may be called *q*.

ON THE WORD Δράμα.

Two or three years ago something called my attention to the use of the word δράμα. According to Liddell and Scott it is used 'especially of tragedy,' but I began to doubt whether in good Attic it was ever used of comedy at all, and my doubts have only grown stronger, the more I have investigated the matter. Let us clear two things out of the way at starting.

The word is sometimes used with no dramatic or theatrical sense at all. Thus Aesch. *Ag.* 533 ἐξεύχεται τὸ δράμα τοῦ πάθους πλέον, and probably twice in the *Theaetetus*, as the commentators take it: 150 A τὸ τῶν μαίων τοσούτων, ἔλαττον δὲ τοῦμοῦ δράματος, and 169 B σὺ δὲ κατ' Ἀνταῖόν τί μοι μᾶλλον δοκεῖς τὸ δράμα δρᾶν. So in the *Rhet. ad Alex.* 1438 b 15 ὅταν ὦσιν ὀλίγα δράματα (= πράξεις following) περὶ ὧν λέγομεν. Much later Alciphron seems to use it twice in this way: 3. 52. 1 ἐμὲ γὰρ κοινωνῆσαι τῆς ἀτόπου πράξεως ἀδύνατον, οὐδ' εἰ μάντευμά μοι ἐκ τῆς Δωδωναίας δρυὸς ἐπιτρέποι τὸ δράμα: 3. 62. 2 ἐγὼ δ' οἶδα τὸ δράμα καὶ ὅσον οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν κατερῶ τῷ δεσπότῃ.

Secondly in its dramatic sense there is no doubt that it was used of satyric plays. See Plato *Symp.* 222 D τὸ σατυρικόν σου δράμα τοῦτο: *Polit.* 303 C τοῦτο μὲν ἀτεχνῶς ἡμῖν ὥσπερ δράμα, καθάπερ ἐρρήθη νῦν δι

κενταυρικὸν δρᾶσθαι καὶ σατυρικόν τινα θίασον. In Xen. *Symp.* 4. 19 πάντων Σειληνῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς σατυρικοῖς αἰσχιστος ἂν εἴην and regularly in records of dramatic contests we may presume that σατυρικόν stands for σατυρικὸν δράμα. (Cf. Athen. 428 A Σοφοκλῆς ἐν σατυρικῷ (unless, as is likely, a masculine name has been lost before σατυρικῷ, for in lists of plays etc. σατυρικός is often made to agree with the name, e.g. Ἰριδί σατυρικῇ Athen. 451 c, Σφιγγὶ σατυρικῇ arg. Aesch. *Sept.*): *Schol.* Ar. *Frogs* 1124 χωρὶς τῶν σατυρικῶν. When we recall the close connexion of satyric drama and tragedy, there is nothing surprising in δράμα continuing to be used of the former (which was indeed the old form of tragedy), even if it could not be used of comedy.

This last is the point which we have now to examine by a scrutiny of the places in good Attic Greek, so far as they are known to me, where the word occurs.

In Aristophanes the word occurs twelve times. Ten of these passages refer distinctly to tragedy (*Frogs* 920, 923, 1021 to Aeschylus: *Ach.* 415, 470, *Frogs* 947, *Thesm.* 849 to Euripides: *Peace* 795, *Thesm.* 52, 166 to Carcinus, Agathon, and Phrynichus respectively) and the other two (*Thesm.* 149, 151) may reasonably be

understood so, since it is Agathon speaking of poets and their plays. Aristophanes seems also to have taken *Δράματα* as the name of one or more of his comedies. We have quotations from *Δράματα*, *Δράματα ἢ Κένταυρος*, and *Δράματα ἢ Νίοβος*, and are hardly in a position to say how many plays these names represent. We know nothing that throws light on the meaning of *Δράματα* as the title. Meineke's conjecture that it refers to a comedy within a comedy (like the play in *Hamlet* or *The Taming of the Shrew* and in *The Critic*) rests on no evidence. But *Δράματα ἢ Κένταυρος* reminds us of Plat. *Polit.* 303 c above quoted and may point to some connexion with the satyric drama. It will be remembered that in the well-known story about the *Oedipus Coloneus* given in the Greek *Life* of Sophocles (22) Hermann proposed to alter ἐν δράματι to Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Δράμασι. This is extremely uncertain, but, if it were right, it would probably connect *Δράματα* with tragedy.

Μέγα δρᾶμα, as name or designation (Pollux and Hesychius) of a play by Ion, is also obscure, but there is no doubt that the play was a tragedy.

The comic fragments yield, as far as I know, nine examples of the word.

1. Ecphantides (Meineke 2. 12: Kock 1. 9) Μεγαρικῆς κωμωδίας ᾄσμα δίειμαι (?) αἰσχύνομαι τὸ δρᾶμα Μεγαρικὸν ποιεῖν. Thus Aspasius ad Ar. *Eth.* 4. 2. 1123 a 24.
2. Teleclides (M. 2. 371: K. 1. 218) φρύγει τι δρᾶμα καινὸν | Εὐριπίδῃ (φρύγει Dindorf for Φρυγικόν: reading very uncertain).
3. Strattis (M. 2. 763: K. 1. 711) Εὐριπίδου τι δρᾶμα δεξιώτατον.
4. Antiphanes (M. 3. 36: K. 2. 38) δρᾶμ' ἀκοῦσαι.
5. Antiphanes (M. 3. 106: K. 3. 90) ὅταν... ἀπειρήκωσιν ἐν τοῖς δράμασιν, speaking expressly of tragic poets.
6. Ephippus (M. 3. 335: K. 2. 259) Διονυσίου δ' εἰ δρᾶματ' ἐκμαθεῖν δέοι (Dionysius the elder wrote tragedies) καὶ Δημοφώντος ἅτ' ἐποίησεν εἰς Κότυν. Demophon seems unknown, but the names in the context, Dionysius, Theodorus, Euripides, all point to tragedy.
7. Diphilus (M. 4. 411: K. 2. 565) οὐ γὰρ τὸ δρᾶμα, τὸν δὲ νοῖν σκοπούμεθα, speaking of Euripides.
8. Euphron (M. 4. 487: K. 3. 318) ἐκείνο δρᾶμα, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ παίγιον.
9. Anon. (M. 4. 654: K. 3. 518) ἥδη δὲ λέξω

τὸν λόγον τοῦ δράματος (M.'s text πράγματος, but see vol. 5. cccxliii).

Of these 2, 3, 5-8 refer unmistakably to serious plays, 8 being specially noteworthy, and we know nothing about the context of 4. I reserve till later a discussion of 1 and 9, which present some difficulty.

The following passages in Herodotus, Plato, and Demosthenes speak for themselves.

Herod. 6. 21 ποιήσαντι Φρυνίχῳ δρᾶμα Μιλήτων ἄλωσιν καὶ διδάξαντι ἐς δάκρυνά τε ἔπεσε τὸ θέητρον καὶ ἐξημίωσάν μιν...καὶ ἐπέταξαν μηκέτι μηδένα χρᾶσθαι τούτῳ τῷ δρᾶματι.

Plato *Apol.* 35 τὰ ἐλεεινὰ ταῦτα δράματα. *Phil.* 50. B ἐν θρήνοις τε καὶ ἐν τραγωδίασι, μὴ τοῖς δράμασι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ τοῦ βίου ξυμπάσῃ τραγωδίᾳ καὶ κωμωδίᾳ. *Laws* 817 B ἀνταγωνισταὶ τοῦ καλλίστου δράματος, just before styled τραγωδίαν τὴν ἀληθεστάτην.

Demosth. 19. 120 ὅς γὰρ ἀγῶνας καινοὺς ὥσπερ δράματα...αἰρεῖς διώκων (of Aeschines, a tragic actor). 246 τοῦτο δὲ τὸ δρᾶμα (the *Phoenicia* of Euripides) ὑπεκρίναντο, and again in 247 ἐν τούτῳ τῷ δρᾶματι: also *ibid* ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς δράμασι τοῖς τραγικοῖς.

The next two places are indeterminate but may quite well be taken of tragedy: Lysias *fr.* 49 βελτίων μὲν ὁ τῶν ἀντιδίκων ὑποκριτής, δρᾶμα δὲ τοῦμὸν ἄμεινον: Plato *Rep.* 451 c μετὰ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον δρᾶμα παντελῶς διαπερανθέν τὸ γυναικεῖον αὐτὸ περαίνεσθαι.

The precise meaning of Aristotle *Rhet.* 3. 14. 1415 a 9 τῶν δραμάτων οἱ πρόλογοι καὶ τῶν ἐπῶν τὰ προοίμια is fixed by the words ten lines below, οἱ τραγικοὶ δηλοῦσι περὶ τὸ δρᾶμα κἂν μὴ εὐθὺς ὥσπερ Εὐριπίδης, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ προλόγῳ γέ πον. In *Rhet.* 3. 12. 1413 b 11 οἱ ὑποκριταὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα (i.e. ἠθικά and παθητικά) τῶν δραμάτων διώκουσι καὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ τοὺς τοιοῦτους. βασιάζονται δὲ οἱ ἀναγνωστικοί, οἷον Χαιρήμων (ἄκριβής γὰρ ὥσπερ λογογράφος) καὶ Λικύμνιος τῶν διθυραμβοποιῶν no doubt the sense of δραμάτων might be general, but there is no difficulty about limiting it, and the reference in the same context to the tragic poet Chaeremon and the dithyrambic poet Licymnius seems to show that the writer has in his mind only serious poetry. *Poetics* 15. 1454 b 4 ξέω τοῦ δράματος is repeated a few lines below in the shape ξέω τῆς τραγωδίας: ἐν τῷ δρᾶματι 24. 1460 a 35 has the same connotation, though he is talking more particularly of epic and a general word like μύθευμα would be fitter. In 17. 1455 b 17 and 18. 1456 a 16 dramas are contrasted with epics, but he is obviously thinking of tragic dramas (τραγωδίαν in

1456 a 13). In 3. 1448 a 28 ὅθεν καὶ δράματα καλεῖσθαι τινες αὐτὰ φασιν, ὅτι μιμοῦνται δρῶντες there is nothing absolutely to fix the reference of δράματα. As he speaks of Dorians in their claim to the invention of both tragedy and comedy appealing to the *names* and then goes on to specify the names *comedy* and *drama*, we might be justified in maintaining that he treats *drama* and *tragedy* as convertible expressions. But, considering the way in which the *Poetics* is written or at any rate the form in which we have it, this would hardly be safe. There are however three places of the *Poetics* (6. 1450 a 15 : 12. 1452 b 19 : 18. 1456 a 34) in which, speaking of tragedy, he refers to it by the use of a neuter pronoun. No doubt it is rather his way to use such neuter pronouns, referring to words of other genders and even to persons, but the use in these three passages is distinctly facilitated, if we assume that he had the word δρᾶμα in his mind : and this would be more natural, the more δρᾶμα and τραγωδία meant just the same thing.

On the other hand there are in the *Poetics* uses, not of δρᾶμα itself but of cognate words, to which special attention must be called. The adjective occurs twice : 4. 1448 b 35 μόνος γὰρ οὐχ ὅτι εὖ ἀλλὰ καὶ μιμήσεις δραματικὰς ἐποιήσῃ, and 23. 1459 a 20 δεῖ τοὺς μύθους...συνεστάναι δραματικούς. (Cf. *Περὶ ὕψους* 9. 13 : *Dionys. H. de Thuc.* 37. 2 and 38. 1). It would not be right to say that δραματικός here is exactly equivalent to τραγικός, for evidently the form rather than the matter is conveyed by the word. But the use is not inconsistent with the idea that δρᾶμα was applied only to serious subjects, since it is still of serious poetry, the epic, that he is speaking. In the verb he goes further, for in 4. 1448 b 37 οὐ φόγον ἀλλὰ τὸ γελοῖον δραματοποιήσας, taken with the remark which follows, there is no denying the application to a comic subject. But we must notice (1) that it is the verb, not the noun, which he so uses, just as τραγωδῶ and κωμωδῶ are used of poets, though the nouns are not, and (2) that the Stagiritic's Attic is not always pure.

The earliest undoubted use of δρᾶμα for a *comedy* that I have been able to find is in the non-Attic verse-writer Machon, who was a native of Sicyon and a resident at Alexandria (*Athen.* 664 A). In his *Χρῆαι* he tells a story of Gnathaena and Diphilus (*Athen.* 580 A ; 579 E is another version) :

νῆ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ θεοὺς, ψυχρὸν γ', ἔφη,
Γνάθαιν', ἔχεις τὸν λάκκον ὁμολογουμένως.

ἡ δ' εἶπε, τῶν σῶν δραμάτων γὰρ ἐπιμελὼς
εἰς αὐτὸν αἰετὸς προλόγους ἐμβάλλομεν.

No tragic writer named Diphilus is known, and we may therefore presume the well-known comic poet to be meant, especially in view of the line which occurs a little before in Athenaeus' long quotation, μὴ δὲ δίκην μετὰ ταῦτα κωμωδουμένην. The date will be roughly about 275 B.C., but as far as I know no similar use occurs for a long time in our scanty Greek literature.

In the Parian Marble 58 (Θέσις πρῶτος ὅς ἐδίδαξε δρᾶμα ἐν ἄστει) δρᾶμα is only a very probable conjecture, for α in the middle of the word seems to be the sole surviving letter. If right, δρᾶμα clearly = τραγωδίαν, for the introduction of comedy has been mentioned before (54).

In Callimachus *Ep.* 60. 4. αἰχμᾶν δρᾶμ' ἐδίκαιε μόνος (of fighting or trial by battle) and Polybius 24. 8. 12 τρίτον δ' ἡ τύχη δρᾶμα ...ἐπεισήγαγε τὸ κατὰ τοὺς νιεῖς (of a tragic incident) the reference is undoubtedly serious ; in Polyb. 33. 16. 10 τὴν κατασκευὴν τοῦ δράματος ἐνενόουν we may call it indeterminate. In the *Περὶ ὕψους* the word occurs once only (33. 5) and there it is used of the *Oedipus*.

But in Roman times its occasional application to comedy is unmistakable. We cannot rely on the *Rhetoric* ascribed to Dionysius, because his authorship of the book or of its various parts is uncertain ; but there we find (8. 11) ἡ δὲ κωμωδία ὅτι πολιτεύεται ἐν τοῖς δράμασι καὶ φιλοσοφεῖ...τί δεῖ καὶ λέγειν. Plutarch uses it so occasionally. Thus in *Demosth.* 4 δραματίον εἰς τοῦτο κωμωδῶν αὐτὸς Ἀντιφάνης πεποίηκεν. *Anton.* 70 ὡς ἐκ τῶν Ἀριστοφάνους καὶ Πλάτωνος δραμάτων λαβεῖν ἔστι. In *Moralia* 348. B we read τῶν δὲ δραματοποιῶν τὴν μὲν κωμωδιοποιῶν οὕτως ἄσμενον ἡγοῦντο καὶ φορτικόν... ἤνθησε δ' ἡ τραγωδία. 712 C οὕτε παιδὸς ἔρως ἄρρενός ἐστιν ἐν τοιοῦτοις δράμασιν, where he is speaking of the New Comedy : 710 C is less distinct but certainly seems to have a comic reference. On the other hand in *Moralia* 715 E and 1065 E and *Alex.* 706 C something serious is meant. In the following passages I should call the use of δρᾶμα and δραματικός neutral ; *Moralia* 42 A, 711 C, 749 A, 940 F, 973 E and F : *Vitae* 22 C, 65 A, 415 B, 448 D, 770 E, 915 D, 1014 C. (this list has no pretensions to be complete).

Arrian *Epict. Ench.* 17 μέμνησο ὅτι ὑποκριτὴς εἶ δράματος οἷον ἂν θέλῃ ὁ διδάσκαλος may seem neutral, but Epictetus took life very seriously.

M. Antonius 6. 42 : 7. 3 : 10. 27 may be called neutral, though 6. 42 rather suggests dignified poetry. In 11. 6 τὰ δράματα refers to tragedies, but the word may not be meant to connote them, and τῆς τοιαύτης ποιήσεως καὶ δραματοποιίας *ibid.* distinctly refers to comedy.

Lucian is the most Attic of late writers and his use of the word is significant. In the following nineteen places I have noticed it applied to serious things, tragedies real or metaphorical : *Necyom.* 16 (twice) : *Merc. Cond.* 41 : *Tyrann.* 8, 20, and 22 : *Alexand.* 25 and 60 (cf. τραγωδίας and συντραγωδήσων 12, τραγωδίας 60) : *Salt.* 46 (twice) : *Iupp. Trag.* 41 : *Lucret.* 13 : *Calumn.* 1 : *Pseudol.* 19 compared with 25 : *Dom.* 23 : *Macrob.* 24 : *Peregrin.* 3 and 37 (cf. τραγωδίαν 36) : *Demosth.* 28 : and in *Salt.* 68 the wording of the antithesis ἡ τραγικὴ δραματοποιία ἡ κωμικὴ γελοιοποιία is probably not accidental. In *Nigrin.* 24 and 30 : *Merc. Cond.* 10 : *Salt.* 29 and 63 : *Pro Imag.* 29 : *Pseudol.* 4 and 10 (where the reference to τραγωδούς in 10 balances that to Menander in 4) it seems to me quite neutral ; that is to say, there is nothing to prevent our referring the word to tragedy and also nothing to show that it is so confined. On the other hand the use of the word in *Nigrin.* 8 seems, though it may not be, designed to cover comedy as well as tragedy : τραγικούς ἢ καὶ νῆ Δία κωμικούς φαύλους ἑόρακας ὑποκριτὰς τῶν συριττομένων λέγω τούτων...καίτοι τῶν δραμάτων πολλάκις εὖ ἐχόντων τε καὶ νενικηκότων. In *Calumn.* 7 we associate τὸν πρωταγωνιστὴν τοῦ δράματος with ἐν ταῖς κωμωδίαις just preceding (τριῶν δ' ὄντων προσώπων καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς κωμωδίαις τοῦ διαβάλλοντος καὶ τοῦ διαβαλλομένου καὶ τοῦ πρὸς ὃν ἡ διαβολὴ γίνεται), but I do not feel quite sure that κωμωδαίς may not be used in the generic sense of *plays*, as there is no reason why comedies in particular should be here mentioned. See this *Review* 14, 213. One passage however at least, *Indoct.* 27 ἀνέγνω καὶ τοὺς Βάπτας τὸ δῶμα ὅλον, refers simply to comedy. I do not know any other, for the *Philopatris* (13 τὰ τοῦ Ἀριστοφάνους τοῦ δραματοποιοῦ Ὀρνιθας ποιήματα) is certainly not Lucian's. A few of the other passages quoted should be disallowed for a like reason. The result will be that, as far as my observations go, δῶμα refers to or covers comedy two or three times, is neutral, *i.e.* quite indeterminate, six or seven times, and refers to tragedy or serious things thirteen or fourteen times. The word may probably be found in a few passages besides those I

have named, but there cannot be many and they cannot make much difference to the general result.

Alciphron uses it of comedies half a dozen times (ii. 3, 16 : 4, 5, 11, 19, 20 : iii. 71, 2, 3) : Aelian *V. H.* ii. 13 two or three times of the *Clouds*. Pollux 9, 11 has κωμικὸν δῶμα. In Athenaeus it is used of comedies quite freely. The definition in Hesychius is in general terms with no special reference to tragedy or serious subjects : δράματα ποιήματα, πρᾶξις, ἢ λόγος περιέχων ὑπόθεσιν τινα. *Lives*, scholia, arguments to plays constantly use it of comedies, showing how convenient the use was when once established.

Rohde (*Griech. Roman*, p. 350) notices that the Greek romances are often spoken of as δράματα. He considers this due not to the fact that tragic incidents were often called δράματα in late Greek, δῶμα being the *Bezeichnung eines gefährlichen bedenklichen Ereignisses*, as he shows by a number of references to Achilles Tatius, but to the idea that, as fictions and yet not unlike truth, they resembled (New) Comedy. This is by no means certain, but the use of δράματα for sensational incidents is clear.

With the possible exception then of two passages yet to be discussed, we find (as far as my knowledge goes) no passage in good Attic Greek, in which the word appears to be used either expressly of comedies or in such a way as intentionally to cover them. There are places in which we might take comedies to be included along with tragedies in the meaning of the word, if this were proved by other evidence to be admissible. Unless such evidence is forthcoming, there is no reason for understanding the word so. No one can overlook the significance of the facts above stated as to Aristophanes and the comic fragments, especially when it is added that κωμωδία occurs five times in Aristophanes, *i.e.* that when he has occasion to speak of comedies, he calls them κωμωδίαι, not δράματα. In *Ach.* 499 and again 500 he has τραγωδία, but meaning rather *comedy* than a *comedy*. Plato has κωμωδία, usually but not always in the abstract sense, a fair number of times, but apart from him and Aristophanes the word is, as we might expect, not of frequent occurrence. Xenophon apparently happens not to use it at all, and we have lost that part of the *Poetics* in which comedy was dealt with.¹

¹ It is probably only an accident that Aristophanes has no clear instance of the singular τραγωδία in the concrete sense of a *tragedy*. It occurs in him twelve

For convenience' sake I have kept to the end two comic fragments which, at any rate *prima facie*, support an opposite conclusion and may be quoted in favour of the contention that δρᾶμα is sometimes applied to comedy. The last fragment above cited, coming from an anonymous author whose date we cannot at all fix, must belong to a comedy. We naturally associate it with lines in Aristophanes where one of the actors proposes to tell the audience the plot of the play; cf. *Vesp.* 54, *Pax* 50, and especially *Eq.* 40 λέγοιμ' ἂν ἥδη. But in a detached line like this we are on quite uncertain ground. There is really no reason why it should not refer to some tragedy that is being talked of. In the opening scene of *Thesm.* Agathon might very well have spoken of some tragedy he had on the stocks (52) and sketched the plot: so Euripides in *Ach.* If this is not the true account, we might suggest that ὁ λόγος τοῦ δράματος was a regular phrase, applicable properly to tragedy, but in this place for some reason applied to a comedy without δρᾶμα actually forfeiting its legitimate meaning.

In the fragment of Ecphantides the first words may stand for anything (see Kock, who reads—very rashly as far as those words go—καὶ (or ταῖς) Μεγαρικαῖς κωμωδίασιν ἄχθομαι | αἰσχύνομαι τε δρᾶμα Μεγαρικὸν ποιεῖν). But the second line certainly seems to present δρᾶμα in the sense of comedy with a reference to 'Megarian comedy.' We cannot help being reminded of the passage quoted above from *Poetics* 3. 1448 a 30 foll., in which Aristotle (if it is Aristotle)

times (*Ach.* 400, 412: *Eq.* 401: *Vesp.* 1511: *Pax* 148: *Av.* 1444: *Ran.* 95, 798, 862, 913, 1120: *Plut.* 423), but it may always be abstract, even in *Eq.* 401 and *Pax* 148, where we are most tempted to make it concrete. In the Orators the singular is rare, and when it occurs (ἐν τραγωδίᾳ Dem. 18. 127: 21. 149: Aesch. 3. 231) there is no reason why it should not be abstract, in tragedy. Plato seems always to make it abstract, except in the difficult expression *Symp.* 173 A ὅτε τῇ πρώτῃ τραγωδίᾳ ἐνέκησεν Ἀγάθων, which has been doubted on other grounds. Otherwise the earliest clear example which I can find is in a fragment of Antiphanes (M. 3. 3: K. 2. 13) τραγωδίαν περὶ αἶνα Σοφοκλέους. The singular κωμωδία, on the other hand, is used in the concrete sense not only by Plato *Apol.* 19 c ἐν τῇ Ἀριστοφάνους κωμωδίᾳ, but twice by Aristophanes (*Ach.* 378 τὴν πέρσι κωμωδίαν: *Nub.* 534 ἥδ' ἡ κωμωδία).

The plural τραγωδίαι is however used in a concrete sense seven times in Aristophanes, four or five times in Plato, and at least as many more in the Orators. Although therefore the facts rather suggest that to Aristophanes tragedy was τραγωδία, but a tragedy δρᾶμα, this was probably not the case. It may be added that in the *Poetics*, though τραγωδία is abstract as a rule and more often perhaps than is usually supposed, there are clear instances, e.g. 14. 1453 b 34, 18. 1456 a 31, 23. 1459 b 3, of the concrete sense.

states that the Megarians claimed comedy and some Peloponnesian state or states tragedy on the strength of the names, because κῶμη and δρᾶν were not Attic words. Is not then the very point of δρᾶμα in Ecphantides' verse that he is using deliberately a foreign expression, δρᾶμα for κωμωδία, because the Megarians called their comedies δράματα while the Athenians did not? I am not aware of any other evidence that the Megarians did so, but it would explain Ecphantides' expression. The article with δρᾶμα is not, I think, inconsistent with this explanation, though it may be a point against it. Indeed we cannot be sure, especially in a fragment, that the article is right. If my suggestion is correct, this line will be just the exception which proves the rule as to the meaning of δρᾶμα, because Ecphantides will be using it with a particular purpose and reference. But no doubt there are other possibilities also.

In any case it would seem unsafe to let two fragments like these, divorced from their context, outweigh the very strong presumption raised by the otherwise apparently uniform practice of Attic writers. It seems therefore to be almost established that in good Attic Greek δρᾶμα was at first used of tragedy and satyric plays only, but that the use widened in later times so as to include comedy and to mean play, fabula in general; outside Attica this wider use existed perhaps from the first. It was shown in a recent article that the words κωμωδός, κωμωδία, comoedus, comoedia, originally specific, were in like manner extended subsequently to a generic meaning, play and actor, as they are in various modern languages.

If it be true that in Attic Greek δρᾶμα was not used of comedy, the question arises why it was not. Such a question does not necessarily admit of an answer. Language is full of arbitrary restrictions which have no explanation on grounds of reason. Often we can only say that usage has determined a thing this way or that. In English we do not use the word play to cover opera, though an opera is certainly a kind of play. So, too, we do not usually call an opera-house a theatre. We have in these cases a real and considerable distinction in our minds, but why should it produce just this difference in the use of words? Why should something spoken be a play and something sung not?

The place of the verb δρᾶν in Attic is peculiar and seems to require some explanation that I do not now see my way to giving.

The Poetics as above quoted tells us that it was the Doric equivalent for the Attic *πράττειν*, which is only true with considerable qualification. It would certainly seem to have been eminently non-Ionic, for it does not occur once, as far as I can discover, in Herodotus and it is all but absent from Homer and the epic dialect.¹ When we look through the Attic orators we find to our surprise that Andocides, Lysias, Aeschines, Lycurgus, Hyperides, never use it in their extant remains, Dinarchus once in a fragment. It will be borne in mind that Lysias, from whom we have quite a large number of speeches, and Hyperides, of whom we have now about half a dozen, come nearest of all the orators to the language of ordinary Athenian life. On the other hand Antiphon and Demosthenes, Thucydides and Plato use it freely.² We should expect *a priori* to find Xenophon's practice agreeing with theirs, but as a matter of fact he avoids it all but entirely.³ We should again rather expect that Aristophanes and the comic fragments would agree with Lysias and Hyperides, but the word occurs in comedy fairly often. A prose word which Lysias and Xenophon unite in avoiding and

which comedy often uses has certainly something remarkable about it. Of the tragic poets Aeschylus uses it fairly often, Euripides more, Sophocles decidedly the most freely. It does not occur at all in the remains of Solon, if we are to follow the 'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία text of *Frag.* 37, 3 (Bergk) rather than that given in the text of Aristides.

I have stated these facts, not because they seem to me to point to any particular conclusion, but because they certainly have a meaning, which meaning may bear upon our problem, and someone else may see what that meaning is. The only thing I know of to throw light on the restriction of *δράμα* in Attic to tragedy, if it really was so restricted, is the regular use of *δρᾶν* in a ceremonial religious sense. In various Greek mysteries τὰ δρώμενα are put side by side with τὰ λεγόμενα, the former amounting sometimes almost to a play in dumb show. So Clement of Alexandria says that Demeter and Kore 'have become a mystic play' (*δράμα μυστικόν*, *Protrept.* 2, 12). Over and over again Pausanias in describing religious rites uses the word *δρᾶν*, just as *facere* has a special ritual sense in Latin. Athenaeus 660 A says οἱ παλαιοὶ τὸ θύειν *δρᾶν* ὠνόμαζον and in the Lexicon of Hesychius *δρᾶν* is explained by the two words *πράττειν*, *θύειν*. If *δρᾶν* had these serious and solemn associations, they might account for a restriction on the meaning of *δράμα*, especially when we recall the religious origin and nature of Greek tragedy. Indeed the word *δράμα* itself may have been in ritual use, though I do not know of any evidence for this. The passage in Clement leaves it quite open. It is of course true that comedy was also connected with religious festivals, and it may be argued that therefore the semi-religious *δρᾶν* would not be unsuitable to it. But I think the facts go to show that *δρᾶν* was used of the really serious parts of religious performances, *i.e.*, sacrifices, mystical rites, &c., and not of the joviality and festivity added to them.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

ΓΕΝΟΥΣΤΗΣ.

PLATO Phileb. 30 d-e. Τῇ δέ γε ἐμῇ ζήτησει πεπορικῶς ἀπόκρισιν, ὅτι νοὺς ἐστὶ γένος τῆς τοῦ πάντων αἰτίου λεχθέντος.

The reading here is particularly well

attested; for Porphyry, Proclus and Olympiodorus already had it, to say nothing of Hesychius, Suidas and the scholiast. It has been defended by Stallbaum and quite

recently by O. Apelt, who finds confirmation of the theory that *γενούσσης* is a jocular form, containing a pun on *νοῦς*, in the words 'Ἀνάπαντα γάρ, ὦ Πρώταρχε, τῆς σπουδῆς γίνεται ἐνίοτε ἡ παιδιά, a view in which he had been anticipated by Paley. It is hard to see, however, how such a pun could give a rest to anyone, and Plato's 'fun,' like Coleridge's, consisted in metaphysical discussion such as has preceded the present passage (cf. *Parm.* 137 b.)

Now the *ζήτησις* to which this is an ἀπόκρισις is ποίου γένους ὁ νοῦς; and the answer here given to it is referred to below (31 a) in the words νοῦς μὲν αἰτίας ἦν συγγεινῆς καὶ τούτου σχεδὸν τοῦ γένους. It is not, therefore, surprising that modern critics have mostly seen in the first six letters of *γενούσσης* the genitive *γένους*, and as a matter of fact, the Clarke MS. (B)¹ reads γένους τῆς as against the *γενούσσης* of the ancient Platonists and Ven. T. But what is to be done with the τῆς? Bekker simply omits it; Wohlrab and Bury more prudently retain it in square brackets. But there is no answer to the question where it came from, an answer which is all the more necessary as the letters ΓΕΝΟΥΣΤΗΣ, however divided or accented, were certainly in the ancient vulgate and also in the splendidly accurate edition which formed the archetype of our MSS.

Now, I am not quite sure how γένους τῆς τοῦ πάντων αἰτίου λεχθέντος is to be translated; but I maintain that, if we are fair to the MS. tradition, this is not the only occurrence of such a phrase in the *Philebus*.

¹ With Ven. Π and Vat. Δ; but these, at least in the *Philebus*, are demonstrably copied from B.

In 32 a-b we have τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἀπείρου καὶ πέρατος κατὰ φύσιν ἐμφυχον γεγονὸς εἶδος, where Stallbaum writes τοῦ, but τῆς is attested by Stobaeus as well as by B¹. Again, in 52 c we have a phrase still more like the one we are dealing with, namely τῆς τοῦ ἀπείρου γε ἐκείνου....εἶναι γένους. It is utterly unmethodical to destroy these three instances of τῆς, attested as they are both by the ancient vulgate and the archetype of our MSS., without at least forming some theory of how they could be interpolated at a very early date.

The fact is that the problem is one that calls for the ἐπωδαὶ of hermeneutics rather than the τομῇ of criticism. How the 'ellipse' should be filled up is the real question. Something may be said for 'understanding' μοίρας, but in view of 25 c (ὁπόσα...τῆς τὸ μᾶλλον τε καὶ ἥττον δεχομένης ἐτίθεμεν εἰς ἓν φύσεως.—Τῆς τοῦ ἀπείρου λέγεις;—Ναί), we should probably decide for φύσεως. It is worth noting too, that, in the vexed passage 66 a, τὴν αἰδίον ἡρῆσθαι (or εἰρῆσθαι) φύσιν, it appears that φύσιν is only a conjecture based on the φάσιν of Ven. T.² The word is omitted by the Clarke MS. (B) altogether and also by Stobaeus, which proves that this is not one of the accidental omissions which characterise B. But this raises further questions which demand a separate discussion.

JOHN BURNET.

² It seems to be assumed that the φάσιν of ΓΞΞ CH' is merely a corruption. The readings of T (the original of these MSS.) in the *Philebus* are as yet unpublished, but I am in a position to state that it has φάσιν quite unmistakably.—J.B.

Ω—ΣΩΣ IN THEOCRITUS AND HOMER.

Ut vidi, ut perii, ut me malus abstulit error.
Verg. *Ecl.* 8,41.

This line (found also in the *Ciris*, 430) was explained by Heyne, *cum vidi, tum statim amore exarsi*. But this would require *ut-ita*; hence Voss took the *ut* as exclamative. 'How I saw! how I was lost!' Wagner, however, gives what in the opinion of most editors is the correct rendering: the first *ut* is temporal, the second and third are exclamative. 'When I saw, how was I lost! how my perverse madness carried me

away!' Thus too Dahl, *Die Lateinische Partikel Ut*, p. 14.

This rendering is that of Servius, who says that the first *ut* 'est temporis,' the second is 'quantitatis,' that is, the *ut perii* shows the *magnitudo amoris*; the first is equivalent to *postquam*, the other two *pro admirandi significatione posita sunt*. This too is in harmony with the Berne scholia, in which *ut vidi* is glossed by *mox statim, ut perii* by *valde, ut me* by *quemadmodum*. In other words the first *ut* is temporal, the second expresses degree, the

third is interrogative. *Ut* exclamative covers the second and third meanings. Both in ancient and modern times there is practical unanimity as to the interpretation of the Vergilian line.

The above hexameter is based on Theocritus, 2, 82:

χῶς ἶδον, ὥς ἐμάνην, ὥς μιν περὶ θυμὸς ἰάφθη,
or
ὥς ἶδεν, ὥς ἐμάνη, ὥς εἰς βαθὺν ἄλατ' ἔρωτα.—
Ib. 3, 42.

Compare Moschus, 2, 74:

ὥς μιν φράσαθ', ὥς ἰόλητο.

These lines Vergil evidently translated, e.g. 'As I looked, how was I maddened!' This too is the way in which the words should be translated, according to the generally received text, which assigns no accent to the second ὥς. And this rendering was familiar to the Greek scholiasts. One gloss on ὥς ἐμάνην is *λίαν ἐμάνην* and the line (3, 42) is explained by ὥς εἶδε τὰ μῆλα, *λίαν ἐμάνη*.

And yet, according to Conington, Sidgwick, and others, Vergil mistranslated Theocritus. The Greek lines, it is claimed, mean e.g. 'as (when) I looked, so was I maddened.' ὥς-ὥς = ὥς-οὕτως, *ut-ita*, *ex quo-confestim*, the parallelism denoting instantaneous effect. To see was to love. Thus in the Greek scholia we find (on 2, 82) οὕτως ὥς εἶδον, ἤγον αὐτίκα ὥς ἶδον and (on 3, 42) τὸ ὥς ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐθέως. This meaning is, however, really included in the other, for the expression 'when I looked, how was I fired with love!' certainly involves the idea 'when I looked, I was at once fired with love,' and has the advantage of a more poetical form.

Manuscript evidence, if that is of much account, in view of the slight formal difference involved, decidedly favours the unaccented ὥς in Theocritus. According to accepted rules, if ὥς-ὥς = ὥς-οὕτως, the second ὥς should be accented, ὦς or ὤς (authorities differing). Yet editors continue to print ὥς-ὥς, even when they accept the view that ὥς-ὥς means *as-so*. Hiller, it is true, in the Fritzsche-Hiller edition, while admitting that the original meaning was *wie-so* (ὥς-ὦς), asserts that this meaning had faded away even as early as Homer, and so in the Theocritean passages ὥς-ὥς is used 'zum Ausdruck der unmittelbaren Aufeinanderfolge der Handlungen,' and this usage Vergil imitates in his *ut-ut*. Hiller, however, is merely begging the question.

Conington does better, for while he regards Vergil's *ut-ut* as a mistranslation, he

thinks the second ὥς in the Theocritean line 'should probably be ὦς.' Leaf, however, in his note on *Iliad* A 512, is inconsistent, for both the Theocritean line (2, 82) and Vergil's *ut vidi, ut perii*, seem to him 'to rest on a misunderstanding' of Homer, and yet he writes ὥς ἶδον, ὦς ἐμάνην, thus making the Theocritean harmonize with the Homeric passage, according to his view.

But it is difficult to see what the Homeric lines, to which Leaf's note is appended, have to do with the case. They are

Θέτις δ' ὥς ἤψατο γούνων,
ὥς ἔχετ' ἐμπεφνυῖα καὶ εἶρετο δεύτερον αὐτῆς.

Beyond the ὥς-ὦς there is no similarity whatever in thought or expression between the Homeric and Theocritean passages. The Vergilian equivalent for these lines of the *Iliad* is not in the *Eclogues* but in *Aen.* iii. 607.

Dixerat et genua amplexus genibusque
volutans
Haerebat.

There are, however, certain passages in Homer, upon which the lines in Theocritus are based, and it will be worth while to examine them. They are

ἶδε δὲ νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς,
ὥς δ' ἶδεν, ὥς μιν ἔρος πυκινὰς φρένας ἀμφεκά-
λυψεν.—Ξ 294.

αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς
ὥς εἶδ', ὥς μιν μάλλον ἔδυν χόλος.—Τ 16.

αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς
ὥς εἶδ', ὥς ἀνέπαλτο καὶ εὐχόμενος ἔπος ἤδα.—
Υ 20.

These passages, in which we should note the aorist tense for both clauses, are the only ones in Homer strictly parallel to the Theocritean lines in thought and expression as well as form. It is to be observed that in the cases from Theocritus and Moschus, as also in the above-quoted Homeric instances, the first clause contains a verb of physical perception, while that with the second ὥς describes the resulting emotion.

Manuscript evidence, unfortunately, does not count for much, where only the difference between ὥς and ὦς (ὤς) is involved, but it may be worth noting that though the ancient grammarians¹ generally followed the rule that ὥς, when equivalent to οὕτως or ὁμῶς, had an accent, whether oxytone or

¹ See La Roche, *Die homerische Textkritik*, pp. 380-2.

perispomenon,¹ while in other cases it was *ἀρονον*,² Ebeling (*Lexicon Homericum*, 2, p. 500) testifies in reference to the above-quoted Homeric passages, 'quibus locis nonnulli codices pro *ὥς* habent *ὠς*.' Venetus A, it must be remembered, never has an accent for *ὥς* except in *καὶ ὠς* and *οὐδ' ὠς*.

That *ὠς-ὠς* in certain instances in Homer (e.g. A 512, B 326, Δ 313·4, ο 174) denotes *as-so*, everyone will admit. Scholars, however, are inclined to forget that the use of *ὠς-ὠς* for *as-how*! is also to be recognized for Homer. This is the more remarkable, inasmuch as no one doubts that the exclamative force (*how!* instead of *so*) is common enough with the simple *ὥς*. It is frequent in cases of *ὥς* with the optative or with *ᾄφελον*, or in such passages as the following:—

ὦ πόποι, ἦ μάλ' ἐλαφρὸς ἀνὴρ, ὥς ῥεία κυβιστῆ.
—Π 745.

Ζεῦ πάτερ, ὥς οὐ τίς με θεῶν ἐλεεινὸν ὑπέστη
ἐκ ποταμοῖο σαῶσαι.—Φ 273.

ὥς μοι καλὰ τὸν οἶτον ἀπότμου παιδὸς ἐνισπες.—
Ω 388.

ιηγύτι, ὥς ἄνοον κραδίην ἔχες.—Φ 441.

ὦς σ' ἐβαλον Τρῶες, κατὰ δ' ὄρκια πιστὰ πάτη-
σαν.—Δ 157.

ὦς μοι δέχεται κακὸν ἐκ κακοῦ αἰεί.—Τ 290.

ὥς ἀγαθαὶ φρένες ᾔσαν ἀμύμονι Πηνελοπείῃ
κούρη 'Ικαρίου, ὥς εὖ μέμνητ' Ὀδυσῆος.—
ω 194.

ὥς οὐκ ἔστι χάρις μετόπισθ' εὐεργέων.—Χ 319.

ὦ πόποι, ὥς τόνδ' ἄνδρα θεοὶ κακότητος ἔλυσαν.
—π 364.

ὥς οὐ τίς μέμνηται Ὀδυσσῆος θέοιο.—β 233.

In regard to some of these passages, commentators from Nicanor down have wavered

¹ Cf. (e.g.) Herod. on A 116: τὸ ὠς, ὁπότε σημαντικὸν ἐστὶ τοῦ ὅμως, περισπᾶται, and on H 31: βαρυτονητέον τὸ ὠς· δηλοῖ γὰρ τὸ οὕτως.

² Cf. Schol. Par. X 348: Ἀρίσταρχος ὠς, χωρὶς τῆς βαρείας.

between two explanations of *ὠς*, the exclamative and causal. Leaf is doubtless right when he explains e.g. Δ 157 as a case of parataxis; 'how the Trojans have smitten thee!' ³ In the Anhang to the Ameis-Hentze edition of the *Odyssey*, there is an excellent note on β 233. The authority of the MSS. is decidedly for *ὥς*, and so nearly all the editors except Dindorf. Doubtless there is a causal relation between the ideas, but this causal relation may be expressed by the exclamative as well as by the relative *ὥς*. In view of the passionate character of the passage, Hentze has no difficulty in deciding in favour of the former, for this gives more effective expression to the feeling.

I take it, therefore, that the exclamative force of the second *ὠς* in the *ὠς-ὠς* of the three Homeric passages, whose thought resembles so closely that of the Theocritean and Vergilian passages cited above, is almost indisputable. The meaning given to *ὠς-ὠς* by Theocritus is no new one, but a survival from earliest times.

It is perhaps hardly necessary to add that the parallelism *as (when)-how!* is very common in modern poetry, especially in the simpler styles. Two examples will suffice:

When thou and I were young and skeigh,
How thou wad prance and snore and skreigh,
And tak' the road!

BURNS, *Auld Farmer's Salutation*.

Oh! how our hearts were beating,
When at the dawn of day,
We saw the army of the League
Drawn out in long array!

MACAULAY, *Ivry*.

H. R. FAIRCLOUGH.

Stanford University, Cal.

³ Lehrs, *De Aristarchi Studiis Homericis*, § 159 (3rd ed.) claims that *ὠς* in Homer never means *nam*.

NOTE ON THE COMMAND HELD BY SELEUKOS, 323-321 B.C.

THE obscurity, which hangs over so much of Alexander's military system, makes the exact nature of the command, which Seleukos received in 323, a doubtful point. Droysen calls him *chiliarch* (*Hellenismus* [ed. 1877-8] ii. p. 23), and this statement has

been copied from him without question by subsequent writers (Holm, etc.). Lately, however, Niese has challenged it: 'dass Seleukos Chiliarch geworden sei, wie Droysen sagt, wird nirgendwo bezeugt.' (*Geschichte der griechisch. u. maked. Staaten*

i. p. 198 n. 1. (On p. 223 Niese himself, apparently by an oversight, speaks of 'the chiliarch Seleukos'.)

The main passages to consider are these:—

(1) Diod. xviii., 3, 4. Σέλευκον δ' ἔταξεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἰππαρχίαν τῶν ἐταίρων, οὖσαν ἐπιφανεστάτην· ταύτης γὰρ Ἡφαιστίων μὲν πρῶτος ἡγήσατο, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Περδίκκας, τρίτος δ' ὁ προειρημένος Σέλευκος. (cf. Libanius, *Antioch.* i. p. 299 ed. Reiske.)

(2) Appian, *Syr.* 57. γίγνεται δ' εὐθὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου μεταστάτος ἡγεμὼν τῆς ἵππου τῆς ἐταιρικῆς, ἧς δὴ καὶ Ἡφαιστίων ἡγήσατο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ ἐπὶ Ἡφαιστίωνι Περδίκκας.

(3) Arr. *Anab.* vii, 14, 10. οὐκ οὐδὲ ἄλλον τινα ἔταξεν ἀντὶ Ἡφαιστίωνος χιλίαρχον ἐπὶ τῇ ἵππῳ τῇ ἐταιρικῇ Ἀλεξάνδρος.

(4) Arr. *Tà metὰ Ἀλέξ.* p. 241 ed. Didot (Epitome of Photios). καὶ τέλος συμβαίνουσιν... ἐφ' ᾧ Ἀντίπατρον μὲν κτλ.. Περδίκκας δὲ χιλιαρχεῖν χιλιαρχίας, ἧς ἦρχεν Ἡφαιστίων (τὸ δὲ ἦν ἐπιτροπὴ τῆς ξυμπάσης βασιλείας). [Justin xiii, 4, 17. summus castrorum tribunatus Seleuco Antiochi f. cessit' is too vague in expression to be of any help in this connection.]

Now we must concede to Niese that nowhere in these passages is Seleukos expressly called *chiliarch*. Is his *hipparchy* the same as the *chiliarchy*?

There appear to me to be strong reasons for identifying them; (1) the circumstance that both in Diodoros and Appian on the one hand, and in Arrian on the other, the office mentioned is described as that (well-known one), which was held by Hephaistion, and in which he was succeeded by Perdikkas; (2) the almost identical signification of the terms. For one would certainly gather from the expressions of Diodoros and Appian that Seleukos was the commander of the *whole* body (or the principal corps) of *Companion* cavalry, and the highest command in that body is certainly meant by the chiliarchy of Hephaistion in Arr. *Anab.* vii, 14.

Nevertheless, if we identify them, we are at once confronted with two difficulties.

(1) Alexander is said by Arrian to have appointed no successor to Hephaistion, whereas in Diodoros and Appian Perdikkas intervenes between Hephaistion, who died only a few months before Alexander, and Seleukos, who enters on the office 'immediately after Alexander's death.' We may perhaps reconcile these statements by supposing that Alexander at first refused

to fill up the vacant chiliarchy, and that the appointment of Perdikkas represents his second thoughts, or that the chiliarchy continued to be in *name* 'Hephaistion's,' whilst the actual duties of the office were exercised by Perdikkas. [Plutarch, *Eum.* 3 (cf. Nepos, *Eum.* 1, 6) implies that Perdikkas succeeded Hephaistion *during Alexander's lifetime*.]

(2) A second difficulty is the quotation of Photios. A close examination of this text will, I think, suggest another estimate of it than the one hitherto taken. Arrian, as represented by Photios, says that the chiliarchy of Hephaistion is assumed by Perdikkas *after Alexander's death* according to an agreement of the chiefs. Not a word of Seleukos. This chiliarchy, the passage goes on, carried with it the office of regent of the Empire (ἐπιτροπὴ τῆς ξυμπάσης βασιλείας). Such a regency of the Empire Seleukos, one of the younger chiefs, could by no means have exercised; and if the chiliarchy meant this, he was certainly not chiliarch. Did the chiliarchy mean this?

In answering this question, we must take note of the important statement of Diodoros (xviii, 48, 5) that the chiliarchy was one of the institutions, which Alexander adopted from the Persians. ἡ δὲ τοῦ χιλιάρχου τάξις καὶ προαγωγὴ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῶν Περσικῶν βασιλέων εἰς ὄνομα καὶ δόξαν προήχθη· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου μεγάλης ἔτυχεν ἐξουσίας καὶ τιμῆς, ὅτε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν Περσικῶν νομίμων ζηλωτῆς ἐγένετο. And, as a matter of fact, we hear of Persian chiliarchs under the Achæmenian kings; e.g. Diod. xvii, 5, 4: Plut. *Artax.* 5, 2: Nepos, *Conon*, 3. cf. J. Marquart, *Philologus* lv (N.F. ix. 1896) p. 227 f. Nepos describes the chiliarch as 'qui secundum gradum imperii tenebat,' and an almost identical expression is used by Diodoros to describe the chiliarchy of Kassander (χιλίαρχον καὶ δευτερεύοντα κατὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν. Diod. xviii, 48, 4). The chiliarch appears under the Achæmenians as a sort of '*grand-vizir*' (Nipperdey on Nepos, *Con.* 3, 2). All this seems to confirm in a striking way the statement that Perdikkas, as *chiliarch*, held the ἐπιτροπὴ τῆς ξυμπάσης βασιλείας. We even find in the case of Harpagos, whom Marquart (*loc. cit.*) supposes to have been chiliarch, the expression used by Herodotos πάντων ἐπιτροπον τῶν ἐωντοῦ (Hdt. i, 108). But, on looking closer, considerations suggest themselves, which show that this apparent confirmation is fallacious. In the first place, whatever element of truth may be in Diodoros' statement that in the institution of the chiliarchy under Alexander

there was a borrowing from the Persian model, certain marked differences appear between the Persian and the Alexandrine chiliarchy. (1) The 'thousand', from which the title of the Persian official is derived, is the *corps d'élite* among the 10,000 royal foot-guards, the 'Immortals': the thousand, in the case of the Macedonian officer, is the first wing of the 'Companion' cavalry (as may be inferred from Nepos, *Eum.* 1, 6, see too Hogarth, *Journ. of Phil.* xvii p. 16). Again (2) the Persian chiliarchy was a *civil* rather than a military office (Patkanian, *Journ. asiat.* 1866 p. 114) and might be exercised by a eunuch (Diod. xvii., 5, 4): the military command really was a military command in the case of the Macedonian. In view of such differences as these, to argue from the Persian precedent appears unsafe. Further, whatever may have been the case under the Persians, we have the clear instance of Kassander in the Macedonian system, where the chiliarch is not regent, but attached to the regent as second in command. If therefore we take this instance as typical,

we should expect in the case of Perdikkas also, who is unquestionably regent, to find a younger chief attached to him as chiliarch. And this, *if the hipparchy of Seleukos is identical with the chiliarchy*, is precisely what we do find, according to the account of Diodoros and Appian. But Arrian in his history followed the same authority as Diodoros (Hieronymos or Duris), as is shown by coincidences even of phraseology. It is therefore highly improbable that the discrepancy on this point belongs to the original text of Arrian. Is not the conclusion forced upon us that the epitomiser (Photios) has blundered? What Arrian, no doubt, said was that Perdikkas, who was, at Alexander's death, in actual possession of Hephaistion's chiliarchy (as we know he was from Plutarch, *Eum.* 3) passed this on to Seleukos, and himself assumed the *ἐπιτροπή τῆς ξυμπάσης βασιλείας*. Photios has dropped the mention of Seleukos, and run together the office, which Perdikkas vacated, and the office, which he assumed, into one.

EDWYN R. BEVAN.

ON LUCRETIIUS III., 196, 197.

Namque papaveris aura potest suspensa
levisque
cogere ut ab summo tibi diffluat altus a-
cervus.

'Papaveris acervus' is usually translated 'a heap of poppy-seed.' Where can Lucretius then have seen the phenomenon thus described? If even a light breeze can disperse a heap of poppy-seed, people would certainly be careful to make such heaps, if at all, where no breeze, light or otherwise, could reach them. Again, a 'high' heap of poppy-seed is an impossibility. A mountain may be described as high without reference to the ratio of its altitude to the diameter of its base, simply because we have to look up to it, but it would need a vast deal of poppy-seed to make a heap that could be described as high. And I have experimented with poppy-seed and find that it 'enjoys too much mobility' to allow me to coax more than half an inch of altitude with a base of an inch and a half. By 'acervus' I believe Lucretius to have meant the contents of what botanists call the capsule or seed-vessel of the poppy. This is so arranged that, as the stalk sways in the wind, it throws the seed in various directions. I would therefore translate 'The

breeze, though fallen and gentle, can make the poppy's uplifted store (of seed) shed itself from the summit (*i.e.*, the capsule).' It might be argued from Vergil, *Georg.* I, 263, 'numeros impressit acervis,' that the heaps of grain in a granary were contained by boards, as we may see them in modern granaries and that 'acervus' may therefore be applied to a store contained in some vessel. Papillon, on the passage, suggests that 'acervis' may mean grain contained in 'sacks.'

Poppies were largely cultivated in ancient times for their seed. But Theophrastus, Dioscorides, Pliny and Columella give no information as to their cultivation save the last-named, who (X. 314) recommends that they should be brought green to market—to prevent, I suppose, the seed shaking out of the capsules.

Martha (Ed. 2, p. 251) points out that Lucretius takes his examples from 'l'observation journalière.' The 'high heap of poppy-seed' would certainly be an experiment of the laboratory. If my interpretation is right the example is borrowed in any case from the fields, either the poppy-field or the corn-field.

ERNEST J. ROBSON.

Sydney, N.S. IV.

THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE PRO MILONE, THE ORATIONS BEFORE CAESAR AND THE PHILIPPICS.

(Continued from p. 257)

A VOLUME for which I am responsible will shortly appear in the Oxford series of texts, containing Cicero's speeches pro Milone, pro Marcello, pro Ligario, pro rege Deiotaro, and Philippics. I have in the February and June numbers of this Review given an account of some MSS. which I have consulted while revising the Philippics, and Orationes Caesarianae. So far as the Miloniana is concerned I have little to add to the discussion of the 'Sources of the Text' (pp. xxxi-xlix of my edition, Oxford 1895), except that I have subsequently collated the Barberinus, used by Garatoni and Nohl, and have also collated the Bernensis 104, which, although well known in connexion with the Philippics, has not been previously used for this speech.¹ The latter MS. is the best member of the *dett.* which I have seen. It has interesting readings, e.g. § 15 *at paret* (*apparet* HT, *at apparet* E, *at patet* *dett.*), § 53 *versabatur* with Gellius (*versabantur* cett.), agreements with the *meliores*, e.g. § 25 *Collinam* (*coloniam* *dett.*), and occasionally throws light upon corruptions in its congeners, e.g. § 36 it has a lacuna to mark the loss of the words *iudiciumne timui*, which in the other *dett.* are replaced by absurd insertions. The Barberinus, which is generally said to belong to the thirteenth century, is in my judgment not earlier than the fourteenth. Its inferiority to the Bernensis may be illustrated by its readings in passages quoted above, viz. § 15 *at patet*, § 25 *coloniam*, § 36 *intenti*. Nothing new is to be gained from either MS., both of which are derived from the same mutilated and corrupt archetype as the rest of the *dett.*

I add the following Adversaria upon some readings adopted or mentioned in this volume.

[4] PRO MILONE.

Mil. 52. hunc prae se tulisse se illo die *Romum* (so MSS., except a few late *dett.* which have *Roma*) *exiturum*, *illum* eo die se dissimulasse *rediturum*.

¹ This MS. consists of two parts bound up together. That which contains the pro Milone belongs to the fourteenth century, while the Philippics were written in the thirteenth.

The corruption *Romam* is one of those minute flaws common in MSS. derived from the same archetype, but is odd in MSS. like H and T(E) which do not appear to be drawn from the same source.² So minute an error is not likely to have been imported by a corrector from one family to another. It now strikes me that the proper course is, not to emend *Romam* to *Roma*, but to excise the word as a note from the margin meant to refer not to *exiturum*, but to *rediturum*. I would compare Lael. 63 *quasi equis temptatis sic amicitias aliqua parte periclitatis moribus amicorum*, where *amicitias*, the reading of all old MSS., should be struck out as an ungrammatical note from the margin, instead of being emended to *amicitia* with two later MSS. (EV), or *amicitiis*, the only authority for which is '*D ut videtur*' (Hahn).³

§ 60. Subito arrepti in quaestionem tamen separantur a ceteris et in arcas coniciuntur, ne quis cum eis colloqui possit: *hi* centum dies penes accusatorem cum fuissent, ab eo ipso accusatore producti sunt. For *hi* I would now read *hic* (=in arcis), or *hinc* (=ab arcis). The *c* of *hic* would naturally drop out before *C* (=centum). I adhere to the explanation of the passage furnished to me by Prof. Purser, viz. that both clauses refer to the slaves of Clodius, and not to the difference between their treatment and that usual with slaves. 'Appius (*a*) seizes them suddenly, (*b*) as an additional precaution (*tamen*) keeps them in solitary confinement, (*c*) has them in his power for 100 days, in which to school them, (*d*) produces them himself. How can they be expected to tell the truth?'

§ 96. *quemcumque cursum fortunae ceperit* (so H: *fortuna dederit* cett.). I now accept a conjecture of Joergensen contained in the Preface to his new edition of Madvig's Select Speeches (Copenhagen, 1900) viz. *fortuna ceperit*, in preference to *fortuna coeperit* which I previously printed. I feel that the defence of the transitive sense of *coepisse*, which I adopted from Mendelssohn, is not free from objection, since in Fam. 1,

² I refer to my analysis of these MSS. contained in pp. xxxviii-xliii of my edition.

³ Anecd. Oxon. vii. p. xviii.

9, 21 *cursum quem coeperis* the correct reading may be *ceperis*.¹

[B] PRO MARCELLO, PRO LIGARIO, PRO REGE DEIOTARO.

In the *Orationes Caesarianae* the text which I adopt is based upon the readings of *a* (i.e. AHV).² The result is in the *Deiotariana* much the same as that previously arrived at by Nohl. He forms two families only of MSS. in this speech, including in one those which I term *a* and *γ*. While I hold *γ* to be derived from *a*, the wide difference between them, as shown by the critical notes, prevents me from describing them by one symbol. In the *pro Marcello* and *pro Ligario* a large number of new readings will be found, since in these speeches previous editors have based their text upon the readings of *β*. I have already advocated a number of these elsewhere,³ and will not now repeat my arguments. Many are small changes, chiefly concerning the collocation of words, which follow naturally if *β* are deprived of their supremacy. The following cases call for comment.

Marc. 12. *haec tua iustitia et lenitas florescet cotidie magis. Ita* (so *a*, *ita ut βγ* edd.) *quantum operibus tuis diuturnitas detrahet, tantum adferet* (so AHDLm, adfert V, adferat BEah, edd.) *laudibus.*

It will be noticed that *adferet* is given not only by AH but also by D, the best member of *β*, and *m*, the best member of *γ*. It therefore must have been in the archetype. AH give correctly *Ita...adferet*, V has a slight corruption, DLm read ungrammatically *ita ut...adferet*, while BEah gain a grammatical construction *ita ut...adferat* by conjecture. Cf. for the construction Phil. xiv. 33 *numquam...gratissimus sermo conticescet. Ita pro mortali condicione vitae immortalitatem estis consecuti.*

ib. cum ipsius victoriae condicione iure omnes (so aah, *condicione omnes iure m*, *condicione omnes β*, edd.) *victi occidissemus, clementiae tuae iudicio conservati sumus.*

¹ Minor points, in which I have diverged from my previous edition, are: § 16 *domi* (with HE) for *domui* (T), § 18 *Appiac* (with ET) for *Appiac viae* (H), § 39 *omnia* (with Madvig, *Op. Ac.* 1, 180) for *omnia tum* (MSS.), § 66 *suscepta* (with MSS.) for *susceptam* (Gulielmius), § 69 *salvis* (with Ant. Augustinus) for *† salutaribus* (HE), § 88 *sibi* (with Lambinus) for *quasi* (MSS.) and *devinctum* (P): for *devictum* (cett.). I have also removed the brackets: placed round § 45 *fuit*, § 69 *proximorum*, § 79 *ab inferis*, though in the last two cases very doubtfully.

² *Cl. R.* p. 253.

³ *Anecd. Oxon.* vii. pp. xxix-xxxix.

The variants show that either *condicione* or *iure* is an addition. As the latter is naturally contrasted with *iudicio*, and does not occur in the context, it is superior to *condicione*, which would be easily introduced from the immediate context *ipsius victoriae condicio visque devicta est*.

21. *tua enim cautio nostra cautio est, ut si in alternitro peccandum sit, malim videri nimis timidus quam parum prudens.*

For *ut si H sol.* gives *quod si*, a reading only known previously from Priscian, who twice quotes the passage (Keil's *Grammatici Latini* ii. pp. 181, 226), and the *scholium* of the *Scholiasta Gronovianus*. This appears to be one of several passages in these speeches where H has preserved a superior reading to that of AV. I read *Quod si*, placing a full stop after *est*, this punctuation being found in H.

ib. de tuisne? . . . axeneone ex (so H; *anexeo ne V*⁴; *ex eone ex A*, *an ex eo γ*, *an ex hoc β*) *numero, qui una tecum fuerunt.*

The readings of *βγ* do not account for the corruptions found in *a*. I propose *anne ex eo*.

25. *te . . . nimis crebro dicere satis te tibi* (so *a*: *tibi satis te BDLγ*: *tibi te satis E*) *vixisse. Credo, sed tum id audirem, si tibi soli viveres.*

The variety in the collocation casts suspicion upon *tibi*, and the sense is greatly improved if the word is removed. Caesar says 'I have lived long enough,' and Cicero replies, 'Yes, if you lived for yourself alone.'

A similar passage occurs in the same section, viz.

quid, si istud ne gloriae quidem tuae (so *ay*, *tuae quidem β*, edd.) *? cuius te esse avidissimum...non negabis.*

The Schol. Gronovianus omits *tuae*, which in *ay* has been inserted before *quidem* and in *β* more plausibly after it. The sense is a general one, viz. *avidus es gloriae*, not *avidus es gloriae tuae*.

Lig. 14. *id a te in foro oppugnari et in tali miseria multorum perfugium misericordiae tollere* (so MSS.).

Editors all accept a reading quoted from a *cod. Lambini*, viz. *id te...oppugnare*, which appears to me an obvious conjecture and not a good one. The simplest correction is for *tollere* (i.e. *toll'e*) to write *tolli*. For the confusion cf. Phil. ii. 52. *quid autem agebatur nisi ne deleri* (so *cln*¹, edd. *delere Vn*^{2t}) *et everti* (so V, *evertere D*) *rem p. funditus velles?*

⁴ This was erroneously given as *anexeo* without *ne*, *Cl. R.* p. 253.

§ 21. Editors read, *Utrum tandem existimas facilius fuisse, Tubero, Ligarium ex Africa exire an vos in Africam non venire.*

I call attention to the following variants:

Ligario...nobis α

γ vos

Ligarium...vobis D

Ligarium...vos BE.¹

The evidence is in favour of *Ligario...vobis*. It will be noticed that D, the oldest and best MS. of the β group contains an obvious corruption, which has been disguised in BE.

§ 30 *ego apud parentem loquor: Erravi, temere feci (so $\alpha\beta$, erravit...fecit γ , edd.) ad clementiam tuam confugio, delicti veniam peto, ut ignoscatur, oro?*

In view of the fact that γ are full of interpolations, I am unwilling to adopt readings from so suspect a source, unless there is very good reason for so doing. I cannot see that this is here the case. Why should not the advocate identify himself with his client, and use the first person? Cf. Quintil. vi. 2. *nec agamus rem quasi alienam sed assumamus parumper illum dolorem. Ita dicemus quae in nostro simili casu dicturi essemus.*

§ 33 *Videtisne igitur hunc splendorem omnem (so $\alpha\gamma$: omnium β), hanc Brocchorum domum, hunc L. Marcium...hos omnes equites Romanos, etc.*

Madvig adopted *omnem* (*omnium* edd. recc.) but placed a comma after *splendorem*. I prefer to punctuate after *omnem*, a course which is demanded by the anaphora *hunc...hanc...hunc...hos*, and place *omnem* as frequently in a place of emphasis at the end of a clause.

§ 35. *quam* (so MSS. *quoniam* edd.) *hoc est animi, tum* (so $\alpha\alpha$, *quam* $\beta\theta\sigma$, *quoniam* edd.) *etiam ingenii tui.*

The corruption in α points to *cum* *hoc est animi, tum* etc. For the thought I would compare Fam. ix. 14, 7, *magnitudine cum animi, tum etiam ingenii*, and for the construction (*i.e.* the indicative preceded by *cum*) Phil. x. 1. *cum factum tuum gratum omnibus debet esse, tum vero oratio, ib. 5 cui cum rei publicae causa faveo, tum etiam tua*, Madvig on Fin. 1, 19.

36. T. Ligarius qui tum nihil egit aliud... nisi ut *eum tuis* (so H, *eum tui* ΔV , *tu eum* $\beta\gamma$, *tui eum* edd.) *studiosum indicares.*

The reading in which modern editors acquiesce is open to serious objection, since *eum* refers to T. Ligarius, and though in some other writers *e.g.* Caesar, *eum* for *se* is

¹ γ read *Ligarium ex Africa non venisse med. omissis*.

common enough, such an interchange is very odd in Cicero. I hold that *tuis* in H stands for *tui se*. *Eum* is an addition to supply an accusative, the extraneous origin of which is indicated by the difference in the collocation in α and $\beta\gamma$.

Deiot. 2. *Crudelis Castor* (so $V\beta$. *crud. Castor est* AH, *crudelem Castorem* γ , edd.) *ne dicam sceleratum et impium.*

Madvig in a well-known passage (Adv. ii. 308) pronounces in favour of *Crudelem Castorem* on the ground that the same case is found after *ne dicam* as before it, *i.e.* that Cicero did not write *Crudelis Castor*, because this must have been followed by *sceleratus et impius*. This seems a hasty dictum on the part of the great critic. Prof. Reid, without committing himself to any view of the rival readings found here in $\alpha\beta$ and γ respectively, points out to me that recent authorities (Schmalz *Antibarbarus* s.v. *dico* and Syntax § 51, Haacke *Stilistik* § 83) hold that in the case of the corrective *dico*, although the other cases are repeated without change, the classical idiom is to change the nominative to the accusative. This subject is one that he will treat in a note on Fin. 2 § 1 in his approaching edition. Instances of *ne dicam* are, as he informs me, rare and indecisive, no example of the phrase preceded by a nominative being 'quoted either from the speeches or philosophical works. He says that 'there is no trace in Cicero of a repeated nominative in any parenthetical form of correction involving *dico* (*i.e.* *dico* itself, *cum dico*, *non dico*, *vel dicam*).' It follows that if Cicero chose to use the nominative (cf. § 29 *Felix ista domus*), the accusative must follow after *ne dicam*. Madvig's objection therefore falls to the ground. I read *Crudelis Castor*, omitting *est* as an addition.

10. *Ita cum maximis eum rebus liberares, perparvam in amicitia (so α , amicitiae β , inimicitiae γ) culpam relinquebas.*

Editors read *amicitiae* with β , which is very odd Latin for *amicitiae violatae*. I excise the word as an addition, which in α is found in its original form, while the readings of γ and β disguise it, the first clumsily, and the second more plausibly.

21. *ita non modo improbus sed fatuus et amens es α .*

ita non modo improbus et fatuus, sed etiam amens es BE.

ita non modo nequam et improbus sed fatuus et amens es γ .

Kayser and Nohl adopt the reading of γ , to which Halm and Müller add *etiam* after *sed* from β .

D, a MS. which preserves some very rare readings, e.g. in this same section *perduint* with *B sol.* (*perduint* HVE, *perdent* A: *per-dant* γ), and frequently explains the reading of BE (*Cl. R.* p. 254) here has a remarkable variant, viz.

ita non modo ^{nequam et} *nihil sed* improbus et fatuus
^{etiam} sed etiam a (in *f. l.*) menses. (*corr. m.* 2).

Nihil sed can only stand for *nihili et*. Both *nequam* and *nihili* are used of slaves, and are frequently combined, *nihili* being a stronger term, e.g. *Plaut. Pseud.* iv. 7, 1, 2.

Nequamst homo qui *nihili* sui eri imperium facit servos,

Nihilist autem, suum qui officium facere immemor est.

Cf. *Casina* ii. 3, 29, *Cic. ad Q. F.* 1, 2, 14, etc.

D appears to preserve a corruption, which was omitted in *a* and BE as unintelligible, and glossed in γ by *nequam*. If, on the other hand, *nequam* had been the reading in the archetype, it is not easy to see why this familiar word should have been glossed by the obvious corruption in *D*, and omitted by *a*. The constant interpolations found in γ must also be remembered (*Cl. R.* p. 255).

29. *Cum* vero exercitu amisso ego, qui pacis semper auctor (so ασ, auctor fui BDα) post Pharsalicum autem (so αγ, om. autem β) proelium suasor fuissem armorum non ponendorum, sed abiciendorum, hunc ad meam auctoritatem non potui adducere, quod et ipse ardebat studio illius belli et patri satis faciendum arbitrabatur.

Madvig pointed out that *cum* is left *pendens*, and produced a construction by omitting *autem* with β, and emending *fuissem* to *fui*. More serious changes have been made by others. I merely alter *cum* to *tum*, otherwise following *a*.

34. Et quem nos *liberi* (om. *liberi* H sol.) in summa populi Romani libertate nati. MSS.

Halm and Kayser excise *populi Romani* on the authority of a few dett., a course which leaves the tautology unrelieved. The omission of *liberi* by H greatly improves the sense, and is probably one of several instances in which it has the true reading as against all other MSS.

[C] PHILIPPICS.

Several editors, Halm in particular, treat with great suspicion words and passages found in *D*, and sometimes inserted in *V* by a later hand, but omitted by *V*¹. In order

to arrive at a fair conclusion it is necessary to examine all the facts. I give first those cases in which such additions are accepted by all editors.

1, 11. M. Antoni...cur in, ii. 49 rem... malebam, 71 quid...Africam, 72 ego...rogavi, 76 nullum turpius vidi, 79 tum est...Dolabellam, 116 quid multa? attulerat, 118 contempsit...non per iii. 15 non contemnit...Aricinum, v. 4 legionum...legiones, vii. 14 nisi...Quid re, viii. 9 agrestes si homines, ix. 2 non morbus...cum, 13 alter...mimos, xiii. 5 per deos...in eos. I omit some trifling cases. Any fair-minded critic who will inspect this list will admit that omission by *V*¹ is not in itself damning.

A number of passages have been less fortunate. I give one or two typical cases.

1, 29. te enim intuens Dolabella <qui es mihi carissimus>. So *D* and *V*³, om. *V*¹, Halm and Nohl bracket. Müller retains the addition. To me the genuineness of the words appears beyond doubt. It is by his personal affection that Cicero hopes to move Dolabella. These words come straight from his warm heart.

ib. 30. principibus sceleris poena adfectis <urbe incendio et caedis metu liberata>. This is in a peculiar position, since it is only given by *V*², and absent alike from *V*¹ and *D*. (*del.* Halm, Müller, Nohl, *tu.* Kayser, Eberhard). The addition, however, is strikingly supported by *Fam.* ix. 14, 8 *liberasti igitur et urbem periculo et civitatem metu*. *V*² was a very ignorant person who did not usually rise above altering *verba* to *berba*, or vice-versa.¹

ib. 33. vereor ne...gloriosum putes plus te unum posse quam omnes et metui a civibus tuis <quam diligi malis>. So *D* (not *V*³), om. *V*¹, *del.* edd. rec. In the *de Officiis*, a work written in the same year, we find ii. 29 *dum metui quam cari esse et diligi maluimus*. Cicero often repeated himself.

Space prevents me from going into further detail. I would only say that some passages have been particularly hardly used e.g. ii. 119 where Halm italicises *adeptus sum...unum ut* (so Nohl) saying 'vereor ne falsum sit supplementum lacunae antiquissimae.' The Latinity of *res adipisci* can be easily justified, and the fact that *V* omits two passages in the previous section, in one of which Halm accepts the reading of *D* without any suspicion, shows that *V* is not infallible. Halm perhaps went furthest in

¹ *Cl. R.* p. 39.

xi. 10, where he prints in italics the addition found in *D*. quid non haurire cogitatione, <cuius sanguinem non bibere censetis? in> cuius possessiones etc. What is there in the words themselves that can possibly raise suspicion?

On the whole I take up an even more conservative position than Müller in regard to these passages. I see no reason for doubting the genuineness of iii. 25 nullam se habere provinciam, ix. 2 quam in Ser. Sulpicio, x. 7 cui favebitis, xi. 5 atque laniatum, xiii. 2 hominum...potuisset. More doubtful passages are i. 27 quam...habui, 33 num gloriae, ii. 79 induxit ut peteret. Single words found in *D* only are sometimes easier to explain on the hypothesis of omission by *V* than on that of interpolation in *D*, e.g. ii. 25 non solum meis laudibus ornaret, sed etiam <oneraret> alienis. The omission of *oneraret* after *ornaret*, and the *annominatio* is common, e.g. Liv. xxii. 30 pl. scitum quo *oneratus* magis quam *ornatus* sum, Cic. Fr. C. 4 non *honoris* sed *oneris* esse (Cf. Wölfflin's Archiv 1886, p. 456). In xiii. 6 tu vero *ita* vitam corpusque <*servato*>, the rhythm of the sentence is better with *servato* than if *tu vero tuere* (Halm) or *tuere* (Madvig) is read for *tu vero*. The writer of *V* knew no Latin, and continually omits words for no reason at all, e.g. ii. 42 *sensim*, viii. 33 *primas* etc. While his *fides* is above suspicion, it is well to recognise his limitations.

I have reserved till the last a peculiar case ii. 20 omni genere monumentorum meorum perfecisse <operis subsicivis>. Halm says 'De Orat. ii. 364 dixit Cicero *subsecivis operis, ut aiunt*, novitatem metaphoræ significans, et similiter de Legg. i. 9 et 13.' In the first of the passages from the *de Legibus* (*subseciva quaedam tempora*) the qualification of the metaphor is slight, while in the second (*subsecivis, ut ais, temporibus*) *ut ais* merely means, 'to use your phrase.' A metaphor which in the *De Oratore*, an early work, needed excuse, may have become more threadbare at a later period. (Cf. Quintil. 1, 5, 72 ut Cicero ait, quæ primo dura visa sunt, usu molliuntur). Such an interpolation could only proceed from a learned reader, and is quite unlike all the other interpolations found in *D*, which are puerile in the extreme.

Phil. 1, 14. non modo voce nemo L. Pisoni consulari (So *Ven*?, consularis cett.), sed ne vultu quidem adsensus est.

The reading *consulari*, which I found in *V*, does not appear in Halm's notes except

as that of his worthless *i*. It was previously quoted from *V* by Garatoni. It has superior MSS. authority in its favour, and gives an excellent sense, i.e. 'worthy of a consul.' Cf. Att. ii. 1, 5 non *consulare* dictum, in Sen. 24 *consularem fidem dextramque*, Liv. iv. 8, 4 rem minime *consularem*. As Cicero is speaking of those who 'sententiam consulari loco dicunt,' *nemo* is restricted to the *consulares* by the context.

ib. 29. est enim gloria laus recte factorum magnorumque in rem publicam meritorum.

After rem *p.* Isidorus who quotes the passage inserts *fama*, which is also found in *c*, the excellence of which I have previously pointed out (*Cl. R.* pp. 40-42). The addition is strongly supported by other passages, viz. Marc. 26 *gloria est...magnorum vel in suos vel in patriam fama meritorum*, Sest. 139 bonam *famam* bonorum quæ sola vere *gloria* nominari potest, de Invent. ii. 166 *gloria est frequens de aliquo fama cum laude*. This reading was here adopted by several old editors from one MS. of Faernus.

35. nec beatus nec clarus nec unctus *V*: om. nec unctus *D*.

For *unctus* many conjectures have been made, e.g. *tutus, diuturnus, iucundus, sanctus* etc., which from a palaeographical point of view seem equally likely. Before attempting to decide between them I would remove a corruption hitherto unsuspected by reading *carus* for *clarus*. The necessity of this will be seen from the context. Cicero's point is that the love of one's fellow-citizens is the only sure defence; cf. Phil. ii. 112 *caritate te...sæptum oportet esse, non armis*. This he dwells upon, continually repeating himself, § 33 *carum esse civem* § 35 *malis carus esse quam metui*...Quem qui *beatum* fuisse putant, miseri ipsi sunt. *Beatus* est nemo etc. He then combines in the present passage *carus* and *beatus*. There is just as much reason for repeating one as the other. *Clarus* on the other hand introduces a fresh idea. If *carus* is read, then *iucundus* (Weber) is the correction for *unctus*, which the context demands.—§ 37. *carum* populo Romano vitam A. Hirti fuisse...*iucundum* amicis, in quo vincit omnes, *carum* suis, quibus est *carissimus*. Cf. Sull. 62 *carus* utrisque est et *iucundus*: Fin. 1. 51. diligere et *carum* esse *iucundum* est. The corruption of *carus* and *clarus* is of course common. A peculiarly instructive passage is v. 49 quique se...senserit civem *carum* (Faernus *clarum* V, desunt D) haberi salutaremque rei publicæ...utinam C. Caesari...contigisset adolescenti ut esset senatui atque optimo cuique *carissimus*...eius filii longissime

diversa ratio est qui cum omnibus est, tum optimo cuique *carissimus*. Faernus there tersely remarks 'comprobat *carum* potius quam *clarum* multi inferiores loci in eadem pagina,' a saying equally applicable to the present passage.

ii. 8 The MSS. give as follows:—

Homo diserte ut mus et laetam esse videris *V*.

Homo diserte ut mustelae tam inscio et Tironi Numisio videris *c*.

Homo diserte ut mustelae tamen scio et Tironi Numisio videris *Int*.

The parallel passage xii. 14. *nolite ne Tirones quidem Numisios et mustelas Seios contemnere* ('ubi *edd.* deleto et quattuor efficiunt ex duobus' Nohl) appears to rule out of court

(a) Halm's reading founded on *V*, viz. ut Tironi et mustelae tam esse videris.

(b) Landgraf's ingenious defence of the reading of *c*, as containing a pun on *inscio*.

The simplest method is to read with *Int*, merely emending *scio* to *Seio*: viz. ut Mustelae tamen Seio et Tironi Numisio videris. Tamen = 'in spite of your folly.'

Halm's emendation is somewhat bold. The corruption in *V* must stand for ut Mustelae tam esse videris, i.e. the writer has left out several words.

ii. 55. Omnia perfecit quae senatus salva re publica ne fieri possent *perfecerat*. *codd.* As the repetition of *perficio* is very inelegant, a number of conjectures have been made e.g. *effecerat*, *provid erat*, *prospexerat*. While these yield a good sense, it is difficult to see how the corruption could have taken place. The minimum of change is involved by reading *profecerat* (i.e. *p* for *p*). A similar play on *perficio* and *proficio* is found x. 23 temptavit quid patientia *perficere* posset: nihil cum *proficeret* (so *Int*, Müller from *ag*: *prospiceret V*: *perficeret Int*), etc. I take *profecerat* to have the same meaning as *consecutus erat*. Cf. Fam. 1, 2, 4, hoc videmur esse *consecuti* ut ne quid agi cum populo aut *salvis* auspiciis aut *salvis* legibus... posset.

56. 'Denticulum Büchel auctore *recc. edd.*' Müller. The readings are, Denticulam *Vet*, Lenticulam *Int*. Dio Cassius calls this person Δεντίκουλος (xiv. 47), a fact which appears to me to turn the scale in favour of Lenticulam. Prof. Reid points out to me that 'Lenticula from *lens*, used as a man's name would be like *Ovicula* (Wilmanns no. 1324) and *Cicercula* (Anth. Lat. Bücheler, i. no. 732).'

In connexion with this I would take another name, viz. *Cotyla* or *Cotylo*. Plut.

Ant. 18 gives the latter. Ὀναρίον...δν Κοτύλωνα προσηγόρευον. *Cotylo* (or *Catulo Vn*) is given by all MSS. in Phil. v. 7, in § 5 *V* gives *cotylam cotyionem*, and *Cotylonem* is in *Int*, in viii. 24, 28, and xiii. 26 the MSS. agree in *Cotyla*. It seems to me rash to expel *Cotylo* from passages where the MSS. evidence is in its favour. The nickname Κοτύλων, as Prof. Purser points out to me, is formed from κοτύλη, as Φύσκων, the nickname of Ptolemy V, was formed from φύσκη.

75. an *tu* Narbone mensas hospitum convomeres *V*.

an *tu* Narbone mensas hospitum cum vomeres (cum convomeres *t*) *D*.

an cum Narbone mensas hospitum convomeres *Servius* and *Cledonius*.

an cum *tu* Narbone mensas hospitum convomeres *edd.*

The ordinary reading appears to me indefensible. *Cum* rests upon the testimony of *Servius*. If his citation agreed with any MSS., it would strengthen their reading. As it is he is probably quoting loosely. To *cum* editors join *tu*, thus combining two variants. The reading of *V* must stand either for *tu* simply, in which case an *tu...convomeres* should be read, or for *ut tu*. I prefer the latter, which is supported by a correction in *n*, which gives *u*, and would read

an *ut tu...convomeres*, Dolabella pro te in Hispania dimicaret?

78. The MSS. read

et domi quidem causam amoris *habuit*, foris etiam turpiorem, ne L. Plancus praedes tuos (so *D*, *tus V*) venderet.

Ferrarius says 'suos aut *habuisti*.' The latter conjecture is universally adopted, apparently because both in the preceding and in the succeeding clause Antony is addressed in the second person. On the other hand *suus* and *tuus* are continually confused, while the corruption from *habuisti* to *habuit* is more difficult. Also, an exact parallel for a transition to the third person occurs § 41 igitur...*te* faciebat heredem. In multas praeterea pecunias...*invasit*. Quamquam...*admiratus sum mentionem te* hereditatum ausum esse facere. I would also compare the sudden change from direct to reported speech in viii. 27 'Galliam...comatam postulo...cum sex legionibus' inquit...tam diuque ut obtineat (obtimeam Cobet) etc.

I would not lay much stress on the fact

that *suos* is the reading of *h* (Harl. 2682), since although this MS. has a few excellent readings e.g. 1, 13 *usquam* (*nusquam Vcln*) it is not free from conjecture. I incline to read *suos*, regarding *tuos* either as a slip, or a correction by a reader, who thought *suos* ambiguous.

91. In this vexed passage the reading of *D* appears to me correct: viz. ut eius omnem propter proximum dictatorem metum tolleres. The passage is exactly similar to 1, 4 non modo regno...sed etiam regni timore sublato...cum dictatoris nomen...propter perpetuae dictaturae recentem memoriam...sustulisset. In both *regni metum* (or *timorem*) tollere is combined with *nomen dictatoris tollere*. The parallel is destroyed by the various emendations founded on the corruption in *V*, viz. *omen nomen*, which I look on as one of the *geminaciones* so common in that MS.

101. Quid iam querar de agro Leontino? quoniam quidem hae quondam arationes *Campana et Leontina* (so *V*: -ani et -ini *D*) in populi Romani patrimonio...ferebantur... Sed ad iter Italiae redeamus.

I gravely doubt the genuineness of *Campana* (-i) et *Leontina* (-i). Cicero first mentions the case of the *Campanus ager*, then proceeds to that of the *ager Leontinus*, after which he 'returns to Italy.' Mention of the Campanian land is inappropriate while he is dealing with grants outside Italy.

iii. 7. ut ea quae...gessit et gerit, haec auctoritate nostra comprobentur codd.

Haec after *ea* is to say the least inelegant, though it may be defended by e.g. vii. 5. It is struck out by Ernesti. A simpler cure is to read *haec*. Cf. Sull. 80 *haec auctoritas nostra*.

iii. 26. Qui sunt igitur reliqui, quos sors divina delectet? *L. Annius* (so *V*: *T. Antonius D*) et *M. Antonius*.

Copyists frequently substitute familiar names e.g. *Antonius*, *Pompeius*, etc. for others slightly resembling them. The corruption *Antonius* for *Annius* occurs in *t*, *Phil.* xiii. 26 and *Mil.* 1. What, however, is the name concealed by *M. Antonius*? It must be that of a praetor or ex-praetor. The solution is to be found in *Phil.* xiii. 26, where among the partisans of Antony are said to be 'duo praetorii, Philadelphus *Annius* et innocens *Gallius*.' The praenomen of this *Gallius* was *M.* (*Att.* xi. 20, *Suet.* *Tib.* 6). If for *M. Gallius* were written *M. Allius* the change to *M. Antonius* would quickly follow.

38. ut eae provinciae quae (so *V*, *Galliaeque Int*) exercitus in senati...potestate sint.

For the corrupt *quae* editors adopt *atque*, a conjecture of Muretus: *c* read *iique* convincingly.

v. 6. Agitur utrum *M. Antonio* facultas detur opprimendae rei publicae, caedis faciendae bonorum, *urbis eruendorum* (so *V*, '*urbis eruendae* in ras. m. 2, ita ut spatium vix ad litteras suppletas suffecerit' *Halm*: *eripiendorum urbis D*) agrorum suis latronibus condonandi.

That *eripiendorum*, or the similar word originally written in *V*, is an interpolation is agreed. It was probably due to a misunderstanding of the rare construction *agrorum...condonandi*. It is usual to insert in its place *diripiendae* (*Faernus*) or *dividendae* (*Halm*). These are violent emendations. Nothing is necessary except to remove the addition *eripiendorum* (or *eruendorum*), which in *V* is placed after *urbis*, and in *D* before it: and to read *urbis, agrorum...condonandi*. *Urbs* and *agri* are joined as *urbs* and *Italia* in xiii. 42 *optimi cuiusque caedis, urbis et Italiae partitionis*, *vastandarum diripiendarumque provinciarum, ib.* 47 *caedes bonorum, urbis Italiaeque partitio*.

11. quid? illi immanes quaestus ferendine quos *M. Antoni* tota exhausit domus? So MSS.

For *tota* Ernesti conjectures *una*, *Halm* *tot una*, *Pluygers* *tota ex re p. (hausit)*. It is simpler to suppose that *tota* stands for *tot* which has got into the wrong place, and to read *illi tot immanes*. Cf. *Rosc. Am.* 118 *illa tot flagitia*, *Dom.* 56 *illa tot...milia*.

12. si hoc genus pene (so *V*: om. *pene D*) in unum redigatur, non sit pecunia populo Romano defutura.

For *genus pene* *Ursinus* emends *genus pecuniae*, *Kayser* *genus rapinae*, *Halm* more boldly *ingens fenus*. I had thought of *genus praedae* (cf. *Ven.* iii. 171), *praedam redigere* being a technical term. Of these suggestions that of *Ursinus* best explains the corruption of *V*, and *genus pecuniae* is found *Verr.* ii. 141, iii. 223, *Font.* 2, *Pis.* 90. I, therefore, adopt his suggestion, though as the three-fold repetition of *pecunia* is somewhat inelegant (cf. however, *Mil.* 104 where *patria* is repeated three times) it may be better to read *genus* with *D*. A further difficulty remains in *in unum*, on which Ernesti remarks 'Erat illa pecunia in unum redacta, i.e. in unam domum Antonii, ut ante dixit.' His conjecture *unum* is unsatisfactory, since Cicero is dwelling upon the multifarious sources of Antony's gains. Other suggestions are *in aerarium* (*Orelli*) and *populi in usum* (*P. R. Müller*). For *in unum* I write *universum*, i.e. 'if the whole of his pecu-

tions are disgorged.' *Genus univcrsum* occurs in six other passages of the speeches, and Cicero is particularly fond of the assonance *unus...universus* (cf. Mil. 34, 90, Sest. 27, 33, 122, 128, etc.).

39. quid optatus...quam cum bellum civile maximum esset...sapientia etiam (& iam V: desunt D) id potius exstingui quam armis et ferro rem in discrimen adducere?

The context shows that Cicero is praising the gentleness of Lepidus, cf. § 40 civile bellum...humanitate et sapientia sua M. Lepidus ad pacem concordiamque convertit...eius singulari clementia et mansuetudine bellum restinctum. Halm for *etiam* conjectures *et mansuetudine*, or *et humanitate*, or *et clementia*, the last of which is printed by Müller. It is not, however, easy to see how either of these can have been changed to *etiam*. I conjecture that & iam stands for *et mīa*, i.e. *et misericordia*. For the *miseri-cordia Lepidi* cf. xiii. S nemo ab eo civis violatus, multi eius beneficio *et misericordia* liberati, and his own letter, Fam. x. 35, 2, ne *miseri-cordiam* nostram...in civili dissensione sceleris loco ponatis, Appian iii. 84 τοῦ στρατῶν...τὸν Λέπιδον αἰτοῦντος εἰρήνην καὶ ἔλεον εἰς αὐτοῦντας πολίτας.

vi. 10. T. Plancus cum (tum V²) exiluerit (ex exulaverit?), *adolescens nobilis*. V (desunt D).

For cum exiluerit Faernus proposed quam Exitus from xiii. 28. Recent editors omit the words and mark a lacuna. The reading of V appears to combine two scholia viz. tum exulavit a note founded upon xiii. 7, in eam urbem redit armis ex qua excesserat legibus, and *adolescens nobilis*, a marginal annotation of a familiar type. Prof. Reid, who agrees in this view, points out to me that 'there was nothing specially noble about the family, and irony is improbable as the two brothers were friendly to Cicero.' In the next sentence probably *Plancum* <quidem> qui should be read, as quidem seems required to balance nam in the sentence after it (Nam Trebellium valde iam diligit).

viii. 9. ad aquas usque et Puteolos provehuntur.

Halm says 'pro- V, per- D.' This is an error. V e coll. mea has pervehuntur, which is therefore the reading of all MSS., and should be kept, as the words are used in the same sense.

20. Iterum legatos qui si (so Vt, quod si b, quid ln) ille faceret indutias.

Halm reads quid? ut ille, Müller quid si ille, while Pluygers brackets si...indutias. The corruption in Vt, our best guides, sug-

gests quasi. I read Iterum legatos? Quasi ille faceret indutias.

25. 'Si cohorti praetoriae praedam agrumque dederitis.' Eis etiam praemia postulat, etc.

For praedam editors read praemia from the context. A simpler correction is praedia. Cf. Mon. Ancyrr. ch. xvi. pecuniam pro agris...quam pro Italicis praediis numeravi.

26. Postulat praeterea ut cyrographorum sua et ommentariorum (so V: chirographorum et commentariorum sua D) collegaeque sui decreta maneant.

On the whole I acquiesce in the view of Schelle who removes both chirographorum and commentariorum as glosses, though I have some difficulty in seeing why these words should be in the genitive. A word frequently confused with suus is summus. Possibly the corruption may stand for ut chirographorum summa et commentariorum, ut sua etc., i.e. that the 'sum total,' the 'whole block' should be ratified.

30. qui invident alicuius constantiae, qui labori eius (so V, labori eius qui eius (ag) bl, edd., laboribus qui eius n) perpetuam...voluntatem...moleste ferant.

The repetition alicuius...eius...eius in the ordinary reading is not elegant. It looks as if in the archetype there had been qui labori, eius qui perpetuam, etc. Eius has expelled qui from V, is placed after qui in n, and both before and after it in the other MSS.

32. diutius servitutum perpassi quam captivi servi (so V, captivi D) frugi et diligentes solent.

The status of captivi and servi is generally distinguished. I look upon the reading of V as a combination of variants, this being the form of error to which it is especially prone, cf. Cl. R. p. 39. The case is very similar to Mil. 30 feris TE, feris etiam beluis P, where most editors elect to follow P.

ix. 16. locum...quoquo versus pedes quinque habere, quod is ob rem p. mortem obierit, eamque causam in basi inscribi.

As the passage stands the statement is an odd one, viz. 'his descendants shall have a space of five square feet, because he died for his country.' Manutius struck out quod...obierit, while Scaliger proposed quodque is...obierit, eam causam. If the clause quod...obierit is transposed to follow inscribi, it is natural enough.

x. 5. ita enim dixisti et quidem de scripto, nam te inopia verbi lapsus putarem (so V¹: putarem, nisi tuam in dicendo facultatem nossem cett.). That nisi...nossem was not accidentally omitted by V¹ is shown by

the absence of the words from *t*, the best MS. of the D group. Also, as Halm points out, they pervert the sense, which is *nisi de scripto dixisses*. I emend *nam* to *ne*, otherwise reading with *Vt*, viz. *et quidem de scripto, ne te inopia verbi lapsus putarem*, i.e. 'you read your speech, so I cannot suppose that you made a slip because you could not think of the right word.' Cf. ii. 97 *ne nihil actum putetis*, Verr. iv. 52 *ne quem putetis... domo quod alter eriperet protulisse*.

9. si enim C. Antonius quod animo intenderat perficere potuisset, *aut potuisset* nisi eius sceleri virtus M. Bruti obstitisset *V* (desunt *D*). Editors read *potuisset autem* from *δ*, or *aut potius*, a conjecture of Muretus. The reading of *δ* is of course a fifteenth century conjecture. I propose *at potuisset*, which is nearer to the corruption found in *V*.

ib. *Quod qui* ab illo abducit exercitum et respectum pulcherrimum et praesidium firmissimum adimit rei publicae *V*.

Faernus conjectured *Quare qui*, while Kraffert excises *exercitum*, a proposal accepted by Müller. *Quod qui* appears to me a combination of variants in *V* of the familiar type. I read *Qui* ab illo, etc.

19. *ecquodnam principium putatis liberatis capessendae*.

That the passage is corrupt is agreed by all editors. The most plausible of the corrections offered appears to me that of Stangl who inserts *fore* before *principium*. I had thought that *aptius* (cf. Liv. xxxv. 19, *apto tempore*) might have dropped out after *putatis*. I now, however, propose a simpler cure, which is for *capessendae* to read *capessendum*. Cf. for the construction Tac. Ann. xv. 49 *principium facinoris capessivere*, and for the corruption Verr. v. 36 *ius imaginis ad memoriam posteritatemque prodendam* (so MSS. *prodendae* edd.).

xi. 5. *secutae collocutiones familiarissimae cum Trebonio complexusque summae benevolentiae falsi indices exstiterunt in amore simulato*.

It is usual to place a comma after *complexusque*, and to write *indices falsi* with Nipperdey. Müller places the stop after *Trebonio* taking *complexusque* with *exstiterunt*, which seems an improvement; retaining *falsi indices*. The clauses, however, seem awkwardly linked by *-que*. I first thought of writing *complexus quoque*, but in view of asyndetic arrangement of the other clauses in the sentence, viz. *secutae collocutiones... dexterarum... sunt violatae, nocturnus introitus... oppressus Trebonius*, now think it better to cut out *-que*.

27. *cum essent tales virtute, auctoritate nobilitate summi viri* (so *D*, *deest V*) *quorum alterius iam nobis notus esset exercitus, alterius auditus*. Faernus says, 'aut *summi* abundat, quod non credo, aut *legendum summa* aut *tali* pro *tales*.' The second conjecture is that generally adopted. A demonstrative seems to be required by the context. I would insert *ei* or *hi* before *summi*, i.e., 'in view of the fact that these great men are such in point of valour,' etc. For the construction of *virtute* Prof. Reid compares Lael. 12 *vita talis fuit vel fortuna vel gloria*.

32. *animus is est quem videtis*. *Copiae quas audistis, fortes et constantes viri, qui ne vivo quidem Trebonio Dolabellae latrocinium in Syriam penetrare sivistent*.

This passage has received very drastic treatment from editors for reasons which I fail to comprehend. They accept readings from Ferrarius *fortis . . . constantis . . . sivistent* not found in any of Halm's MSS., or of mine (*sivistet* is quoted by Deiter Philol. lviii. p. 193 from an Amsterdam MS. which he does not rate highly), and mark a lacuna after Madvig, who supposes that e.g. 'primum legiones egregiae Q. Marcii, deinde L. Statii' has fallen out after *audisset*. I read with the MSS.

37. *veteranos tueri debeo, sed eos quibus sanitas est*.

Sed eos quibus, for which Halm quotes no authority (*sed iis quibus* ag, so *l*), is found in *n*. I have some doubt, however, as it hardly explains other variants, viz. *q iis quos quibus t*, and *est quod iis quos quibus b*. Possibly *eos quidem quibus*, regarding *q* in *t* as an error for *q* (quidem), and *quos* as a variant.

38. *quibus cum Bruti salus cara sit, qui possunt Cassii nomen odisse . . . non vereor ne acerbus civis quisquam istorum sit qui otio delectantur* (so *D*, *deest V*).

The meaning, as Madvig points out, must be 'Cassius will not be distasteful to any lovers of peace.' He proposed *acerbus nuntius cuiquam*, a violent alteration which yields a poor sense. Müller with equal boldness conjectures *acerbus Cassii honos cuiquam*. The corruption seems to me due to the constant confusion between *cui*, *cuius* and *civis*, the symbols for which in MSS. where abbreviations are used are very much alike ($\bar{c}$ = *cui*, c^s = *cuius*, c^o = *civis*. cf. *Cl. R.* p. 45). For the confusion in MSS. of the Philipics cf. ii. 23 *civi*] *cui t*. viii. 23 *cui V*: *cui* is $\bar{b}$: *civis lt*. xi. 14 *civis Vb*¹: *civi civi t*: *cives civis gln*: *cives cuius a*: *cives b*²: xiii. 8 *civis*] *cuius l*. *Civis* here appears to stand for *cui*, i.e. in the archetype of *D* was written

cui
quisquam, the reading above the line *i.e.*
cuiquam being correct. I read *ne acerbus*
cuiquam istorum sit.

xii. 9. Gallia . . . exhaustitur vastatur
 uritur omnis aequo animo belli patitur
 iniuriam *codd.*

The conjecture of Ferrarius omnes . . .
 iniurias is universally adopted, a comma
 being placed after *uritur*. I see no
 reason for any change, and would merely
 place a comma after *omnis*, a punctuation
 found in *n*. For *belli iniuria* cf. Livy iii.
 6, 7 agros . . . sine *belli iniuria* vastatos,
 xlii. 21, 2 propter cuius *belli iniuriam*
 (Reid).

20. *ne aquilam quidem ipsum credituram*
putavit V.

ne aquilam quidem ipsam credituram
putavit Int.

ne Aquilam quidem ipsum crediturum
putavit b, edd.

I here find myself in disagreement with
 recent editors who read with *b* (a highly
 corrected MS.) on the ground that the jest
 on *Aquila* and *aquila* contained in the read-
 ing of the other members of *D* and indicated
 by the corruption in *V*, is too frigid a pun for
 Cicero to make. Halm says disdainfully of
 this reading 'in qua scriptura nescio qui
 lepos inesse putetur.' I do not say that the
 pun is a good one, but it does contain a joke
 upon the name of an adversary, and Cicero
 would stoop to anything in order to make
 this. Cf. Phil. xi. 14 *Germanum Cimper*
occidit, xiii. 27 *Muribus* . . . *rosit* and the
 numberless examples in the Orations and
 Letters. In the ordinary reading there is
 no point at all.

24. *itaque in urbe maneo sisi licebit*
manebo (a) t.

itaque in urbe maneo si sic licebit
manebo (g) In.

itaque in urbe maneo si licebit
manebo b.

Editors read from *δ*, the Italian vulgate,
 which omits *maneo* (deest *V*) either by
 accident or conjecture. *Sisi* in *t* is a ditto-
 graphy (cf. v. 34 *si* *sisi V*) while *si sic* is a
 correction based on this error. I read *maneo*,
si *licebit*, *manebo* with *b*.

ib. Teneant alii castra, gerant res bellicas;
oderint hostem; nam hoc caput est; nos...
urbem...tuebimur (so *D*, deest *V*).

Cicero is distinguishing between the func-
 tions of those at the front, and his own at
 home. The chief duty of the soldiers is ob-
 viously to defeat the enemy. To 'hate' the
 foe is also incumbent on Cicero. For *oderint*
 Faernus proposed *fuderint*, and Madvig

superent. Surely the obvious correction is
occiderint.

27. *collocutus est: quo* (so *bt: quod In*)
quidem memini Sex. Pompeium *ad colloquium*
Roma venire (so *D*, deest *V*).

For *quo quidem* Ernesti, who is followed
 by Halm and Kayser, conjectured *quo*
quidem <tempore>. A simpler addition
 after *quidem* would be *die*. I am, however,
 inclined to read *quod...ad colloquium* with
In.

28. *isse et redisse* (*D*, deest *V*).

The usual idiom is *ire, redire* without a
 connecting particle. The following variants
 are instructive. Phil. ii. 78 *isti, redisti V*:
isti et redisti D, 89 *irent, redirent*] *irent ac*
redirent. c. For the asyndeton cf. Att. x. 1,
 3, *eant, redeant*, Hor. Ep. 1, 7, 55, *it, redit*,
et narrat. I read *isse, redisse* here.

ib. *quae cum agam in consilio nullis* (so
bt, edd., nonnullis In) *ut arbitror, repug-*
nantibus, nonne metuendum est ne...multi-
tudo per me pacem distineri putet?

Nonnullis must be right. Cicero will be
 considered the obstacle to peace, if some hold
 an opposite view to his, not if all are agreed.
 For the corruption cf. ii. 20 *nonnulla V*:
nulla D. *Nonnullis* was previously only
 known from *δ*, the fifteenth century Italian
 vulgate, so it is interesting to find it in *n*, a
 tenth century MS.

The evidence of *V* fails us after Phil. xiii.
 10, and we have to rely solely upon *D*. The
 best members of *D* are also imperfect:
n ends at xiii. 29, *l* at xiii. 46, and *t* at xiv.
 25. The loss of *n* is not seriously felt, since
 its readings can be ascertained from the
 consensus of *ol*, two MSS. copied from it
 before it was mutilated (*Cl. R.* p. 251). I
 have used Harl. 2682 (*h*) after the failure
 of *l*.

xiii. 11. *sunt alii fortasse, mea* (so *t: sed*
mea In, de mea b) *memoria dilabuntur*.

Editors generally read *sed de mea* with
 Naugerius. I find, however, no parallel for
 the construction *dilabi de*. The simplest
 course is to read with *In*, since *sed* might
 easily drop out from *t* after *fortasse*. *Dilabi*
 is still somewhat odd. The word generally
 means 'crumble,' 'fall asunder.' (Prof.
 Reid compares Tusc. iv. 10 *intento opus est*
animo ne omnia dilabantur, si unum
effugerit, for *dilabi* in connexion with
 memory.) *Delabi* which = 'slip down'
 would be no improvement. The usual word
 is *elabi*, cf. ad Herenn. iii. 35 *e memoria*
elabuntur (so P^πCd, *memoria elabuntur* Bl,
e memoria labuntur H), where the variants
 are instructive. I suspect that *sed e mea*
memoria elabuntur should here be read.

ib. utrum igitur augurem *I.O.M.*, cuius interpretes internuntiique constituti sumus, utrum populus Romanus libentius sanciet. So *D.*

Editors here read *Iovis Optimi Maximi* from δ , and adopt an unhappy conjecture of Madvig, who inserts *nos* after *sumus*. Pluggers, who has found no follower, brilliantly points out that nothing is necessary except to write *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus*, which is the natural interpretation of *I.O.M.* The authority of δ is *nil*, and *nos* is very awkwardly placed.

19. egressus est non viis sed tramitibus paludatus: *eoque ipso die innumerabilia senatus consulta fecit, quae quidem omnia citius delata (deleta bn) quam scripta sunt.* Ex eo non iter sed cursus et fuga in Galliam.

The words *eoque...sunt* violently disturb the sense. Cicero is describing the instantaneous collapse of Antony, and the point is spoilt if he has time to pass innumerable decrees. Also, there is a $\pi\rho\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ $\pi\rho\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$, since *egressus* implies that he has already left Rome. If *deleta* is read from *bn* there is a sense, since the annulment of his laws would be a feature in his discomfiture. But *deferre* i.e. *in aerarium* is a technical term, e.g. Livy xxxix. 4, 8, Phil. v. 15, and *deleta* looks like a correction. I thought at one time that there might have been a dislocation, but can find no place in the context where the words can be suitably inserted. I now look upon them as a *scholium* intended to harmonise the accounts given by Cicero of Antony's departure. In v. 24 his description tallies with the present passage, if *eoque...sunt* is struck out: viz. non profectus est, sed profugit paludatus. At quo? in provinciam firmissimorum civium, etc. The account of Appian is slightly different viz. διαταραχθεὶς οὖν εἰσῆλθε μὲν ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὡς δ' ἐφ' ἑτέρα αὐτοὺς συναγαγὼν μικρὰ διελέχθη καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἐχώρει καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἐπὶ Ἀλβην (iii. 45). In Phil. iii. 24 Cicero's language is ambiguous, since after describing the *fuga* of Antony in similar terms, he adds *praeclara tamen senatus consulta illo ipso die vespertina*, which may show that he elsewhere exaggerates the haste of Antony to depart, or may mean that after he had gone a magistrate acting in his interest convened the senate. The annotator, as I conceive, was puzzled by the mention of *senatus consulta* in iii. 24, and composed this note. Professor Reid remarks upon the Latinity that '*citius delata quam scripta sunt* is clearly nonsensical: *scripta* should at least have been *facta*.' Innumera-

bilis sen. consulta seems to be a reminiscence of ii. 97 innumerabilibus chirographis, x. 6, senatus 'consulto huius generis, sunt enim innumerabilia, and *citius delata quam scripta sunt* of v. 7 ante lata quam scripta est.

19. Caesaris...virtus latronis impetus retardavit, quem *tum* ille demens laedere se putabat in edictis.

For *tum* no variant was previously quoted. I find in *b* the very idiomatical reading *tamen*, i.e. 'in his baffled rage.' For the use of *tamen* cf. ii. 8.

24. *Ecquo te tua virtus provexisset, ecquo genus?* In *lustris*, etc. To the various conjectures for *genus* (*genus vitae* Schelle, *ingenium* Ursinus, *industria* Pluggers), I add doubtfully <*inlustre*> *genus*. The context appears to require *industria*, but although this would easily drop out before *In lustris* it is difficult to see where *genus* can have come from.

ib. suam amentiam *pueri* (so *t*: *huic* in: *puero huic* *b*, edd.) praebet ad gloriam.

Puero seems to have been the original reading. It is corrupted in *t*, expelled by *huic* from *ln*, while *b* combines the variants.

25. id agere ut *iure damnatus* sit Dolabella.

Iure damnari in 1, 22 means 'to be justly condemned,' and it is a curious complaint for Antony to make that Octavian is endeavouring to procure this in the case of Dolabella. *Damnatus* appears to be a corruption for *deminutus*. Octavian wishes to make Dolabella an outlaw. Cf. Festus *deminutus capite...cui aqua ignique interdictum est*, Balb. 20 ut de nostro *iure* aliquid *deminueretur*, Caec. 5 pars aliqua *iuris deminuta*.

26. The readings of the MSS. are

Homo diruptus divitique Caelius (*a*)*bn't*
(divitique *b* ex corr.)

Homo dirutus diviciis Caelius *n*².

Homo diruptus dirutusque Caelius *l*.

The reading of *l* passed into δ with the addition of *Q*. before Caelius, and has been adopted from δ by all editors. As *l* and MSS. allied to it are full of variants (cf. *Cl. R.* p. 43) I had thought that *diruptus* was a variant for *dirutus*. Prof. Reid brilliantly emends to *dirutus aere* (cf. Verr. v. 33 in quibus...cum frequens fuisset, tamen *aere dirutus est*) regarding *divitiis* as the original gloss on *aere*.

27. illud tamen *verum* quod in hoc Planco proverbii loco dici solet, perire eum non posse, nisi ei crura fracta essent. Fracta sunt et vivit.

<*non*> *verum* the correction of Zumpt is much simpler than that of Klotz *mirum*,

which recent editors adopt. There appears, however, to be a further corruption. The sense must be 'the old saw is not true of Plancus,' i.e. *in hoc Planco* must either be placed before *quod*, or struck out as a note.

29. *huic causae orbem terrae patere* (so cod. Ursini, *parere l*, *favere b*, *om t*). *Parere* is also quoted by Halm from δ , and the interchange of *parere* and *patere* is not uncommon, e.g. Mil. 15. Also *patere* gives an excellent sense. There are, however, some curious variants. In *l* after *Cascae* in the next line there follows *vel in hac causa*, a variant from the margin which has been inserted into the text in the wrong place, while *n* reads *in hac causa* before *orbem*. There must, therefore, have been another reading *in hac causa orbem terrae* <esse>. For *in causa esse* cf. Marc. 2, Lig. 16, 17, 28. The omission of *patere* (*parere*) by *t*, and the obvious conjecture in *b* are suspicious. On the other hand *patere* seems too good to be a conjecture.

31. *vide ne tu veteranos tamen eos qui erant perditu perdidideris*.

For *tamen eos* Madvig conjectures *sed tamen eos* or *eos tamen*. A simpler correction is *etiam*. The words are often confused e.g. ii. 76 *etiam* V. $\bar{e}$ *iam t*: *et tamen l*: $\bar{e}$ *et tamen b*.

33. *Theopompum nudum n̄ expulsum a Trebonio*.

The corruption $\bar{n}$ is found in all MSS. except $\alpha\lambda$ (the apographs of *n*) which omit it. Halm thought that it concealed the name of a place. I propose for $\bar{n}$ to read *vi*. Cf. ix. 14 where $\ln^1$ give *u* for *vi*. The word is peculiarly liable to corruption.

34. *nihil vidi tam integrum quam ut oppugnare imperatorem incipiant, quem tanto studio consensuque ostenderint* (so *t*: *offenderint cett.*) I emend *ostenderint* (*offenderint*) to *oderint* otherwise following the MSS. If *oderint* were written by error (cf. vii. 3 *providi cives* V: *provincicus* D) the corruptions would quickly follow.

This is simpler than (a) to conjecture *cum tantum studium consensumque ostenderint* with Halm, or (b) to insert *quam oderint* after *ostenderint* with Lehmann. Another possibility which had occurred to me was that *ostenderint* (*offenderint*) might be a 'telescoped' word for *offensionem ostenderint*. This would require *cum* for *quem* with Halm.

35. *quoniam* (so *bot*: *quē l*) *vos adsentationibus et venenatis muneribus venistis depravati* (so *bol*, *om. t*).

Editors adopt from Madvig *quamquam eos* for *quoniam*, and *depravatum* for *depra-*

vati. These are violent changes. I prefer for *quoniam* to read *quos iam*, altering one letter only, and for *depravati* to read *depravaturi*. The perfect and future participles of deponents are continually confused, e.g. in the previous section *imitati t. imitaturi cett.* Cf. Mil. 90 *ausurus* H: *ausus cett.*

37. *ut perfugium scelerum esset cum turpissimis rei p. sordibus*.

For *cum*, which is struck out by Garatoni, Halm conjectures *tum* or *iam*, while Müller reads *tutum*. *Cum* appears to me to stand for *quam* (i.e. 'the very vilest'), for the corruption cf. x 8. *quam cum* V: *cum D*, and Müller on Fam. 1, 2.

40. *pergit in me* (so *t*: *in mea cett.*) *maledicta*.

Halm would add *iacere* or *iactare*. I am surprised that no one has corrected *maledicta* <*dicere*>. Cf. Q. F. ii. 3, 2. *cum omnia maledicta . . . in Clodium et Clodium dicerentur*, Phil. ii. 42, *in te et in tuos dicta dicere*, Planc. 85 *dictum . . . in petitionem tuam dici potuisse*, etc. How easily the omission of *dicere* would take place may be illustrated from Phil. ii. 42, where the MSS. of Suetonius, who quotes the passage (de Rhet. 5), omit *dicta*, while *n* gives *dicere dicta*, which looks as if *dicta* had been at first omitted, and then inserted in the wrong place.

41. *deceptum autem Caesarem a me t*, edd. *deceptum autem patrem a me Caesarem lo*.

deceptum autem patrem Caesarem a me b.

That either *Caesarem*, or *patrem* is a gloss is obvious. *Caesarem* appears to me intolerably obscure, since immediately before *deceptum* comes *Caesari* *plura et maiora debentur*, where *Caesar* = Octavianus. If however, *patrem* is sound, then the sense is perfect. Antony had accused Cicero of deceiving 'Caesar,' using an ambiguous expression. Cicero first clears himself of the charge of deceiving Octavian, and then says, 'Do you mean his father?' There appears to have been in the archetype of *D*

Caesarem.

deceptum autem patrem a me.

Patrem has been expelled from *t* by the gloss, and is variously combined with it in other MSS.

42. *nec deserere partis quas Pompeius odit*.

So edd. and *bl*: *poneius vidi t*: *Pompeius odiū ho*.

The reading of *t* deserves careful attention, since, although the introduction of a common name like *Pompeius* in a corrupt

passage is frequent (cf. iii. 26), it is not so easy to see why it should have been corrupted. Also, it is hard to believe that Cicero, who in the next sentence castigates Antony for *piissimus*, would have passed over *odivit* without comment. Further, the sense is very odd, viz.—‘I will not desert the party which Pompey hated.’ The required sense seems rather ‘I will not desert the party which I myself created.’ Possibly *partis quas sponte adivi*.

44. *quique, nisi ante eius adventum rei p. poenas dederis, ille huius belli feret principatum MSS.*

For *ille*, which was struck out by Ernesti, I read *ipse*. The confusion of *ille* and *ipse* is constant.

47. ‘*legatos venire non credo.*’ Bene me novit: *quod venias* (so *t: bellum quod veniant h: velim quo venias b*), proposito praesertim exemplo Dolabellae. Sanctiore erunt, credo etc.

Editors mark *quod venias* as corrupt, or suppose that there is a lacuna. If we ask what is disguised by *bellum quod* (*velim quo*), light is, I think, to be obtained from § 3, where *D* without sense give *belli quorum* for *reliquorum* (*V*). Here we have only *D*, and a similar corruption is not surprising. I read *Bene me novit. Reliqui veniant, i.e.* ‘He knows my caution. Let the others go if they like, knowing how Dolabella behaved to Trebonius.’ Cf. xii. 26 *si extra castra, ceteri viderint, ego me vix tuto futurum puto, 27 si ceteri possunt me posse confido. Reli-* here has been corrupted to *belli*, as in § 3, in *h*, and to *veli* in *b*, cf. xiv. 7 *inustae belli*] *inusta evelli t*.

There is an omission in *ol*, the two apographs of *n*, from *bene...credo*, so I cannot quote their reading.

xiv. 6. *Caesar cum exercitu per se comparato cum primis pestibus rem p. liberasset. MSS.*

For *primis* Pluygers conjectures *primum*, Halm *compressis*, while Müller reads *prius*. *Primis* appears to me to stand for *primum*

his. This became *primum*, then *primis, i.e. is* (*his*) written above the line was interpreted as a correction.

12. *tanta multitudo hostium interfecta dico ita inquam hostium bht.*
tanta multitudo hostium interfecta dico inquam hostium ol.

Editors read <*hostium*> *dico? ita inquam hostium* from ‘2 codd. (†) Ursini.’ From the reading of *ol* it would appear that in the archetype was *ita inquam hostium. I*

would read *ita inquam, hostium*, omitting *dico*, with Garatoni.

13. *etiam in eos, qui omnis suas curas in rei p. salute defigunt, impetus crimen* (so *t: impetus crimen invidia cett.*) *quaeretur?*

In this much-disputed passage *impetus* appears to be an interpolation from the context—‘in me *impetus* conductorum hominum quasi in tyrannum parabatur.’ *Invidia* on the other hand has every appearance of being genuine, since *invidiam quaerere* is a favourite expression of Cicero. Professor Reid suggests to me that the interpolation consists of *impetus crimen*, and not of *impetus* alone, and this view seems to me the simplest cure for the passage. The interpolation has expelled the genuine reading *invidia* from *t* and is combined with it in the other MSS. *Impetus* and *crimen* were probably two marginal annotations which have been combined. If *crimen* is retained, I would prefer to read *invidia crimenque* as being nearer to the reading of *t*, viz. *impetus crimen*, than *crimen invidiaeque*, the conjecture of Faernus upon which this suggestion is based.

14. *an ut ego, qui Catilinam haec molientem sustulerim...ipse exstiterim Catilina.*

Ut was struck out by Faernus (so Halm, and Kayser), while all editors accept *existerem*, a conjecture of Manutius. I cannot see that any change is necessary except for *ut* to read *vero* (*i.e. u* for *ũ*). For ‘the confusion of these words cf. Marc. 4 where for *est vero* Harl. 4927 gives *et u ut*.

17. *magnus est in re publica campus, ut sapienter dicere* (so *t, dicere cett.*) *Crassus solebat.*

Crassus appears to need a praenomen, and so Halm conjectured *L. Crassus, i.e.* the orator. The corruption in *t* points to *M. Crassus, i.e.* the triumvir. Cf. ii. 7 *tantum mihi cum M. Crasso contentio esset*. Cicero could speak kindly of a political antagonist after his death.

While I have been engaged upon these speeches I have had the benefit of advice from Professor Reid and Professor Purser, which I gratefully acknowledge. Professor Reid has allowed me to consult him perpetually when I was in doubt, and placed at my disposal his unrivalled knowledge of Ciceronian idiom, as well as several emendations of his own. They are of course in no way responsible for views advocated in this paper.

ALBERT C. CLARK.

REMARKS ON JUVENAL.

I. 62.

cum fas esse putet curam sperare
 cohortis
 qui bona donavit praesepibus et caret
 omni
 60 maiorum censu, dum pervolat axe citato
 Flaminiam puer Automedon? nam lora
 tenebat
 ipse, lacernatae cum se iactaret amicae.

In the April number of this Review, Professor Gudeman, discussing this passage at some length, can see no reason for calling the woman *lacernatae*, and attempts to justify his course in emending to read *lacernatus*. Plausible as his arguments appear at first glance, they do not stand the test of careful examination and certainly are not sufficient to warrant any change in the text.

In his interpretation of the passage there is a slight inaccuracy which has a decided bearing on the question at issue. 'A patrician youth who has squandered his ancestral wealth, so far forgets what Roman dignitas in a man of his social rank demanded, that he actually *drives in person* through one of the most frequented streets in Rome, for the purpose of showing off to his mistress.' But with anything like exact interpretation *cum se iactaret amicae* can hardly mean 'for the purpose of showing off to his mistress'; it clearly indicates merely an attendant circumstance.¹ The force of this will be clearer as we proceed.

In considering 'the locality, where the poet must have supposed this *amica* to have been,' Professor Gudeman says that there are 'only two possibilities and both are incompatible with *lacernatae*. She was either *in a house* on the Flaminian Way or else on the *crowded street* itself.' But surely there is still a third possibility, viz., that she was in the vehicle with the young Automedon, a view to which the number of *pervolat* cannot be urged as an objection, because the *amica* has at that point not yet been introduced. When we remember the immense amount of traffic on the via Flaminia and the restrictions on driving in the city which

were imposed by the Lex Iulia Municipalis and emphasized from time to time afterwards, it is wildly improbable that anyone would have been able to drive at breakneck speed (*pervolat axe citato*) inside the porta Flaminia. Clearly the scene of the incident here recorded must be laid on the via Flaminia outside the city and then the only reasonable place for the *amica* is beside the dashing young driver. The fact that the editors make no comment on this point is, I take it, to be explained only on the supposition that no other view than the one just stated ever occurred to them.

Professor Gudeman calls attention also to the fact 'that *ipse lacernatus cum se iactaret amicae* is a far more natural rhythm than the sudden stop in the middle of the first foot.' Doubtless; but observe the same rhythm in 3, 24f.

proponimus illuc
 ire, fatigatas ubi Daedalus exiit alas,

where no one would object to *fatigatas* on metrical grounds. As far as the meaning of *lacernatae* is concerned I heartily agree with Professor Gudeman's interpretation based on Petron. 69: *lacernatus cum flagello mulionum fata egit*.

But it is upon the other pair of shoulders that the coachman cloak lies. Juvenal's thought in my opinion was this: the young spendthrift is speeding his horses on the via Flaminia to the north of the city and, forgetting his rank and dignity, actually holds the reins himself, showing off meanwhile to the *amica* who sits by his side with a driver's cloak thrown over her shoulders. She enters fully into the spirit of the occasion and throws propriety to the winds as much as the young man himself. Herein lies the point of *lacernatae*.

I. 74

I take this opportunity to call attention to the fact that Diderot, who is not usually named among the moderns strongly influenced by Juvenal, knew the satires well. Even a cursory reading brings to light many passages in which the reminiscence of Juvenal is evident. In *Le Neveu de Rameau* (p. 70, Monval) we read: On loue la vertu; mais on la hait; mais on la fuit; mais elle gèle de froid; et dans ce monde il faut avoir les piés chauds. With this

¹ Professor Hale so interprets the passage, citing it, along with Cic. Phil. 13, 9, 19, Hor. S. 1, 9, 10, Iuv. 10, 52, and other places, under the head of the Sequent Clause of Situation (Added Picture), in his *Cum-Constructions*, p. 191 (p. 233 of the German Translation).

compare Juvenal I. 75: *probitas laudatur et alget*.

IV. 132.

A great fish has been presented to Domitian, who summons the imperial council to discuss what shall be done with it.

Montanus ait 'testa alta paretur, quae tenui muro spatiosum colligat orbem.'

The expression *spatiosum orbem* has never to my knowledge been interpreted as refer-

ring to anything but the fish. But the whole opinion of Montanus, contained in the above and three following verses, directly concerns only the making of a dish; and as *orbis* is so commonly used of round surfaces such as shields, mirrors, tables, etc., why is it not better to understand by these words the inside area of the dish, which is thus enclosed by the rim (*tenui muro*)?

HARRY LANGFORD WILSON.

Johns Hopkins University,
Baltimore, Md., U.S.A.

CORRECTIONS.

I am sorry to find that on p. 367b I have incidentally misrepresented Mr Heinze as neglecting to say who first invented the explanation of Lucr. iii 420 which he adopts. Mr Heinze, on the contrary, says explicitly 'mit Wakefield.'

This is a good opportunity to retract another slander which I have long had on my conscience. In vol. iv of this Review, p. 107a, I accused Mr Tucker of having invented a fable about Opis and Orion. This was sheer ignorance on my part: the story is duly told by Apollodorus bibl. i 4 5.

And further I will withdraw two conjectures in Ovid's metamorphoses which I published in 1890 in the Transactions of the

Cambridge Philological Society, vol. iii pp. 142 and 145, and which have led others into error. At met. i 632 I adopted Mr Riese's objection to '*amara pascitur herba*' and proposed '*amaro...eruo*' (*erui* is corrupted to *herbe* in med. fac. 55). This is wrong: Ovid is imitating the verse of Calvus quoted by Servius at Verg. buc. vi 47, '*herbis pascere amaris*.' At met. vi 63 I objected to '*ab imbre...percussis solibus*' on the ground that it ought to be '*a solibus percusso imbre*.' But though Juvenal i 54 has '*mare percussum puero*' Lucan ii 155 sq. can still write '*hic, se praecipiti iaculatus pondere, dura | dissiluit percussus humo*.'

A. E. HOUSMAN.

NOTES.

ARISTOTLE, 'Aθ. Πολ. xiii. 2.—εἷρ' ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ στασιάζειν ἄρχοντας ἐλέσθαι δέκα, πέντε μὲν εὐπατριδῶν, τρεῖς δὲ ἀγροίκων, δύο δὲ δημιουργῶν, καὶ οὗτοι τὸν μετὰ Δαμασίαν ἦρξαν ἐνιαυτόν.

Professor Bury, in his recent *History of Greece* (p. 188) adduces the Berlin fragment of the 'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία as reading [τέτταρ]as (the preceding word is lost) in place of πέντε, making the total number of archons for the year following the expulsion of Damasias nine instead of ten. In this he follows the authority of Blass, whose note ('Aθ. Πολ. ed. 3, p. 24) runs: 'δέκα, πέντε] sed τέτταρ]as (Bl., Landwehr, Diels) ut vid. Berol., quod recte, puto, tuetur E. Meyer.' I had an opportunity recently of examining the Berlin fragment, and am strongly of opinion that its reading is the same as that of the London MS. The letter before μὲν seems to me to be certainly Ε, not C, and the preceding letter may well be T. The rest of the word has wholly disappeared.

If the reading were even doubtful, the *a priori* probability would of course be that it is the same in both MSS.; but personally I feel no doubt that the Berlin fragment has [πέν]τε, and if the London MS. had happened to be the first discovered I do not believe that anyone would have read it differently. The point may appear a small one, but, in view of the use made of it by such historians as Meyer and Bury, it is of some importance.

F. G. KENYON.

* * *

TWO OXFORD MSS. OF DIONYSIUS HALICARNAS-
EUS.—(1) In an article in the *Journal of Philology* (1899), I discussed the composition and authorship of a MS. of Dionysius' treatise *De Compositione Verborum*. I have since received from Prof. R. Förster of Breslau a suggestion which is most attractive; that the writer of the marginal notes was Andreas Dudith. Dr. Förster has compared the writing with

Dudith's at Breslau. The identity is, he thinks, possible though not certain.

(2) The '*Bodleianus*' of Hudson is the work of Sir Henry Savile, beyond any doubt, and the various readings which Hudson records are merely conjectures of Savile, some of which he probably borrowed from Sylburg for his own use. The *ἴσως* which Hudson prefixes to these *variae lectiones* is a mere figment of that editor; Savile's margin always has *f. i.e. fortasse*. I propose to discuss this transcript fully in a special paper hereafter.

A. B. POYNTON.

ON LUCRETII, III. 993.—Agreeing with Dr. Postgate (at page 352 of the current volume of *The Classical Review*) that 'uolucres' is an intrusion from line 984, I would suggest that the word which it has displaced was 'ueneres' a word which, written in the thin rustic capitals of the archetype of our best Lucretian MSS. (see Lachmann's *Commentarius*, page 3), to a scribe who had fresh in his mind the myth of Tityos might have seemed a probably expected subject of 'lacerant.' For 'ueneres' compare Propertius II. x. (III. i.), 7, 'aetas prima canat ueneres.'

Instead of 'angor,' which with 'anxius' is mere tautology, perhaps we ought to read 'aegtor,' a *verbum Lucretianum*. Compare Cicero, *Tusc.* iii. 13, 'aegritudo...lacerat exest animum,' possibly a reminiscence of our poet.

SAMUEL ALLEN.

ON THE METAPHOR IN HORACE, *Od.* i. 5.—I have always had difficulty in reconciling the metaphor contained in 'qui nunc te fruitur credulus aurea,' with the metaphors of a stormy sea.

Lucian, *Demosthenis Encomium*, § 13, rather resolves the difficulty. He there distinguishes between two forms of love—διττὰς ἐπ' ἀνθρώποις ἐρώτων ἀγωγὰς, τὴν μὲν θαλαττίου τινὸς ἔρωτος παράφορον τε καὶ ἀγρίαν καὶ κυμαίνουσαν ἐν ψυχῇ, Ἀφροδίτης πανδήμου κλύδωνα φλεγμαινούσας νέων ὁρμαῖς αὐτόχρομα θαλάττιον, τὴν δὲ οὐρανοῦ χρυσοῦς τινὸς σειρᾶς ἔλξιν ἐξορμῶσαν μανία σώφρονι τῶν ψυχῶν ὄσαι Ζηνὸς ἐγγὺς καὶ θεῶν ἀγχίσποροι' φησὶν ὁ τραγικός.

The distinction is practically the same as Plato's in the *Symposium* 180 E between ἔρως πάνδημος and ἔρως οὐράνιος.

ERNEST I. ROBSON.

Sydney, N.S.W.

NOTES ON JUVENAL.

Sat. X. 3-4: remota | erroris nebula.

Editors quote no other instance of the expression 'erroris nebula.' It occurs five times in the Commentaries to St. Paul's Epistles, in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, tom. XVII, which Dom Morin, O.S.B., has with great probability¹ attributed to a converted Jew, named Isaac, who lived in the second half of the fourth century. The references are col. 60 B, 76 A, sublatā erroris nebulā 182 C, 357 C, amputatā erroris nebulā 437 D (ed. 1879). The third and fifth references seem to prove recollection of the present passage of Juvenal.

Sat. X. 356: ut sit mens sana in corpore sano.

There is an earlier parallel to this than any quoted by editors:—ὁμοῖος σώματος . . . ὁμοῖε ψυχῇ Plato *Gorg.* 479 B.

A. SOUTER.

¹ It is my intention to treat this question at length elsewhere.

REPORTS.

OXFORD PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

THE Society met in Queen's College, Oxford, on Friday October 26.

Mr. T. W. ALLEN read a paper on the 'Euripidean Catalogue of Ships' (*Iph. Aul.* 235 ff.), in which

he endeavoured to establish a connection between the differences between the Homeric Catalogue, and the list of ships in Euripides, and the Euripidean edition of Homer.

REVIEWS.

WECKLEIN'S *CYCLOPS OF EURIPIDES*.

Euripidis Fabulae, ed. R. PRINZ et N. WECKLEIN, Vol. I. Pars VII. Cyclops ed. N. Wecklein. Lipsiae in aed. B. G. Teubneri. MDCCCXCVIII. 37 pages. M. l. 40.

AN adequate and thoroughly up-to-date edition of the Cyclops has at last been

furnished us, by Dr. Wecklein, and it need scarcely be said that his brilliancy and thoroughness is evident on every page. The little book of 37 pages forms a complete record of the MSS. readings and emendations of any worth. In regard to the MSS., the editor has not lacked collations.

At his service have been those of Prinz, who began this edition of Euripides, of Wilamowitz, published in his *Analecta Euripidea* (1875) and of Preger. As to conjectures, a glance at the number of names which appear in the apparatus is an assurance of the thoroughness with which he has gone through the literature of this drama. At the bottom of each page, we find here, as in the same editor's *Aeschylus*—though with typographical improvement—not only the MSS. variants and adopted emendations but also those conjectures which closely follow in point of merit. A glance at the adopted emendations is of interest. It is found that Reiske's suggestions have been accepted in 13 instances, Hermann's in 12, Scaliger's 11, Canter's and the Editor's 10 each, Musgrave's 8, Tyrwhitt's and Kirchhoff's 7 each, Seidler's, Matthiae's and Casaubon's 6 each, Nauck's, Barne's and L. Dindorf's 5 each, Stephanus's, Fix's, Heath's and Dindorf's 4 each, Pierson's 3, Wieseler's, Lenting's Bothe's, Aldine edition's, Dobree's 2 each, while 15 others are represented by one mention each. An evidence of the care in selection may be seen in the fact that from Wieseler, who has probably published more work on this drama than any other man, but two conjectures are found acceptable, while in other places the editor has hesitated to put into the text conjectures that seem almost perfect.

Dr. Wecklein's own contribution consists of over 50 conjectures in the apparatus while in the following places he has left his mark on the printed text: 74 ποῦ for ποῖ; 93 versum delevit (why?); 112 διώκων γ' for διώκων; 131 ἀπαρώμεν for ἀπαίρωμεν; 234 ἐξε-

φρίεντο for ἐξεφοροῦντο; 362 γέμιζε for κόμιζε; 505 δλκάδος for δλκάς ὧς; 508 ἐπίκωμον for ἐπὶ κῶμον; 583 κάλλιον ἢ for κάλλιστα νῆ; 610 πυράγρα for πυρὶ γάρ.

After 486 he has followed the example of Kirchhoff and the advice of Wilamowitz in inserting (ὡδὴ ἔνδοθεν).

In comparison with one of the older editions such as Kirchhoff's (1868) we find, among others, these new readings adopted: Seidler's ἐπ' ἑρεμποῖς 16; Nauck's οἰοπολὼν 74; Matthiae's ἡδῆσθα 108; Holland's πῶς for βός in 136; Hartung's παροῖθε 202; Scaliger's ὀμφαλόν 235; Heath's ἐπεὶ γ' ἐλήφθη 260; Heimsoeth's οἴκους 288; Nauck's εὐμορφία 317; Reiske's εὐ τέγγων τε 326; Pierson's ἔστρωσεν 387; and his βαλῶ . . . ὄμμα τ' 458-9; Reiske's οὐ 472; Fix's καὶ 515; Reiske's μεθύω μέν 535; Wieseler's ἐπεὶ οὐ . . . σφ' ἐρᾶν 555; Cobet's ἀπομακτέον 561; Markland's αὐ 664; Wieseler's τέρθρ' 704. These will suffice as examples of the selection. Here as in the other dramas of this series, Dr. Wecklein writes η in the 2nd. Singular of middle and passive primary tenses, introduces ἐς and ἔσω for εἰς and εἴσω where metrically allowable and keeps—with Kirchhoff—the rough breathing of the second word in Crasis.

After the text is added an appendix of over 700 conjectures of lesser worth and here too Dr. Wecklein's work is found in perhaps a score of places. However, one has only to look at passages such as 49, 164, 170, 440 etc. to realise that there is yet work to do.

H. DE F. SMITH.

BOWDOIN COLLEGE.

Brunswick, Maine, U.S.A.

MARCHANT'S AND UNDERHILL'S *HELLENICS OF XENOPHON*.

Xenophontis Opera Omnia; Tomus 1. *Historia Graeca*. Recognovit E. C. MARCHANT. Oxonii e typographeo Clarendoniano. 1900. Price 2s. 6d.

A Commentary with Introduction and Appendix on the Hellenica of Xenophon. By G. E. UNDERHILL. 1900. Pp. xcvi. 378. Price 7s. 6d.

As far as MS. evidence goes, Keller has made easy for all his successors the task of editing the *Hellenics*. His edition of 1890 gives as complete a collation of valuable

MSS. as anyone can desire, and, though Mr. Marchant has now collated the British Museum MS., it does not appear that much has been gained from it. For all other *codices* (except a portion of one in the Vatican) he is naturally dependent on Keller, but he has also—would that they were more!—the papyrus fragments recently discovered of some three chapters in Book I. and a little bit of Book III. Of these he records duly every detail, while of the ordinary MS. readings he has given only a few selections in addition to his text,

leaving the more minute enquirer to search in Keller. He has perhaps not said in his preface quite as much as one could desire about the character and value of the *Hellenica* MSS.

In accordance with what seems the general plan of the series in which the book appears, he has been very conservative in his treatment of the text, possibly a little more so than his own judgment would have allowed. Very few are the suggestions of his own, and none of them I think actually embodied in the text. The two chief ones that I have noticed—why does not every editor give in his preface a list of his own suggestions?—are *ἐνεκά γε τοῦ ξῆν* for *ἐκγενέσθαι τοῦ ξῆν* in 6, 4, 23, and *παρευνοχέαι* for *παρανενομηκέαι* in 2, 3, 36, the latter of which would be the better for a word or two of explanation. A good many passages are marked as probably wrong, and the best suggestions about them, often very unsatisfactory, are given in the brief critical notes, which seem to me made with judgment, though personally I should have liked them a trifle fuller, especially on hard passages. There are, as Hartman has said in his *Analecta*, a very large number of critical difficulties about the *Hellenics*. But no doubt the discussion of them belongs rather to a commentary than to short critical notes such as alone the Oxford *Bibliotheca* admits.

One would like to know whether Mr. Marchant really believes such a construction as *οὐκ ἔφη δέξασθαι* (5, 1, 32) for *δέξασθαι* or *δέξασθαι ἄν* to be legitimate. So in 1, 7, 29, *ἀμφοτέρα ἔφη γενέσθαι*. The cases of 1, 6, 3, *οὐ φαμένον πολυπραγμαίνειν*, and 2, 3, 14, *ἐνόμιζον...ἀνέχεσθαι*, may possibly be different, though I hardly think so. The impossibility of this use of the aorist is among the things of which we may say seriously in Dogberry's words that they have been proved already and will go near to be thought so shortly. A few other things may be mentioned that one is a little surprised to see, though certainly they are not all on the same footing. Such are *συντεταγμένον*, not *συντεταμένον* (4, 8, 22); *ἀξιολογώτατον*, not the comparative (5, 1, 4): the *ἄν* with *ἐπιστρέψας* (6, 2, 28): *ἐοίκατε...ἡδόμενοι*, not *ἡδομένοι* (6, 3, 8): the *ἐπαγόμενος θανάτου* (1, 3, 19) of the papyrus, instead of the *ἐπαγόμενος* of the *codices* and of Greek usage: *ὑποδοίεν τοὺς νεκρούς*, not *ἀποδοίεν* (3, 5, 24): *μέχρι τούτου γραφέσθω* for *γεγράφθω* (7, 5, 27). But no doubt Mr. Marchant could make a good, though I will not say a convincing, defence for these and some

other things. With regard to some we are left in the dark as to whether he is really satisfied, or only thinks that there is just a possibility of the thing being right, or again is quite dissatisfied with the alternative readings or suggestions. Such passages are *ὡς μηδὲν μέμψησθε* 1, 4, 6, and *τὸν μὲν ἀποκτείναντες κ.τ.λ.* 5, 4, 7.

A few clerical errors have escaped notice. I have myself observed in 1, 6, 14, 'οὐδέν,' for 'οὐδέν': in 1, 7, 8, a full stop after *ἤκοιεν*, where a comma at most would be right: in 3, 3, 2, *θωλάμου* for *θαλάμου*: in 5, 4, 13, *ἀνάγη* for *ἀνάγκη*. In the note to 2, 3, 19 *post hoc* should be *ante hoc*. It would have been a convenience to some readers if the year had been put at the top of each page as it is in Mr. Underhill's commentary. The Clarendon Press does not number the pages in its new series, but it might have given this other more practical help.

Mr. Underhill's volume of notes goes along with Mr. Marchant's text. It contains a useful introduction on the composition and chronology of the *Hellenics* with information as to the MSS. and a brief life of Xenophon, and there are appended at the end some serviceable essays on particular points, such as the political and military arrangements of Sparta during the period, the political history of Athens 411—404 B.C., the trial of the generals, etc. The bulk of the book is a complete commentary, in which the writer has tried to do justice to both the historical and the literary sides of the *Hellenics*. As far as I can judge, all the information is given which the historical student is likely to require. Xenophon's statements are carefully considered in the light of all other evidence, and the supplementary, if often untrustworthy, information of later authorities is fully recorded, as well as what we learn from contemporary orators. Anyone reading the book for an examination will find it very practical and useful. Mr. Underhill of course discusses the various problems connected with the writing of the *Hellenics*, the times at which various parts were composed, and the singular features of it as a historical work. He takes a favourable view of the author as far as his principles go and seems to put down to native incapacity the great defects which his work exhibits. Xenophon wrote honestly, but had a very imperfect idea of what honest history was.

Mr. Underhill falls perhaps into the error very common now in school books of doing too much for his reader. The school-

boy or the undergraduate might with advantage be left to hunt out for himself some of the information here too profusely tendered to him. Such a reader never forms the habit of consulting atlases and dictionaries, if the editor is always at his elbow to tell him what is the meaning of a phrase and the position of a place. If the book reaches a second edition, the editor would do well to subject his grammatical notes to a searching revision, for they are often wanting in clearness and precision and sometimes even in accuracy. I take for instance p. 100 of the book, part of the story of the conspiracy of Cinadon. On the words in 3, 3, 6, οὐδένα δύνασθαι κρύπτειν τὸ μὴ οὐχ ἡδέως ἂν καὶ ὤμων ἐσθίειν αὐτῶν, Mr. Underhill comments 'the double negative is due to the notion of hindrance in κρύπτειν: cp. Goodwin M. T. 811.' Of course nothing like this is to be found in Goodwin. What any good grammar sets forth is that the μὴ is due to κρύπτειν and the οὐ to the fact that κρύπτειν is negatived by οὐδένα. Then on § 7 he says that the indicative (ἔφασαν) is 'more expressive' than the optative, as though the optative could have been simply substituted for it in spite of its being a question in *oratio recta*, and in the same § describes ὅχλῳ summarily as 'dative of the possessor' without at all explaining how Xenophon was meaning at first to govern it. In § 8, if the Greek is right, it is clear I

think that συλλεγόμενοι τῶν γερόντων ἄλλος ἄλλοθι is not 'the Ephors summoning to themselves some of the senators'; συλλεγόμενοι is passive. There are also a fair number of things, e.g., the plural verb with ἄ (2, 3, 8), the present and aorist infinitives after ὅρκους ἔδοσαν καὶ ἔλαβον, &c., where some note seems to be wanted but none is given. A careful statement somewhere of Xenophon's peculiarities in the use of ὡς and ὅπως would be better than the constant reference to Goodwin. In 6, 2, 23 οἰηθέντες ὀφελός τι αὐτῶν εἶναι does not (I think) mean 'that there was some profit to be got out of them' but 'that there was some good in them,' that they would in fact show fight; and a few sections further on (34) προείπε μὴ μέμψεσθαι τὴν δίκην cannot be 'forewarned him not to find fault' but ironically, 'told him he would have no reason to find fault,' i.e., it would be considerable. It is the more curious that Mr. Underhill should have gone wrong in these places, because Büchschütz, whom he usually follows almost too closely, gives him good guidance on both. But Mr. Dakyns in his useful and spirited translation of the Hellenics has fallen into the same mistakes.

I hope shortly to offer a few remarks in this *Review* on the text and language of the *Hellenics*.

H. RICHARDS.

BENN'S PHILOSOPHY OF GREECE.

The Philosophy of Greece. By A. W. BENN. London: Grant Richards. 1898. Pp. 308. Price 6s.

In his larger work, *The Greek Philosophers*, which appeared some years ago, Mr. Benn prepared us for many of the conclusions we find in the volume before us, and familiarised us with his handling of the method by which they are reached. The following sentences from the Preface to the present volume describe his view of the way in which Greek Philosophy should be studied:—

'The object of this book is to show how Greek philosophy exhibits, under an abstract form, certain ways of acting and looking at things which characterised the Greek genius before philosophy itself began; how, having come into existence, its evolution was determined by the history and geography of

Greece; and how at every stage of the evolution it was influenced by the political, religious, and scientific culture of the Greek people: in a word, to consider philosophy—by which I understand a study of the most general relations between the world and human life—as a product not only of certain preeminent intellects, but also and above all as a product of the nation whence they sprang.'

It is certainly most important, in view of the present-day tendency to minute specialism, to insist, as I take Mr. Benn to insist, that philosophy at any rate shall not be treated as a mere *Fach*. If I understand Mr. Benn's drift aright, his contention is that the student of Philosophy—since Greek Philosophy is the key to all subsequent Philosophy—must be a Hellenist. It is as enforcing this contention with much literary

power and skill, and very competent knowledge, that Mr. Benn seems to me to have a distinct claim to our gratitude. With regard to the conclusions to which Mr. Benn is conducted by his method it will be enough to say that, although sometimes scarcely convincing, they are always suggestive. Mr. Benn's matter and style are indeed well fitted to rouse the mature reader from 'dogmatic slumber.' The beginner may perhaps find the lines too brilliant to permit the necessary 'reading between.'

'Aristotle was a theoretical, not a practical genius (p. 213)...Plato's fundamental interest was not theoretical but practical (p. 218)' is an antithesis which dominates, I think, disadvantageously, Mr. Benn's whole treatment of these philosophers. I should prefer to put the difference between them thus:—Plato's practical interest is so strong that it is not satisfied till it has conducted him up to the theoretic height from which he can take in the whole of life; Aristotle's practical interest, likewise strong, keeps his mind chiefly, though not exclusively, engaged with those details of the moral and social life, without exact scientific knowledge of which he saw that the practical end could neither be defined nor achieved. The following judgment therefore seems to me to put the moral philosophy of Aristotle in a wrong light:—

'In spite of himself Aristotle here [in the *Ethics*] betrays the essentially theoretical character and the practical incompetence of his philosophy. To define virtue as a mean is really to insist on a large share played by knowledge in determining action, for nothing needs more wisdom and experience than the perception of what is just enough and no more. And to recommend the formation of moral habits is futile without the provision of an adequate machinery for enforcing them on the young, which is what the philosopher has failed to describe. Aristotle rounds off his ethical system with the glorification of theorising already quoted; but he nowhere brings theory into living connexion with practice; the beautiful disquisition on friendship, which, in our editions, furnishes a transition from the lower to the higher sphere, joins the two artistically, but does not weld them into an organic whole. Nor is the needed complement supplied by Aristotle's *Politics*, a work never to be sufficiently admired as criticism and natural history, never to be consulted as a manual of practical statesmanship.'

In contending that Plato's paramount

interest was 'practical,' Mr. Benn is certainly right; and yet, I think, he has not set forth the case so convincingly as he might have done. The fundamental thing, as it seems to me, to be said about Plato as 'a practical genius' is that the mission of Hellas in the world was his governing thought. His *καλλίπολις* is misunderstood (as in part by Aristotle) if its constitution is taken to be drawn for an isolated municipality, and not for an Empire-city (like the antediluvian Athens of the *Atlantis* myth) under which, as civil head (Delphi being the ecclesiastical head), Hellas should be united against barbarians for the propagation of liberty and culture in the world. This ideal of the propagation of Hellenism in the world, soon to be realised, after a fashion, in Alexander's Empire, was far beyond Aristotle's horizon, and has its closest parallel in the ideal of Dante's *de Monarchia*. As contrasted with the engrossing practical interest of such an ideal, Aristotle's interest in the marine *fauna* of the Mediterranean may indeed be correctly described as 'theoretical'; but on the other hand, Aristotle is much more than a 'naturalist'; he is, after all, the greatest of the Platonists.

Mr. Benn has an ingenious theory to account for the popularity of the *Ethics* at certain universities (p. 216). 'Faults of sensuality and faults of temper' are, he points out, the chief frailties of academic persons. These persons, aware, apparently, of their weakness, and anxious to cure themselves of it, read the *Ethics*, believing—erroneously of course—that it is a 'practical' treatise. The result is, doubtless, that, while the *Ethics* is diligently, though unintelligently studied, the faults of sensuality and temper are not mended. As Aristotle's notion of the *πόλις* was that of 'a university town under Macedonian protection' (p. 238), we may suppose that, not being a practical genius, he made the mistake of writing the *Ethics* for the use of his *πόλις*.

Mr. Benn's chapters on the Ionian schools of Asia Minor, and the Ionians in Italy, are brilliant sketches, bright with local colour, and make the dry *Fragmenta Philosophorum Graecorum* live. Our knowledge of the early Greek philosophers is so scanty, and yet we feel that their influence on the later philosophy must have been so important, that we are bound to be grateful to Mr. Benn for presenting them to us so effectively, in the only way perhaps in which it is possible to present such dim figures—*διὰ μυθολογίας*, romantically.

On p. 116 Mr. Benn has the remark that 'the atomic theory is thoroughly alien to the Greek genius.' This is a very true remark. The Greeks were teleologists.

I am sorry that Mr. Benn has not felt it possible to include a chapter on Plotinus and Neo-platonism. Mr. Benn's treatment of

Plotinus in *The Greek Philosophers* is not only a brilliant, but a sound, piece of work; and I confess that when I opened the present book, I opened it at the end, and was much disappointed to find Plotinus only mentioned to be dismissed.

J. A. STEWART.

DAMSTÉ ON VIRGIL AND HILDEBRANDT ON 'AETNA.'

Emendandi artis vindicatio lectionibus Vergilianis illustrata, scripsit P. H. DAMSTÉ, Litt. Hum. Dr., expressum ex programme Gymnasii Leidensis. 1899. Leyden. Pp. 23.

Beiträge zur Erklärung des Gedichtes Aetna, von Dr. R. HILDEBRANDT. Leipzig, 1900. Progr. no. 578, Pp. 35 (with an index).

THE juxtaposition of these two programs presents in sharp antithesis the two principles which divide the world of scholars. If there is one text of a Latin poet from which it might appear that emendation should be hidden to hold aloof, that text is Virgil's; if there is one that would seem to call aloud for every remedy of the critical pharmacopoeia, this would be the *Aetna*. Yet Dr. Damsté attacks the one and Dr. Hildebrandt defends the other. Let us begin with the former. Dr. Damsté after citing the anecdote of Poe who affirmed that no cryptogram could be devised by human ingenuity, which human ingenuity could not solve, and gave proof of his proposition by solving some hundred puzzles which his correspondents sent him (it is true that there were no Russian nihilists among them), proceeds to state his own principle: 'in codicibus manuscriptis paucissima uitiorum genera tam penitus latere ut non ullius hominis sagacitas aliquando ea detegere atque tollere valeat.' His first example is *Aen.* viii. 455 *sqq.* 'Euandrum ex humili tecto lux suscitāt alma | et matutini uolucrum sub culmine cantus. | consurgit senior tunicaque inducitur artus. | tum lateri atque umeris Tegeaenū subligat ensem, | demissa ab laeua pantherae terga retorquens. | nec non et gemini custodes limine ab alto | praecedunt gressumque canes comitantur erilem.' Here he reads, as Wakefield did long ago, 'lecto' for 'tecto.' The tradition makes Evander go out of doors before he puts on his shirt, and gives to the 'humile tectum' of 455 a 'limen

altum' in 461. Besides the passage is, as Dr. Damsté says, a clear imitation of *Odyssey* ii. 1 ἦμος δ' ἠργιένοι ἐφάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥως, | ὥρνυτ' ἄρ' ἐξ εὐνῆφιν Ὀδυσσεύς φίλος υἱός | *Feiματα* *Ἐσσύμενος* et q.s. and L is frequently confused in Virgilian MSS. with T as he shows from Ribbeck's prolegomena crit. p. 248. But for all that 'tecto' is in our text and likely, I fear, to remain there. The absolute certainty of the foregoing correction is lacking to the author's next proposal 'foros' for 'focos' which has given great trouble to the commentators on *Aen.* ix. 75. Whether this change is right or not (Dr. Damsté ought by the way to have told his readers how he understands 'diripuer': there is a similar dearth of information at viii. 143 where he reads 'prima per artem | temptamenta *tuli*: pepigi me, me ipse'), there seems to be no doubt that his view of the passage is correct. He argues pertinently from *Ov. Met.* xiv. 530 *sqq.* and acutely from Virgil *l.c.* 118 where the ships are said to dip under the water like dolphins, that they were actually set on fire. The relevance of 'foros' is sufficiently shown from iv. 605 and v. 752. In vii. 623 'pars pedes ire parat campis, pars *arduus* altis | puluerulentus equis fremit: omnes arma requirunt' ARCBUS for ARDUUS is palaeographically very easy and with 'eques' in the next line for 'equis,' already proposed, a very great improvement. Dr. Damsté is least successful at vii. 798 where in 'Rutulosque exercent uomere collis' he proposes 'rutilo.' *Rutulos* has no doubt come from 795: but rutilo appears to have no meaning and a proper name is clearly required.

On p. 14 we have an extract from Hartmann's entertaining account of Cobet and his class for textual criticism from which we see that the ways of undergraduates are much the same all the world over. Cobet used to give his 'honour' pupils some corrupt passage of the classics to try their conjectural

skill upon. The first thing that the class did was to ransack their revered professor's published works in order to see if he had published, and forgotten, his own correction; if they were forced to have recourse to their own intelligence (*proprio ingenio erat utendum*), and they succeeded in hammering out something satisfactory to themselves, as the last thing, the dignified Latin says, '*de solida nocte haud parvam partem uno gaudioque dabamus.*'

Considered as a collection of materials bearing upon the question, one which no textual critic or interpreter can afford to neglect, what is or is not linguistically possible in the borderland between sense and nonsense where dwell the figures of speech, Dr. Hildebrandt's elucidations of the *Aetna* belong to the more valuable class of programs. His industry and learning is well above even the German average. His critical standpoint is no less clear. The third sentence of his program containing the following judgment of Sudhaus' *Aetna* '*Diese Ausgabe leitet eine neue Epoche für die Kritik des Gedichtes ein: sie bietet einen gereinigten Text und dazu einen Kommentar der die Kunst der Erklärung auf bewundernswerter Höhe zügt,*' (my italics) reveals at once his sympathy with the self-styled school of scientific interpreters which selects the most difficult and corrupt of Latin texts for the display of what we know in England as the art of 'construing through a brick wall.' Hence at *Aetna* 341 he defends the MS. '*qua liberimus Aetna | inprospectus hiat*' against Schrader's '*Aetnae introspectus*,' though its least difficulty is the discord of '*Aetna*' and the two masculine adjectives. For the words have to be twisted to mean 'where *Aetna* yawns wide open (= *liberrimus*) deeper than the eyes can reach (= *inprospectus*).' Let Dr. Hildebrandt establish the postulated senses for *liber* and *prospicio*, and we will promise to raise no objection to the ἀπαξ λεγόμενον *inprospectus*. In this place there was the lure which scientific interpretation can rarely resist of attacking an accepted emendation. Let us now see what Dr. Hildebrandt makes of texts which he correctly regards as sound. In 20 we have '*auersumue diem, sparsumue in semine dentem*,' for which Scaliger conjectured *in semina*. This is said to be a 'bold' enallage for the 'natural' expression *sparsumue in dente semen*! (his note of exclamation). Of course the author of *Aetna* might have thrown his reference to

the sowing of the dragons' teeth into this form, but he has chosen another and a less obvious one. The use of *in* illustrated by Dr. Hildebrandt by examples, the majority of which are relevant, is not uncommon in contrasts between reality and appearance: Livy, 26, 43, 3 is a typical case, '*in una urbe uniuersam ceperitis Hispaniam*,' i.e., 'you may think it a single city, but it is really all Spain.' So here the sense of what the author wrote is 'you might think what was scattered to be seed, but it is really dragons' teeth'; whereas the sense of what Dr. Hildebrandt says he intended is 'you might think it dragons' teeth, but it is really seed' (as the sequel showed). In other words the one expression represents the monstrous sowing and the other the monstrous fructifying of the seed. On the same page Manilius v. 224 sq. '*lingua rabit latratque loquendo | morsibus et crebris dentes in uoce relinquit*,' is paraphrased '*die Worte bleiben auf den Zähnen gleichsam hangen.*' We should expect, he says, *uoces in dente relinquit*; for the idea, *Necesa*, Ir. 1, 1, 4, '*dentes comprimuntur . . . parum explanatis uocibus sermo praeuptus*,' is quoted. If this interpretation had not been put forward who would have thought it necessary to say that in accordance with one of the commonest brachylogies of Latin speech *dentes* is used for 'teeth-marks'? The angry man bites, while he speaks, and his talk shows the marks. In a previous note, 591 '*extinctosque suo Phrygas Hectore*,' is said to be for '*Phrygas <in> Hectore suo extinctos*.' In much the same way, on p. 87, *Sil.* 10, 512 '*toto corpore uulnus*,' is made the equivalent of '*toto in c.u.*' in order to be equated with '*totum in uulnere corpus*,' though long ago it was correctly explained by Munro, and is perhaps rightly understood by Sudhaus whose '*κατ' ἑλλειψιν interitu Hectoris sui simul extinctos*' is, however, more of a hindrance than a help to the reader. In the same context it is actually suggested that at Persius 4, 33, '*frigas in cute solem*,' is a possible 'traiectio' for '*frigas in sole cutem*,' 'roast the sun in your skin,' for 'roast your skin in the sun.' Can we be too grateful to the Pithoeanus for ousting scientific interpretation by giving *figas*? I now refer to 578, '*nunc gemina ex uno fumantia sacra uapore*' (an allusion to the legend of the division of the flame on the pyre of Eteocles and Polynices, which is well illustrated by Dr. Hildebrandt), because apparently it has not yet been explained. No need to distort it into an equivalent of *gemini uapores ex uno sacro fumantes*. It represents what ordinary

Latin would give as *sacra geminum fumum edentia ex uno uapore* (i.e. *ardore*, a far from uncommon use of the word). *Gemina fumantia* is in fact a perfectly legitimate expression for what is 'divided in smoking,' or 'when it comes to smoke.' The writer intended to say there were two *sacrifices* although there was only one *fire*, and in *uapore* he chooses the best word to give this because it carries no idea of flame. For beyond doubt the legend represented the flame as well as the smoke as being divided: Pausanias says in his wooden way *τούτοις δὲ ἐναγίζοντον τὴν φλόγα ὁσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀπ' αὐτῆς καπνὸν διχῇ διαστάσθαι*. I conclude with 18 sq. the place whose discussion stands first in this dissertation, 'quis non Argolico defleuit Pergamon igni | inpositam?' Franke's enallage (*Res Metrica Aetnae carminis*, p. 48) is approved, and the text said to be for *Pergamo ignem inpositum*. It is hard to say whether the original or the adoptive parent of this enallage has done more towards confusing the issue. The first compares 'Claud. Paneg. Theod. 13, "reducem notis imponit habenis, d. i. notas habenas reduci imponit,"' as if the driver of a chariot was usually harnessed, and the second cites

Vergil Aen. 10, 74, ('Das einfachere wäre "Pergamon igni circumdatum" gewesen,') as though 'imposing' and 'circumposing' were convertible notions.

That the use of enallage in Greek and Latin writers often produces expressions which to the modern sense are irrational, no one would admit more cheerfully than myself: in fact I have lately dwelt on this very subject elsewhere.¹ But there are limits, and not arbitrary limits, to the operation of this principle. And when scholars include among enallages places like Lygdamus, [Tibullus 3] 3, 2 'blandaue cum multa tura dedisse prece' because '*multa tura cum blanda prece*' is a very possible expression, and like 4, 42 (*ib.*) 'edidit haec tristi dulcia uerba modo' because the corrupt manuscripts of Tibullus, but no editor that I am aware of, read thus for '*dulci tristia*,'² the only result is to bring scholarship into contempt.

J. P. POSTGATE.

¹ Preface to the English translation of Bréal's *Essai de Sémantique*, p. xxxi.

² Dr. Hildebrandt himself prints '*dulci tristia*'; but I must suppose by inadvertence.

SHUCKBURGH'S TRANSLATION OF CICERO'S LETTERS.

The Letters of Cicero: the whole extant correspondence in chronological order, translated into English by EVELYN S. SHUCKBURGH, M. A., late Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. In four volumes: Vols. I. II. III. George Bell and Sons. 1899 and 1900. 5s. each.

A TRANSLATION of the whole of the Ciceronian correspondence is an undertaking of such magnitude, that if it be only carried out adequately, even without transcendent merit, a critic may well feel himself disarmed. These three volumes contain about 700 letters out of the whole 930, and the rest are to follow: the labour must have been great, for on the whole a high standard of excellence is maintained.

We naturally look for two chief qualities in a good translation of a classic—readableness, and fidelity to the original. I have read through the whole three volumes, and have found them decidedly readable: wearisome of course they are at times, but so are the originals: they often are awk-

ward or embarrassed, but as a rule this is so where Cicero himself is perplexed or disingenuous. Mr. Shuckburgh, growing weary over the letters from exile or the unprofitable ones to Appius Claudius, drops unconsciously below the normal level of his style. But the letters to Atticus (especially those written in happier times), which after all are the most difficult to reproduce, because their manner is unique in literary correspondence, are adequately rendered: and the tender little notes to Tiro are given with a simplicity that will charm every reader. Cicero's varying moods, his different mental attitudes towards different correspondents, constitute of course the main difficulty to a competent translator. Mr. Shuckburgh has evidently tried to reflect these, and succeeds more and more as he advances, owing to the intimate knowledge he has gained of his author's personality in the course of his great undertaking. Of the letters of Cicero's correspondents, and especially of Caelius, I cannot speak so confidently: I miss in the latter something of the jaunti-

ness and frivolity which Caelius has so strikingly in common with Horace Walpole. But on the whole, if the object of the translation be to give the English reader a chance of following the inner working of a complicated period of history, and of a singularly interesting and lovable human mind, in the most wonderful series of original papers that history has to show, it would be ungracious to deny that it goes a long way towards complete success. It is possible that scholars too may profit by it: for it is difficult to read the whole correspondence through in the original Latin without having the attention continually distracted by questions of text and interpretation: yet it is of immense advantage, once in a way, to pass the whole of the letters in review in the course of a very few days.

Secondly, in regard to detail it is not easy to judge fairly of such a large mass of translation as this. The style, as has been said, is sufficiently good to make the volumes readable; but if a particular letter be compared with the rendering of the same in Mr. Jeans's translation of Mr. Watson's selection, it will be seen at once that Mr. Shuckburgh falls short of the standard of neatness and elegance reached by Mr. Jeans, and is also less judicious in his distribution of paragraphs—a matter of some difficulty in the translation of these letters. We may however freely allow that the same care and pains cannot be bestowed on 900 letters as on 150, unless the work is to occupy half a life-time. There are, of course, a certain number of slips and misprints; and in some few cases dates have got wrong, as in *Att.* ii. 9, and ii. 12. This last-mentioned letter was written on the afternoon of the Cerialia, April 19, as Cicero himself says, yet it is here headed April 12, and on p. 99 April 18 is given as the Cerialia, and an unnecessary note added as to the apparent slowness of Cicero's movements. On p. 100 of this first volume May 6 should be May 3, and on p. 208, note, Jan. 14 should be Jan. 15. In one instance I have found important words omitted, viz., in sec. 1 of the letter to Caesar enclosed in *Att.* xi. 9; and this seems ominous, for there may be more such omissions, and there is no fault to which a rapid translator is more liable. But the general standard of accuracy is well maintained, as might be expected from so competent a scholar as Mr. Shuckburgh.

On the vexed question of translating Greek words and expressions into French, our translator differs from Professor Tyrrell

and Mr. Jeans, who are very positive that it should be systematically done (see the interesting remarks of Mr. Jeans in the preface to his translation of Mr. Watson's selection). In his own preface Mr. Shuckburgh says, 'I have refrained generally from attempting to represent his Greek by French, partly because I fear I should have done it ill, and partly *because it is not in him as in an English writer who lards his sentences with French*. It is almost confined to the letters to Atticus, to whom Greek was a second mother tongue, and is often, I think, a quotation from him.' In the words I have italicised, I am inclined to think that Mr. Shuckburgh makes a good point; Cicero's Greek never seems unnatural to those familiar with his letters, while the French in Mr. Jeans's translation often seems to mar the general effect of ease and familiarity. The bilingual interchange of thought between Cicero and Atticus has no exact equivalent in modern literature, and it may be wiser after all not to attempt to reproduce it artificially.

The order of the letters is in the main (see Pref. p. vi.) that of Tyrrell and Purser; but undateable letters, chiefly testimonials, are printed by themselves at certain stages of the work, and hence it is that the numbering does not exactly correspond with that of the Dublin edition, which is likely to remain for long the standard one for British scholars. A comparative table of numbers at the end of the whole work may help to remedy this, and it is also to be hoped that a complete *index nominum* may be added. Some mention, by the way, should be made, before the work comes to a close, of the labours of O. E. Schmidt, to whom all students of the letters are so deeply indebted, especially in regard to their chronological order.

To Messrs. Tyrrell and Purser Mr. Shuckburgh acknowledges his great obligations, and his explanatory notes, which are carefully selected and, for the most part, clearly expressed, often closely follow those of the Dublin editors; but in some dark passages he does not hesitate to say that they have given him no light, and he not unfrequently rejects both their emendations and interpretations. At the very outset, for example, he reverts to the MS. reading in *Att.* i. 1 *fin.*, and translates eius ἀνάθημα, as does Schmidt in his charming little work on Cicero's villas (p. 35). Other examples will be found in *Att.* ii. 14, iv. 2, vii. 13 b, *Fam.* vii. 28, and 33 *fin.* Once or twice Mr. Shuckburgh has advanced a conjecture

of his own. He ingeniously connects together *Att. v. 11 fin.* and *Att. v. 4 fin.*, reading *aufers* for *aufer* in the former and *nummariam* for the unintelligible Greek letters in the latter, in which he supposes Cicero to be joking about his economy of paper—the numerous letters to Atticus costing him so much (*tu vero aufers ducentos*, i.e. *nummos*). In *Att. xi. 25* will be found an elaborate conjecture in the puzzling passage about Terentia's will, which is hardly likely to be accepted by scholars. In *Att. iv. 17* the difficult passage about the *judicium tacitum* is explained in a new way which is not very easy to understand: *consilia ... quae erant omnibus sortita* = the panels already allotted to them all (*omnibus* being taken as dative). In *Att. ix. 9*, where the proverb about Dionysius at Corinth is quoted, Mr. Shuckburgh is surely wrong in refusing to allow the identity of the proverb with the story alluded to in *Tusc. Disp. iii. 27*, and in *Fam. ix. 18*. Cicero must be allowed to explain himself here, and what he means is that the Optimates, though practically, like Dionysius, in exile, would not drop their old selfish ambitions on that account. In *Fam. ix. 16*, *7 miniati Iovis* should not appear as Iupiter Miniatus, as if *miniatus* were a cult-title of the god.

Lastly, the brief introductions to each

volume are just sufficient to put the unlearned reader in touch with the letters that follow, and they are free from any strong bias or prejudice in dealing with the great political controversy of Cicero's time. It is interesting to note how completely, among scholars at least, Cicero has of late been reinstated in the old position which he occupied before he was dethroned by Drumann's persistent bitterness and Mommsen's unjustifiable contempt. Far too much weight was given to Mommsen's strictures: it was not recognised that Mommsen has never been a sound judge of individual character, and that his transcendent merits as a historian rest on very different grounds. The consequence has been a very strong reaction against Mommsen's judgment both of Cicero and Caesar, and at present we are apt, on the one hand, to make too little of Cicero's weaknesses, and on the other to swallow whole the old Plutarchian myth that Caesar had planned out his *rupavvís* twenty years at least before it came. A translation of the whole Ciceronian correspondence, enabling us to survey it completely in a week, may do something to enable the ordinary reader to correct these errors.

W. WARDE FOWLER.

DETLEFSEN ON PLINY'S NATURAL HISTORY.

Untersuchungen über die Zusammensetzung der Naturgeschichte des Plinius, von D. DETLEFSEN. Berlin, Weidmann, 1899. 2 M. 40.

DR. DETLEFSEN tells us that he has here brought together some of the observations and general conclusions to which he has been led by more than forty years work on Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*. All that he writes is marked by a complete familiarity with every line of his author, and though he sometimes attributes more meaning to small things than can fairly be found in them, his book should be useful as a general introduction to Pliny and also to students of any particular group of books. A good account (pp. 8–20) of Pliny's life and method of work leads on to an analysis of the *Naturalis Historia* itself, and especially to a close comparison of the *indices* with the books to which they belong. Dr. Detlefsen's view is that most writers on Pliny have considered

him too much as the man of learning, the compiler and arranger of extracts from many books, and too little as the imperial officer, whose duties in different parts of the empire gave him wide opportunity for acquiring knowledge at first hand. The part played by Pliny's personal observations he has therefore been specially anxious to disentangle. Taking the books on botany, agriculture, &c., in separate groups, he shows their plan and relation to the chief authorities, and traces any clues that lead to Pliny's own probable contributions. Pliny's boast in his preface, § 17, that he has included much matter not to be found in his predecessors' books—*adiectis rebus plurimis quas aut ignoraverant priores aut postea invenerat vita*—betokens a habit of mind of which frequent signs appear in the later books. Again and again by such expressions as *vidimus*, *scio*, *comperimus*, *postea compertum* (following a citation from Cato) Pliny lays

stress on points on which he pretends to fuller information than his forerunners. An analysis of the chapters on art in books xxxiv-xxxvi shows clearly the framework in which Pliny arranged his excerpts. Dr. Detlefsen believes in the direct use of a Greek writer on art for the bulk of these sections. To the use of numbers in the indices Dr. Detlefsen attaches importance. These numbers, as they appear in the MSS., can sometimes be corrected by comparison with the passage to which they refer: e.g., the index to xvi., 26 reads *aceris genera X*. Five only can be found in the text (§ 66 f.), and the index should be emended accordingly. In other cases varying methods of reckoning must have been employed: the total of 64 islands given in the index to book iii. is reached by counting each group of islands as one, while in book iv. each island of a group is reckoned separately. A suggestion that in the index to book vi. the sum total '*res et historiae et observationes MMCCXIII*' refers to the whole contents of the geographical books iii.-vi., defies verification: the clue is lost in the corruption of the number given in the text. One argument on which Dr. Detlefsen lays weight seems unsatisfactory; he believes that the addition of numbers to

some *lemmata* in the indices, while they are omitted with other very similar ones, is in itself significant, and an integral part of Pliny's design of contrasting his own performance with that of earlier writers. Facts derived from Pliny's own experience are therefore to be looked for particularly in the *lemmata* with numbers. For instance, in the index of xiii., 23, we find (*papyri*) *genera VIII*. When they are described, § 74 ff., no author is quoted in the text, and it is certain that Pliny's service in the east gave him opportunity to investigate the matter for himself. So in many other places a coincidence between opportunity for personal knowledge on Pliny's part and the occurrence of numbers in the indices can be shown. This proof is insufficient, however, when numbers in the sections of the indices can again be found where Pliny is certainly following another author, as in xvi., §§ 62-4, where the facts are drawn from Theophrastus. The use of numbers, like that of alphabetical lists, is frequent but irregular in Pliny, and is the natural outcome of his way of working, by tabulating and recasting the memoranda and excerpts which filled his note-books.

K. JEX-BLAKE.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

ON THE FESTIVAL EPIDAURIA AT ATHENS.

THE account of the Eleusinian Mysteries in the new edition of A. Mommsen's *Heortologie* (*Die Feste der Stadt Athen*, 1898) presents two striking innovations. The Eleusinia, i.e. the Eleusinian games, are entirely separated from the Mysteries proper and made a separate festival; and secondly, the Epidauria are practically identified with the Lesser Mysteries in such a way as to change our whole conception of the *cursus* of the Mysteries after 400 B.C. The first point has received all the attention it deserves from the pen of Prof. Robert in the *Goettingische Gelehrte Anzeiger* (July 8, 1899, S. 538 f.); the second may perhaps be considered a little more in detail.

Mommsen's argument as to the Epidauria (*Feste der Stadt Athen*, S. 216-222) may be summarized as follows:—Philostratos (*Vita Apollon.* iv. 18, p. 72, 6) says that Apollonios arrived in Athens on the day of the Epi-

dauria, and, contrary to expectation, desired to be initiated in the Mysteries. The hierophant, however, refused to bring out the *hierá* and open the gates of Eleusis to one who dealt with spirits. Now the Lesser Mysteries opened the gates of Eleusis, therefore (p. 220) the Epidauria were the equivalent of the Lesser Mysteries. Mommsen finds this position confirmed by two or three inscriptions which say that the mysteries at Agrai (i.e. the Lesser Mysteries) were celebrated twice in certain years. The second celebration he identifies unhesitatingly with the Epidauria. Moreover, since the Epidauria date from the coming of Asklepios to Athens, the practice of celebrating the Lesser Mysteries twice in the year goes back to the end of the fifth century B.C. (S. 220, l. 8).

The attempt to make the Epidauria equivalent to the Lesser Mysteries from 400 B.C. on, suggests difficulties at once. These difficulties affect each element in the argument:—(a) the inscriptions which

speak of a celebration of the Mysteries at Agrai twice in the year ('Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1895, σ. 111, 27, l. 21; C.I.A. IV. 2; 385d) refer to it as an unusual event. Certainly they show that this was not the practice every year; but a comparison of fragments c. and d. of the *dermatikon* inscription (C.I.A. II. 741) makes it plain that moneys came in annually from the sale of skins from oxen sacrificed at the Autumn Asklepia (= Epidauria). We are obliged to infer that the two occasions were not identical. (b) The passage from Philostratos, so far from supporting Mommsen's view, is hardly consistent with it. The passage (Philostr. *Apoll.* iv. 18) reads, 'This practice (the Epidauria) they instituted in behalf of Asklepios, in that they initiated him although he arrived from Epidaurus ὁψὲ μυστηρίων,' 'late in the course of the mysteries.' This last phrase Mommsen (S. 219) translates "Er kam zu spät"; and explains it by saying that he had missed something, viz., the preliminary participation in the Lesser Mysteries. What according to Philostratos had been omitted, was a sacrifice—apparently a sacrifice with initiatory rites—which followed the announcement of the archon basileus at the beginning of the Mysteries: this sacrifice with its accompanying rites was repeated for Asklepios, and in after years it continued to be repeated under the name τὰ Ἐπιδαύρια μυνείν.¹

(c) If positive argument against Mommsen's position were needed, it would be found in Plutarch's description of the lawless manner in which Demetrios was initiated in the Mysteries (*Vita Demetr.* 26). In order to initiate him when he wished (i.e. in the month Mounychion), the Athenians found it necessary first to vote that Mounychion was Anthesterion in order that the Lesser Mysteries might be celebrated for his benefit, and then that the same month was Boedromion that he might be initiated in the Mysteries at Eleusis. If the Epidauria had long been a customary substitute for the mysteries at Agrai, it would only have been necessary to tamper with the calendar once in order to meet the demand of Demetrios.²

A second innovation in Mommsen's account of the Epidauria is his attempt to prove that not only the eighteenth of Boedromion,

the day clearly indicated by Philostratos, but also the two preceding days are to be included in the Epidauria. (a) The only sacrifices at this time mentioned in the *dermatikon* inscription (C.I.A. II. 741) are the Eleusinia and the Asklepia (and the sacrifice by the generals to Demokrateia). The Eleusinia Mommsen places ten days earlier, and that leaves the Asklepia as the only sacrifices occurring at this point in the Mysteries; therefore he assumes that the sacrifices both of the seventeenth and the eighteenth of Boedromion were offered to Asklepios. (b) In Aristotle ('Αθην. Πολ. 56, 4) we read of the πομπή to Asklepios which takes place ὅταν οἰκουρῶσι μύσται. This Mommsen interprets as meaning 'when the mystai are at home' after the purification in the sea; accordingly he places this procession on the seventeenth of Boedromion. (c) Thirdly, the purification itself he treats as a part of the Epidauria, on the ground that a purification is performed on account of what immediately follows it, in this case the sacrifice to Asklepios.

It would require strong proof to satisfy the student that the Epidauria lasted three days when ancient writers generally refer to the day of the Epidauria, and when Philostratos distinctly assumes that it was a single event appropriate but for one day. Such proof is not furnished in the book before us. So far as the argument from Aristotle's οἰκουρῶσι is concerned, the two main parts of the Mysteries are celebrated, the one at Athens, the other at Eleusis; so that the only natural reference of the word is to the day preceding the procession to Eleusis; i.e. Aristotle as well as Philostratos puts the worship of Asklepios on the eighteenth of Boedromion. Again, Mommsen's argument from the *dermatikon* inscription loses all its force if we do not accept his separation of the Eleusinia from the Mysteries. Even from his own standpoint we might argue that the sacrifices to the goddess of the Mysteries might consist mainly of sheep (cf. Mommsen's opinion S. 234) and so would not be represented in this inscription; in fact we cannot be sure even that all public sacrifices of oxen are represented in it. And finally, if the seventeenth of Boedromion is not a part of the Epidauria, the reason for including the sixteenth in it falls to the ground of itself. The probability that this practice is older than the introduction of the Epidauria should have made the author more cautious. The name, ἄλαδε μύσται, refers rather to the Mysteries than to the worship of

¹ Philostr. *Vit. Apollon.* 18 τὰ δὲ Ἐπιδαύρια μετὰ πρόσρησιν τε καὶ ἱερέια [δεῦρο] μυνείν Ἀθηναίοις πατριον ἐπὶ θυσία δευτέρᾳ.

² Cf. the direct statement of Plutarch τοῦτο δὲ οὐ θεμιτὸν ἦν οὐδὲ γεγονὸς πρότερον, ἀλλὰ τὰ μικρὰ Ἀνθεστηριῶνος ἐτελοῦντο, τὰ δὲ μεγάλα Βοηδρομιῶνος.

Asklepios: moreover the fact that the name is already attached to a particular gate of Athens at about the time when the Asklepios worship was introduced into the city (*C.I.A.* IV. 1, 53a, l. 35f.; p. 66) goes to show that the practice antedates Asklepios.

Our positive knowledge as to the rites of the Epidauria is derived from two sources, first the direct statements as to the festival, and secondly the story of the arrival of Asklepios at Athens. (1) We learn from Aristotle (*Ἀθην. Πολ.* 56, 4) that the archon superintended the *πομπή* to Asklepios *ὅταν οἰκουρῶσι μύσται*, "when the mystai are at home." In this procession maidens, sometimes daughters of the priests of Asklepios, officiated as *kanephorai* (*C.I.A.* III. 916) and *arrephorai* (*C.I.A.* II. 453b; p. 418). At the sacrifice which followed the procession many oxen were killed (the value of the skins was over two hundred drachmai, *C.I.A.* II. 741); *i.e.* this was one of the more splendid religious occasions of the Attic year. In the inscription referred to, a *παννυχίς* is mentioned just before the sacrifice (*C.I.A.* II. 1, 453b l. 8. cf. also 373b and 453c); and inscriptions also mention the preparation of a *κλίνη* and the setting of a table to the god (*C.I.A.* II. 1 453b, 373b; cf. also II. 3, 1651). The *παννυχίς* may naturally be placed the night before the procession and sacrifice, as in the case of the Panathenaia.

If now we turn to the story of Asklepios's arrival at Athens, we read that the god arrived while the Eleusinian Mysteries were being celebrated, and that he received initiation in the Mysteries (Philostr. *Vit. Apollon.* iv. 18; Paus. ii. 26, 8). An inscription from Roman times (*Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1894, σ. 171, No. 13) recording the dedication of the *μύστης* Asklepios to Demeter by a man whom the god had healed, is evidence to the same effect. Finally we have an inscription from the fourth century B. C. which, as read by Dr. Wilhelm and explained by Professor Körte, is the actual record of his arrival.¹ *ἐλθὼν δὲ δ[ψὲ μυστηρί]οις τοῖς μεγάλ[οις κατ]ήγγετο ἐς τὸ Ἐλ[ευσίνιο]ν· καὶ οἰκοθε[ν μεταπεμ]ψάμενος δ(ρ)ά[κοντα ἥ]ραγεν δεῦρο κ. τ. λ. *i. e.* the newcomer, probably in the form of a sacred image, arrived at Athens during the celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries; he was received and lodged in the Eleusinion; and he (the god, or Telemachos) sent for the sacred serpent to be brought*

from Epidaurus. The story as given in this early inscription corresponds with the account of Philostratos; and we may well accept the rest of Philostratos's statement, and suppose that the pomp with which the image was originally received took the form of a *μύσις* such as was practised in the case of mortals, *i.e.* the image itself was initiated in the rites of Demeter and Kore. And we are justified in assuming farther that in the festival to which this event gave rise, the Epidauria, the reception and initiation of Asklepios continued to be celebrated. In this way I would explain the late inscription from the Asklepieion *C.I.A.* III. 1, 68d; p. 483) where we read that a certain Demetrios the son of Chares celebrated the reception and initiation at his own expense, to the honor of the god and the state. In this distinctive form of worship there can be little doubt that the god's presence was thought to be experienced more clearly than at other times, both by the general worshipper and by those who came for healing.

Finally we may return to the passage of Philostratos (*Vit. Apoll.* iv. 18) and examine it more carefully to see what farther light it has to throw on the Epidauria. First it emphasizes the fact that this festival is an integral part of the Mysteries by naming the public sacrifice of the Epidauria the 'second sacrifice' of the Mysteries, the second sacrifice at which men were initiated in the Mysteries. The second opportunity may have been reserved for late comers as Philostratos suggests, or it may have been rendered necessary by the large number of applicants for admission; in any case we may accept this testimony as proof that men were initiated in the Eleusinian Mysteries in connection with the public celebration of the Epidauria. Again the passage makes it clear that Asklepios was a new-comer, *i.e.* that he had not previously been initiated in the Lesser Mysteries. In his case this preliminary initiation was simply omitted, and it was only necessary to repeat the sacrifices of the day before his arrival in order to accomplish his initiation. For a god this was natural enough, since there were stories (Preller-Robert, *Griech. Myth.* I. 790, A. 5) of the initiation of gods and heroes before Asklepios and according to these stories the gods were not initiated twice, *i.e.* they did not follow the whole *cursus* which was prescribed for mortals. Whether Apollonios expected to be treated as gods and heroes had been, or in whatever way the account of Philostratos

¹ *M.A.J.* XXI. 314.

is to be explained, it is certainly impossible to neglect the uniform testimony of all other writers by assuming that after 400 B.C. the Lesser Mysteries celebrated in the spring were no longer a necessary part in the *cursus* of the Mysteries.

Probably no other interpretation of the passage in Philostratos would have occurred to Mommsen except for a misunderstanding of the word *μνέσθαι*. Quite commonly the word is used to mean the whole process of initiation in the Eleusinian Mysteries which lasted at least a year and a half; but here it is evidently used, as it is used e.g. in the old law of the Mysteries (*C.I.A.* I. 1), to designate the specific act by which individuals were prepared to share the festival at Eleusis. As to this particular act we learn two things from the passage in question. (1) The private sacrifice of a pig for each individual, which is mentioned elsewhere, is intimately connected with the public sacrifices of the seventeenth and eighteenth of Boedromion, for it was necessary to repeat the *public* sacrifice that Asklepios might be initiated. Probably these are the public sacrifices by the archon basileus mentioned by Andokides (*περὶ μυστ.* 132) and by Lysias (*Orat.* vi, 4). (2) The act included an exhibition of the *hiera*, presumably the *hiera* which had been brought from Eleusis a few days before. It has often been assumed that these objects were brought to Athens in order that they might be carried back in festal pomp with the procession to Eleusis.¹ This, however, was the Iakchos procession, and it does not appear that the Eleusinian *hiera* had any specially important place in it. Even granted that they were images which symbolized the presence of the Eleusinian goddesses in Athens during that part of the festival which was celebrated in the city, we may still accept the implication of Philostratos's statement, viz. that the exhibition of them to the candidate was an all-important part of the act of initiation.

ARTHUR FAIRBANKS.

ON HORACE'S VILLA.

THE site of Horace's Sabine Villa is no new subject of discussion, but strange statements are still at times made concerning it. I have twice visited it, hurriedly last year and lately at leisure, and find it difficult to coincide in all points with any account that I have read. In the main I believe Boissier to have formed a correct judgment though

he is silent on the first point with which I propose to deal.

In the description given in *Epist.* 1. 16, it seems to be generally accounted a self-evident fact that the *opaca vallis* is the valley of the Digentia. To anyone who walks from Vicovaro to Licenza no epithet can seem more inappropriate, more un-Horatian. Dr. Wilkins interpreting the passage with the reading *si* for *ni*, though he does not accept it, seems to ask us to represent to ourselves a valley 'which runs from north to south and which is therefore not too cold and also not exposed to the noontide sun.' But how can such a valley not be so exposed, unless it be, as the valley of the Digentia is not, under the shadow of a great mountain? The vine flourishes at the lower end of this valley and there are small vineyards in the upper part of it. The only part where the vine is not seen is a stretch of a very few hundred yards, where the hills approach one another near Rocca Giovane. The noontide sun beats upon almost every acre, nearly the whole day's sun upon most of the land. Dr. Wickham sees this difficulty and proposes to shade the valley with trees. Such a meaning is natural enough to *opaca*, but it cannot be reconciled with other passages. Of course there was, as there is, a wood upon part of the western hill-side, and the poet is duly grateful to the oak which *multa dominum iuvat umbra*. But the interpretation which fills the valley with trees leaves no place for the *aprica rura* of *Odes* 3, 18, 2, for the *apricum pratium* of *Epist.* 1, 14, 30. Yet as an epithet *apricum* is as true to-day as it was under Horace's possession of the estate. Indeed if the valley were all shaded, whether by trees or by mountains, the *operae* of Horace's home farm, *Sat.* 2, 7, 118, the *patres* who were his tenants, *Epist.* 1, 14, 3, and the labouring oxen, *Odes* 3, 13, 11 and 3, 18, 12, *Epist.* 1, 14, 27 would plough to little use. The wine of the valley, then as now *vile* but drinkable, had its grapes seen no sun would have been vinegar. I conclude that the *vallis opaca* is not the valley of the Digentia but one of its lateral glens.

This interpretation is the more natural that the poet owned only a part of the valley, a small part of the *pagus* of Mandela. He professes to describe not the district but his own estate. There is no reason to suppose that the estate either crossed the stream or came much south of Rocca Giovane. The alien *angulus* (*Sat.* 2, 6, 8) cannot be a merely imaginary disfigurement, and Cervius

¹ Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, S. 206, 211.

and Arellius (*ib.* 77 *sq.*) must have been neighbouring landowners. Orelli indeed and his followers seem to enlarge the estate, but their statements are unintelligible. Orelli fancies that, if you start from Vicovaro, the valley seems to run from east to west, and that, if you descend from Lucretilis, it seems to run from west to east. From any point of view it seems to run, as it does run, from north to south. What Orelli means by '*montium umbras se prope tangentes*' I am at a loss to conceive.

If my view be right, it follows that the *continui montes* cannot be the whole range of Lucretilis and the mountains across the stream. Nor would such a description be correct, unless, as is not the fact, the Digentia made the only cleft in them. The unbroken hills must be part of the range and must be visible from the site of the villa. The shady glen must run from west to east or from north-west to south-east. And there actually is such a glen breaking this line of hills behind the upper of the two sites on which the villa has been placed. The southern flank of the glen catches the morning sun and from the villa is seen to do so. In the evening the haze to which Horace may refer (*vaporet*) is seen over the glen, and the southern flank, though its slope is of course not seen, is obviously in sunshine. From the lower site three glens are seen and the only one which runs in the desired direction is the least conspicuous.

There are other phrases in Horace which can be more naturally applied to the upper than to the lower site. For instance, *in arduos tollor Sabinos* is inexact if applied to the lower site, exact if applied to the upper, which is reached by a steep and winding road known to the inhabitants as *strada Romana*. Horace's estate would in his days sooner grow pepper and frankincense than the grape; nowadays there are vines on the lower, no vines near the upper site. This point must not be pressed far, for the lower part of the estate since the change of climate grows the vine. The fountain is near enough to either site. After two thunderstorms which discoloured all the other rills, we saw that the water from Bandusia was still *splendidior vitro*.

May I add two notes on the topography of the *Odes*? The scene of I. 9. cannot be, where it is sometimes placed, at Tivoli. Soracte is as far from Tivoli as from Rome and in all views from Tivoli is a quite inconspicuous object. The *litus Etruscum* of I. 2. 14. cannot be the Tiber's right bank. The course of a flood high enough to threat-

on the temple of Vesta must have traversed higher ground than the Trastevere. Mr. Page, who holds that *litus* is the river bank, misplaces the Janiculum and confounds the Velabrum with the Velia.

J. SARGEAUNT.

LERMANN'S ATHENA-TYPES ON GREEK COINS.

Athenatypen auf griechischen Münzen. Dr. W. LERMANN. München. 1900. 3 M. 50.

Dr. LERMANN's paper does not deal with the general subject of the representations of Athena on coins, a subject on which a new book is much needed, but only with the representations of Athena on coins of Athens, and of certain cities which took the type from Athens. Whether Dr. Lermann is an accomplished numismatist I know not; but he certainly shews a very complete knowledge of his immediate subject. He is a close follower of Prof. Furtwängler, whose theories he accepts, not indeed blindly, but with an evident bias.

An important feature of the Essay is a discussion of the dates of the various issues of Athenian coins. Dr. Lermann gives the earliest issues which bear the head of Athena and the owl, to the time of Pisistratus. He makes the series of later archaic or archaizing coins begin after the Persian repulse; and in the olive-spray which on these coins adorns the helmet of the Goddess, he sees an allusion to Marathon and Salamis. The Athenian silver decadrachms are contemporary with the Damareteia of Syracuse. The earliest issue of gold coins is given to B.C. 407, the second issue to B.C. 295. All these dates the writer tries to substantiate, not only by the citation of documents but by comparison of contemporary works of sculpture. This is the true method; but I confess that I cannot always allow the justice of his collocations: for example, to place the earliest coins of Athens on the same level as the pedimental gigantomachy and the dedicated female figures of the time of Pisistratus seems an unjustifiable paradox. They are certainly far ruder.

Dr. Lermann discusses at length the history of the Athena-head imported by way of the Athenian colony of Thurii into the coinage of Italy. Here the ground had been smoothed for him by the suggestive labours of Mr. R. S. Poole, Mr. A. Evans, and Prof. Furtwängler. He also discusses the imitations of Athenian coins which circulated in Asia, and the copies of the

Pheidian statues of the Parthenos and the great bronze Athena, which are found on coins of various states. In learning and in method, Dr. Lermann's monograph is worthy of all praise: perhaps his harvest would have been richer if he had bestowed the same amount of pains on some subject which gave more scope to new investigations, and had been more neglected in the past.

PERCY GARDNER.

Numismatische Zeitschrift (Vienna). Vol. XXI. Part II. (July—Dec. 1899.)

O. Voetter. 'Die Kupferprägungen der Dioeclesianischen Tetrarchie' (continued).—H. Willers. KOPH. It is usually stated by modern numismatists that the Athenians called one of their coins a 'maiden.' This rests on Pollux ix. 74, 75: 'The Athenians also had a coin called a 'maiden' (κόρη), as Hyperides shows, saying that there were offered to the child of the priestess at Brauron, when receiving some offering, a 'maiden' and a tetradrachm, to test its intelligence, and that, by choosing the tetradrachm, it seemed already to have some discrimination as to profit.' P. and E. Gardner in their translation (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1881, p. 294) of Pollux's account of coins suppose that κόρη was the nickname applied to the drachm or other smaller denomination of Athenian money with the type of Athene Parthenos, and that the child's intelligence was shown in choosing the tetradrachm. But Cobet and Blass (as Willers remarks) have pointed out that

Pollux (who later on in the section connects κόρη with παρθένος) has misunderstood Hyperides, who must have meant by κόρη a doll. The little priestess had to choose, not between one coin and another, but between a coin and a doll. There is thus no ground for asserting that κόρη was the nickname of a coin.—A. Markl. 'Das Provinzialcourant unter Kaiser Claudius II. Gothicus.'—H. Willers. 'Ein Fund von Serrati im freien Germanien.'—H. Willers. 'Römische Silberbarren aus dem Britischen Museum.'—N. Vulić. 'Römische Münzen von Viminacium,' &c. (additions to Pick's *Corpus*).—W. Kubitschek. 'Die salaminische Rechentafel.'

Numismatic Chronicle. Part 2. 1900.

W. Wroth. 'Otanēs, and Phraates IV.' On some unpublished Parthian drachms: (1) A regal drachm (first century B.C.?) countermarked with the head and name of Otanēs, probably a descendant of one of the noble Persians of that name who are mentioned in Herodotus; (2) a unique drachm with the personal name (Phraates) of the issuer in addition to the dynastic name 'Arsaces.' The coin is dated '273,' Seleucid era = B.C. 40–39. The reigning Arsacid at this date was Orodes I., but we know from Dio and Justin that his son Phraates (IV.) was associated in his rule towards the close of his reign.—M. Ros-towzew. ΔΩΡΕΑ CITOY TAPCΩ. A leaden tessera apparently connected with the imperial donations of wheat at Tarsus. Tarsian coins of Caracalla and Alexander Severus commemorate these distributions.—Proceedings of Numismatic Society, page 34. Sir John Evans combats the view that the fresco in the Casa dei Vettii at Pompeii represents a mint. He agrees with Mau, Blanchet, and Sogliano in considering it to be a silversmith's shop.

WARWICK WROTH.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

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The Classical Review

DECEMBER 1900.

IN the recent important discoveries in the centre of ancient Rome, in the active resumption of the design, unavoidably and temporarily suspended, for establishing a British School which we may hope will take its proper share in helping and turning to account such discoveries in the future, and in the issue of the prospectus, followed almost immediately by the first fasciculus of the new Latin *Thesaurus*, we have to chronicle events of no ordinary interest to the classical scholar.

The discoveries will be dealt with in the February number by a well-known and valued contributor. Some of our readers may wish to visit the scene in the Christmas vacation and to such an announcement of the Managing Committee of the British School will be welcome. 'The Director,' (Mr. G. McN. Rushforth, address the British Embassy, Rome) 'will be happy to explain the principal recent discoveries relating to Ancient and Mediaeval Rome to any university graduates, and members of the Teaching Staff of Public Schools who may be visiting Rome during the Christmas or Easter vacations.' Applications should be made to the Director as soon as possible. Those who intend to study at the School are requested to apply to Prof. Pelham, Trinity College, Oxford. The outlook seems fair for what we trust will be a worthy and friendly rival of the flourishing American School.

The great *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* is published by Messrs. Teubner under the auspices of five universities, Berlin, Göttingen, Leipzig, Munich and Vienna. For its completion fifteen years and twelve volumes of two thousand pages each are allowed by the prospectus: and it is thought that these

limits will not be exceeded. The price is fixed at 7 marks 20 pf. for the parts, from six to seven of which will appear every year.

To speak first of externals, which in a work of this kind are of the very greatest importance. The size is quarto, there are two columns to the page, and the lines are numbered down the centre of the page. So far so good. The type is bourgeois, clear enough, but for an undertaking of this magnitude too large. A lexicon, and *a fortiori* a thesaurus, is not for perusal but consultation, and within the limits of legibility a small type is an unmixed advantage. It saves paper, binding and shelf-room, and, most important of all, it saves time. A page of the *Thesaurus* contains somewhat more printed paper than a page of Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon, the type of which is perfectly clear; but it has fewer lines to the page and fewer letters to the line. Those who incur the financial liability for the *Thesaurus* may yet regret that a fount of type was not adopted which would have reduced its twelve volumes to eleven or ten. In another respect room might have been saved and rapid reference promoted. It was needless to print the word in full in every citation where it occurs. Abbreviations like *~us*, *~o* for *animus*, *animo* save space and catch the eye.

To gauge the value of a work of this kind we must examine its basis. The basis of the *Thesaurus* is a series of texts prepared by 'specially qualified scholars.' The 'special qualification' is a matter of the first importance, and a list of names should have been circulated together with the prospectus. These scholars have submitted the texts to a process called 'Abcorrigierung,' which is explained to mean that the readings of the

best manuscripts are restored, certain conjectures are given by the side of the MS. as such, and doubtful ones banished in favour of the corrupt reading. This is all very reasonable: but it tends to obscure the fact that Latin, as we know it, rests not upon manuscripts but upon vulgates or texts into which a certain quantity of conjectural matter has already been imported. To suppose that the practice of the compilers of the *Thesaurus* will proceed upon any other assumption would be to impute to them an incredible foolishness. It is pertinent here to observe that they might very usefully have added to their account of each word a list of other words with which copyists

confuse it. Never it would seem will there be such an opportunity again until perhaps another *Thesaurus* is compiled.

These are some of the reflexions suggested by the prospectus and the specimen. They are put out in no unfriendly spirit to the great undertaking. To all serious students of any epoch of Latin, the work, even if moderately well done, will be indispensable, and there is good hope that it will be more than moderately well done. We should advise all our readers who have not done so to procure and study for themselves the specimen and the German prospectus; not the English one—unless indeed they collect curiosities.

HOMERICA (VII).

OD. XI. 580 AND XIII. 359 f.

λ 580 Λητὼ γὰρ ἦλκησε, Διὸς κυδρὴν παρά-
κοιτιν,
Πυθῶδ' ἐρχομένην διὰ καλλιχόρου Πανο-
πῆος.

THESE lines from the Νέκυνια give the reason for the cruel punishment inflicted upon Tityus in the lower world. It will readily be granted me that the verb, ἦλκησε, is decidedly questionable, if only from the large number of variants, more or less important, presented by the MSS. To establish this statement and for further use I transcribe from Ludwich (1889) 'ἦλκησε XUK. Apollon. pron. 87, 28, Herodian. II. 33, 4 et 87, 24, Eust.; ἦλ- G; ἦλ- PD, cum γρ' H²; ἦλγησεν F (ει et κυ superscript F²); ἦλκυσε HK; ἦλ- M (ἦλ- corr. M man. recent.); εἶλκησε Z; εἶλκησεν O; εἶλκυσε post correcturam HK, Heraclit. Alleg. 18, Macrob. l. l., cum γρ' X; εἶλκυσεν superscript schol. M, Porph. l. l.; ἦλκωσε W, Tzetz. Alleg. λ 129; ἦλ- T; ἦσχυνε Sext. Emp. 407, 11.'

In the main the prevalent idea among those, to whom we are indebted for our tradition, seems to have been that the verb is connected with ἔλκω or some cognate form. In the next place, although the augmented first syllable of any of these would naturally be εἶλκ-, there is a distinct predominance of the illegitimate, or at any rate less legitimate ἦλκ-. There is furthermore a curious absence of the unaugmented ἔλκ-, which according to the conclusions of

Prof. Platt concerning the augment in Homer would here have been most in accord with epic usage.

I would also draw attention to two further peculiarities which should certainly be noted, firstly the seeming uncertainty as to whether the rough or smooth breathing is correct, and secondly the addition in one instance at least, though I am inclined to think the phenomenon, pace Ludwich, is far more extensive in its range, of an ι subscript to the initial η.

Perhaps a more directly suggestive point than any of the above, so far as any attempt to recover the true reading in this passage is concerned, is that although γάρ is unanimously exhibited by the MSS., yet Porphyrius, Qu. II. 334, 23, gives δέ as the reading. This I accept as a starting-point of some value and suggest with confidence that the true and original form of the line is still recoverable:—

Λητόα δ' ἠείκισσε, Διὸς κυδρὴν παράκοιτιν.

The reading Λητόα for Λητώ may pass without comment. My immediate purpose is to deal with γὰρ ἦλκησε only.

Nearly every point I have dwelt upon as peculiar in the readings of the MSS. leads to or countenances in some degree the above conjecture. ἠείκισσε elucidates the origin of the variation between η- and ει-, as well as the partial maintenance of the smooth breathing, though ἔλκω and its cognates

rarely, if ever, fail to exhibit their proper aspiration. Then again η - would be in later times the correct initial vowel of the aor. of αἰκίζω. In Homer of course the verb is αἰεκίζω, i.e. ἀφαικίζω. It is by no means uncommon, Ω 22, 54, Π 545, T 26 &c: but as might be expected from what has occurred in the present passage, there is no instance of the full preservation of an augmented form. In the only other line in which such a form ever existed and might have had a chance of surviving, there has been a radical modernisation:—

π 290 = τ 9 ἀλλὰ κατήκισται, ὅσων πυρὸς
ἵκετ' ἀντμή.

not amounting, it is true, to so thorough a corruption as in our passage, but still a serious debasement of the archaic original. As I have elsewhere had occasion to observe, though van Herwerden was first in the field with the emendation, the line should run with the true antique form and improved rhythm:—

ἀλλὰ κατηείκισται, ὅσων κτλ.

As to the meaning of ἡείκισσε clearly 'maltreated,' 'assaulted,' is quite equal, if not superior to any 'dragged' or 'wounded,' which can be extracted from any of the traditional readings.

To show the temptation—I might almost say the invitation—that would be offered by the supposed original to corruption, it may be well to place δὲ ἡείκισσε before the eye, as it would appear in the early uncial writing, in which elision was not recognised by any removal of the vowel and η had no other sign than ε. There is certainly a sort of provocative mystery about

ΔΕΕΕΙΚΙCCE,

which almost justifies a verdict of extenuating circumstances for the tradition.

Finally the substitution of γάρ for an original δέ is really a common phenomenon in Homer. Quite a considerable number of instances might be given if needful; but in this case also mercy to the reader may be allowed to temper the claims of strict justice to the argument.

* * * *

ν 359 αἶ κεν ἐᾷ πρόφρων με Διὸς θυγάτηρ
ἀγελείη
αὐτὸν τε ζῶειν καὶ μοι φίλον υἱὸν ἀέξῃ.

The corruption of the text in this passage, though it has not obscured the meaning, is of moment because it conveys a misleading idea of Homeric usage in more than one respect. The first point, and for accurate scholarship perhaps the most important, is the illegitimate position of the enclitic pronoun με in the first line. The best defence for the tradition, as I judge, would be this. We might urge that there is a certain emphasis on the verb ἐᾷ which makes the trajection permissible, while again the closeness of the connection of πρόφρων with ἐᾷ gives the two words a unity that allows them to be treated as one and indivisible. Perhaps to save further exposition and illustration I may refer to the statement of this question in the *Journal of Philology*, xxvi, p. 114. If there were no other peculiar features about the vulgate, I think this defence might avail, at any rate so far as to render the acceptance of any emendation very improbable.

We come now to the second point, the use of πρόφρων as a feminine adjective. It is true none of the later Greeks would have thought of the form as in any special degree masculine rather than feminine; yet we shall find quite enough reason to believe that in the epic period the case was different. In Homer we have a peculiar feminine of pretty frequent occurrence, πρόφρασσα:—

Κ 291 πρόφρασσα παρέστης.
Φ 500 πρόφρασσα μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν—
ε 161 μάλα πρόφρασσ' ἀποπέμψω.
κ 386 ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ πρόφρασσα πιεῖν—
ν 391 πρόφρασσ' ἐπαρήγοις.

It may be noted in passing that πρόφρων as masculine is found in twenty places at least (A 77, 150, 543; © 23, 175; I 480; Ξ 71, 357; P 353; Ψ 647; β 230, 387; ε 8; θ 498; ι 355; ξ 54, 406; τ 398; ν 372; ψ 314). The same form as feminine only here and apparently in two other places:—

ε 143 αὐτὰρ οἱ πρόφρων ὑποθήσομαι—

It would be easy to alter this to πρόφρασσ' ὑποθήσομαι, bringing it into conformity with the usage that follows a few lines further on, ε 161, already quoted: but the fact is ll. 143–4 are probably spurious, as has already been suspected. The other instance:—

Κ 244 οὐδ' περὶ μὲν πρόφρων κραδίη καὶ θυμὸς
ἀγῆνωρ—

is really no exception at all, κραδίη καὶ θυμὸς being a combination as familiar as πόδες καὶ

γούνατα, and amenable to the same treatment:—

O 269 ὥς Ἐκτωρ λαυψηρὰ πόδας καὶ γούνατ' ἐνώμα

X 24. Cf. O 344 where also, as Dr. Leaf says, the two nouns 'form a single idea.'

It appears then that *πρόφρων* as a feminine form is by no means well established, is indeed of somewhat doubtful validity, for Homer.

The testimony of the Hymns which are called Homeric may be noticed. We have

Hym. Dem. 140 *πρόφρων, οἷα γυναικὸς ἀφή-
λικος ἔργα τέτυκται*

„ „ 226 *παῖδα δέ τοι πρόφρων ὑποδέξομαι*,—

πρόφρασ' is metrically admissible in both examples. In Hym. xxx. 18 *πρόφρων δ' ἀντ' ὀδῆς* no one would dream of making a correction; but even in the same Hymn it is transparently obvious that l. 7

ὁ δ' ὀλβιος, ὃν κε σὺ θυμῷ
πρόφρων τιμήσῃς,

said of Gaea should be *πρόφρωνι τιμήσῃς*, that is if O 40 and X 184 be not entirely forgotten.

But however matters stand with the Hymns, in our passage of Homer (ν 359) the substitution of *πρόφρασσα* for *πρόφρων* *με* would be by no means improbable, apart from all question as to the position of the pronoun. No other inference can be drawn from the facts.

To pass now to the third and final point to be examined in connection with the couplet we are discussing, in *αὐτόν τε ζῶειν* the *τε* being followed by *καί* should mean *both*; but this can only be so, if the verb that comes after the *καί* be coordinate with *ζῶειν*, which unfortunately is not the case here either in sense or grammar. This difficulty has been felt of old, and accordingly some of the MSS. give *ἀέξειν*, which restores the grammatical balance, but makes

utter wreck of the sense. The modern inclination is rather to let grammatical exactness go by the board and to take refuge in some kind of anacoluthon. 'Rückkehr zum verbum finitum' (Ameis-Hentze). The fact of the matter is that if there were no *τε* after *αὐτόν*, the subjunctive is so natural that no editor would ever dream of noting it as a 'Rückkehr'; the *καί* would simply unite *ἐᾶ* and its belongings to *ἀέξειν* and its belongings. The remark really implies that *ἀέξειν* is for *ἀέξειν*, a disastrous and quite fatal consequence, which the presence of *τε* necessitates.

Having now seen that there is good cause for mistrust of the traditional reading, we may be more ready to consider a suggestion whereby all these difficulties may be removed. Accordingly I submit the following as a restoration of the original:—

*αἶ κ' ἐᾶν πρόφρασσα Διὸς θυγάτηρ ἀγελείη
αὐτόν ἐμέ ζῶειν καί μοι φίλον νῖόν ἀέξειν.*

This reading has been in part at least anticipated by the suggestions of others; *αἶ κε μ' ἐᾶν πρόφρασσα* was proposed by F. Schnorr v. Carolsfeld and *αἶ κ' ἐᾶν πρόφρων με* is read by van Leeuwen and da Costa. The responsibility for the removal of *τε* and the substitution of *ἐμέ* I take upon my own shoulders.

If it be asked why *τε* ever got into the line at all, the answer is that it came naturally enough from the association of π 388 where it stands with unexceptional fitness:—

*ἀλλὰ βόλεσθε
αὐτόν τε ζῶειν καί ἔχιν πατρώϊα πάντα.*

Afterwards the temptation to find room for the ousted pronoun by changing the obsolete *πρόφρασσα* into the familiar *πρόφρων* would hardly be seriously resisted in spite of, or rather because of, the deep reverential respect for Homer, prevalent in classical times wherever the Greek language was spoken and understood.

T. L. AGAR.

AESCHYLUS, *AGAMEMNON* 489-502 (DINDORF)

THE manuscripts and all editors before Hermann assign 489-500 to Clytemnaestra, 501-2 to the Chorus. Hermann, following suggestions made by Scaliger and Wellauer (Tyrwhitt had also proposed the same

change), has removed the marks indicating a change of speaker, leaving all the lines to the Chorus, or rather to its leader. All later editors, so far as I know, have followed Hermann, with the notable exception of

Karsten and of Dindorf, who in *Poetae Scenici* 1869 retains the old arrangement; but Wecklein in his school edition (Leipzig 1888) gives the last two lines to a new member or section of the Chorus, and so does Dr. Verrall.

Is it too late to ask for a reconsideration of a conclusion approved by so many excellent judges, from whom it can be no pleasure, and may seem to be mere perversity, to dissent? I do so because the arguments in favour of the manuscript arrangement have always seemed to me to be decisive, so that each successive edition which has embodied the other view has been a fresh disappointment; and the question itself to be really vital to the reputation of Aeschylus as a delineator of character. Still I should have been silent if I had not known myself to be following the deliberate and clear opinion, not only of Karsten, whom I have already mentioned, but of one specially qualified by technical knowledge, poetical sympathy, and a rigorously judicial mind to be heard on this particular question, the late Professor Conington. For the argument which I shall set out, I must take the entire responsibility. I merely mention his name to clear myself of any apparent presumption in arguing the matter at all.

The MSS. (including M.) are not seldom at fault as to the assignment of speeches to speakers, or the marking of a change of speaker. Perhaps no one would now follow them in giving 613-4 to the Herald (Dr. Verrall gives them to the second speaker of the Chorus). Again the restoration of the *στιχομυθία* in *Prometheus* 255-7 and 966-970, where M. had omitted marks of change of speaker, appears to be right, and to do the greatest credit to Welcker and Hermann respectively. Still it is clearly for those who propose a change in any instance to make out a case for change; and I have tried to collect the arguments brought forward as to the lines now in question.

I am sorry to say that I have been unable, after a good deal of search, to find the reasons, if any, advanced by Scaliger. Tyrwhitt writes:—

‘τάχ’ εἰσόμυσθα κ.τ.λ. Haec vulgo Clytemnaestrae tribuuntur. Quod si recte fit, mirum sane esse eandem tacitam in scena restare usque ad v. 596. Quae enim sub eius nomine leguntur ἀμοιβαῖα a v. 547 ad v. 559 sunt certe Chori. Mallem igitur haec tribuere Coryphaeo, qui, ut saepe alias, Chorum alloquitur. (T. Tyrwhitt: coniecturae in Aesch. Eur. et Aristoph. 1822.)

Wellauer (ed. 1824) has:—

“475 Haec non Clytemnaestrae sed Choregi puto: nam praeterquam quod Clytemnaestra per totam hanc scenam non loquitur, ad quem illud σοι v. 482 referendum sit non video. Praeterea solet Chorus procul advenientes primum aspicere propter eum quem in theatro occupabat locum. In textu autem nihil novare ausus sum.’

The points are three:—

(1) The prolonged silence of Clytemnaestra, if present from the beginning of the scene, is strange.

(2) The Chorus usually, and conventionally, announces the approach of fresh persons.

(3) The application of the sarcastic σοι is uncertain.

Paley adds (4) that Clytemnaestra ‘has no misgivings.’

I will take these points in order.

(1) The prolonged silence of a principal character has been recognised as a device, almost a mannerism, of Aeschylus. This is pointed out in Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 911. In *Persae*, 245 etc., the Chorus, who have here no doubt been the first to see the Messenger, question him for some time, until in 290, Atossa intervenes with an apology for her silence. The silence is not so prolonged as in the present instance, the compass and elaboration of the *Persae* being much more limited than of the *Agamemnon*. In both plays we have a Queen Regent and a Council of old men awaiting news of the army, so that the parallel is a somewhat close one. In both cases there may have been a feeling that αἰδώς (*Choeph.* 665) made it unseemly for a woman to begin the questioning of a man.

However it is not necessary to assume that Clytemnaestra is present throughout. It would be in accordance with her restless, highly-strung character to come in and announce the Messenger’s approach, then pass out, leaving the Chorus to go and meet the man, or to await his actual entrance, and to reenter as the Chorus speak 585-6. These two explanations cannot both be right, but either appears at least plausible.

(2) It is the case that the Chorus often notices the arrival of a fresh person. The instance already quoted from the *Persae* is in point, and, for the reasons given, is important. *S.C.T.* 369 is also in point; there are instances in the *Trachiniae*, and several in Euripides. But in the *Suppliants* (of Aeschylus) 180 Danaus sees and announces to the Chorus the approaching Argives, and at 716 the Egyptian ship. In Sophocles *Oed. Tyr.* 1110 Oedipus sees and tells the Chorus, immedi-

ately after the end of an Ode, of the coming of the herdsman. Still nearer to our case is *Antigone* 631, where Creon, again after the conclusion of an Ode, announces Haemon with the words,

τάχ' εἰσόμεσθα μάντεων ὑπέρτερον κ.τ.λ.

surely a recollection of the *Agamemnon*.

The rule then is not, and indeed it is not by any one stated to be, an absolute one.

(3) The difficulty about σοι I am not sure that I understand. If spoken by the Chorus leader, Clytemnaestra not being present, it is indeed difficult, as is observed by Hermann, and in Mr. Sidgwick's note on the passage in his edition. In the mouth of Clytemnaestra, it seems a natural sarcasm on the dull scepticism of the Chorus, in keeping with her words at 590, "I think I heard someone taunt me with a woman's credulity, fed up on bonfires and mountain-brushwood. Here is proof of another sort. What do you say to it?" In this connection the emphatic σοι in 315,

τέκμαρ τοιοῦτο ξύμβολόν τέ σοι λέγω,

where every syllable is a thrust, may be noticed. Peile, following an old suggestion of Klausen's, has another explanation of σοι.

(4) It is not in Clytemnaestra's character to feel, or express, misgivings. But the alternatives suggested in 498 (like those in *Choeph.* 195-200) emphasise the certainty of an ἄγγελος as contrasted with weaker evidence. And the unfavourable alternative is suppressed. Thus the spirit appears to be one of defiant certainty.

If these difficulties may be thus met, as to which I must leave others to judge, I would rest the affirmative case for the manuscript arrangement on just two grounds.

First on the character of the lines and the character of the Chorus. Like the Chorus of the *Persae*, but more markedly than in the *Persae*, the old men are throughout the play, until roused by Aegisthus, slow of understanding, feeble in expression (that is, in dialogue) with no initiation, and no resource. The lines are charged with quick thought and vivid imagery, the laboured imagery which is characteristic of Clytemnaestra's artificial

nature and reserve of intellectual power. Nowhere else in the play does the Chorus speak more than six consecutive iambic lines, seldom more than three or four, and its tone is dull and querulous.

Secondly, it is hard to believe that 501-2 are spoken by the same person as what precedes. Surely these two lines are the insipid conventional comment of the Chorus on words too highly pitched for them, and especially on the prayer, 'a terrible one in Clytemnaestra's lips, which fitly and powerfully, and in a manner wholly Aeschylean, concludes her speech, the prayer that the sequel may match the joy now realised.

εὖ γὰρ πρὸς εὖ φανέεισι προσθήκη πέλοι.

As I have before mentioned, both Wecklein and Dr. Verrall have indicated that these lines belong, as the MSS. say that they do, to a different speaker from those which go before them.

The line just quoted leads me back to an earlier passage of the play. The line is identical in feeling with the wish of 349-350 :

τὸ δ' εὖ κρατοίη μὴ διχορρόπως ἰδεῖν,
πολλῶν γὰρ ἐσθλῶν τὴν ὄνησιν εἰλόμην.

The second line I understand to mean 'My choice is the enjoyment of many good things; not of this or that good thing, but of all on which I have set my heart, of the present and [of the sequel.]' Clytemnaestra is great even in her wicked aspirations—'non humilis mulier.'

The emphasis falls on πολλῶν, much as in 963,

πολλῶν πατησμένων δ' εἰμάτων ἂν ἠυξάμην.

Many editors, not Paley, nor Davies, nor Weil, nor Enger, follow Hermann in reading τήνδ' for τήν. The interpretation given above I owe to Conington: it is consistent, not, I think, identical, with the rendering given by Klausen and others. The reference to 963 I have supplied. Conington's view on the main point discussed above will be found in his review of Hermann's *Aeschylus* in *Edinburgh Review*, vol. 100.

A. O. PRICKARD.

UPON AESCHYLUS.

IN Mr. Headlam's valuable paper 'Upon Aeschylus II' in the May number of the *Classical Review* there are two notes upon which I would ask to say a few words.

Chosph. 542. Mr. Headlam observes that 'we had overlooked the scholium.' Knowing the great pains which Conington took to give its just weight to evidence of every kind, and in particular to that of scholia, I should have been surprised if he had omitted to have recourse to them upon this desperate line. In the footnote Mr. Headlam makes due mention of Conington's note, but (and this appears to be a matter fairly open to argument) he states it as his impression that Conington had not made use of the scholium, because he had not altered the text in accordance with the suggestion contained in it.

Conington writes in his note on this line (544 of his edition):—

'ηπλειζετο probably stands for some verb, the sense of which is given in the Schol. of Med. ἐπιμελείας ἡξιοῦτο (the words by which Hesych. explains κομίζειν).'

On 262 he has:—

'Blomf. quotes Hesych. κομίζει ἐπιμελείας ἀξίου, and refers to *Il.* 6, 490, *Od.* 7, 112.'

Blomfield had here referred expressly to Eustathius, and to Bekker's *Lexica*, as well as to Hesychius.

The facts then were pretty fully before Conington. I would submit that he was right in merely recording them, and in not introducing ἐκομίζετο into the text.

It is abundantly proved that κομίζειν is habitually explained by ἐπιμελείας ἀξιοῦν, and so of κομίζεσθαι. The converse proposition, that the phrases, active or passive, always point to κομίζειν, and to no other verb, does not follow from this. It has much apparent probability, but this vanishes in the presence of a single negative instance. I have so far found three such:—

Apollonius Rhodius 4, 897. πορσύνεσκον ἔτερπον, ἐπιμελείας ἡξίων καὶ ἡξάνον (of the Sirens).

Euripides Troades 1175. ὅν (βόστροχον) πὸ λλ' ἐκ ή πευστ' κατὰ τινας ἐπιμελείας ἡξίωσεν, ἐθεράπευσεν.

(On *Pindar Ol.* 2, 28, where κόμισον is explained by ἐπιμελείας ἀξίωσον, a derivation from κόμαι is suggested, with reference to care given to the hair.)

Phoenissae 1327 ἐγὼ δέ τὸ σῶμα...περὶ στέλλων καὶ κοσμῶν καὶ ἐπιμελείας ἀξίων. Here the verb explained is ἀγαπάζειν.

The inference appears to be that we may expect to find ἐπιμελείας ἀξιοῦν or ἀξιοῦσθαι used to explain verbs pointing to the care or entertainment of others, and, among them, any of the rarer equivalents of ξενίζειν and ξενίζεσθαι.

If we are to cast about for such a verb, has not Bamberger's ἡλίζετο good claims to be considered? It is within one letter, or two at the most, of ηπλειζετο, and the likeness is even greater to ear than to eye. Bamberger in no case introduced an emendation of his own into the text, choosing rather to be taken for faint-hearted than for overbold ('nimiae cautelae malebam quam temeritatis argui'). He gives no reasons in support of ἡλίζετο, and completes the line somewhat arbitrarily. The verb itself seems excellent here: it is used of various animals taking up their quarters, and might well be used of a serpent. It has military associations which may have recommended it, as they did several other words, to Aeschylus. It occurs in the *Electra* of Euripides, line 303—οἷς ἐν πέπλοις αἰλίζομαι—a somewhat strained expression, which has offended editors. As the *Electra* was written with the language, as well as the plot, of the *Choephores* in the poet's mind, the hypothesis that αἰλίζομαι occurred in the older play may make the presence of the same verb in the later one more tolerable.

As to the former part of the line, Porson's οὔφισ ἐμοῖσι σπαργάνοις seems very good. α can be, and often is, written like ο, and the circumflex accent is accounted for.

That the termination of σπαργάνοις should have fallen off, the complete word having been written fourteen lines above, seems not unnatural, especially perhaps when an unfamiliar and puzzling word followed. I should like to produce a perfect parallel: perhaps φαῖδρυν(ει) in *Agam.* 1120 may be accepted. M. (like L. of Sophocles) is weak upon terminations, and it often omits letters in all parts of words.

In my own mind, I should be well content to read

οὔφισ ἐμοῖσι σπαργάνοις ἡλίζετο,

and to owe the line in part to Bamberger, and in part to the splendid intuition of Porson, who gives the line a cogency and a connexion with what precedes (the passage being a highly dramatic one, where Orestes spells out the application of the dream to

his own terrible duty) which other suggestions do not.

Yet I venture to doubt whether Conington would, without more incontestable evidence, have placed in the text a line so reconstructed. I doubt whether, in a mature edition of the *Agamemnon*, he would have allowed *ἔνιν* and *ἦθος* (suggested by him in *Terminalia* of 1852), or *σκία τις ἂν πρέψειεν* in completion of Boissonade's reading of 1329 (where this was put forward I do not know) to appear in the text. Yet his pleasure would have been great and unaffected at the favour shown to these readings by eminent scholars.

Whatever conclusion may be the right one as to the particular verb to be preferred in the line of the *Choëphoroe*, I feel sure that the line of reasoning pointed out and emphasised by Mr. Headlam is a most

promising one, and that such a systematic use of the Byzantine authorities as he suggests is likely in his hands to bring light into many dark places.

850. Here Conington has:—

'The simplest change would be to read *αὐτόσ'* which would go naturally with *πεύθεσθαι* as a pregnant expression 'to go to the spot and inquire.' *περί* then would be taken, with Peile...as an adverb, or a preposition without a case, as it clearly must be in *Agam.* 1359.'

Conington's suggestion is not recorded by Wecklein, and his note had doubtless not come under Mr. Headlam's eye. It is nothing but gratifying to find the identity of view; but it seems right, in prospect of future critical editions, to draw attention to the note which has priority in time.

A. O. PRICKARD.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE DRAMAS OF EURIPIDES.

A WELL known Shakespearean scholar, the Rev. Mr. Fleay, made a contribution of considerable value to the study of the plays by an analysis of the versification as bearing on the question of date. I have taken some little trouble in examining the iambic verse of Euripides from the same point of view. There is nothing novel in the idea but I fancy that it has never been worked out in so much detail. Possibly the readers of the *C.R.* may be interested in the results at which I arrived. I counted the number of dactyls, anapaests and tribrachs substituted for iambs, excluding, of course, all proper names. To make the inquiry complete, I examined the dramas of Aeschylus and Sophocles. The result was curiously similar in these two poets. I have arranged it in decimals, the meaning of .026 (the figures for the *Electra*) being that in a thousand lines there are twenty-six of such licenses. The lists are as follows:

Prometheus .036
Choëphoroe .038
Agamemnon .039
Eumenides .044
Persae .054
Supplices .063
S. c. Thebas .073

Electra .026
Antigone .033
Oed. Col. .043
Oed. Tyr. .045
Trach. .046
Ajax .056
Philoct. .087

The average works out as .049 for Aeschylus and .048 for Sophocles.

Three of the dramas of Euripides show very similar results, the *Hippolytus* having .028 and the *Medea* .037, while the *Alcestis* with .052 is not far behind. These three are known to be early. The *Alcestis* comes first in point of time, but its character accounts for less severity of versification. Next comes the *Rhesus* with .71. The fact may have some bearing on the disputed question of authorship. The *Heraclidae* follows with .091, a figure that gives a certain support to Müller's conjectures of the date 421. The other figures I give without comment.

Hecuba .100
Andromache .109
Supplices .125
Electra .129
Troades .161
Iph. in T. .186

Hercules F. .200
Phoenissae .203
Ion .208
Helena .241
Iph. in A. .283
Bacchae .334
Orestes .400

The difference between 400 and 28 in the thousand is very remarkable.

ALFRED CHURCH.

THE LITERARY CIRCLE OF DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS.

THE few facts known with regard to the life of Dionysius of Halicarnassus are derived almost entirely from his own works, or (in other words) from either his *Early Roman History* or his *Rhetorical Writings*.

From the preface of the *Archaeologia* we learn that he took ship to Italy at the conclusion (30 B.C.) of the Civil War; that he spent at Rome the two-and-twenty years which had passed between that time and the date at which he was writing; that he had acquired the Latin language and studied the national records; that he had worked continuously at his subject, had profited by oral information obtained from the most learned men he met, and had consulted the published histories of approved Roman authors such as Porcius Cato, Fabius Maximus, Valerius Antias, and others (*Archaeol.* i. 7). After giving these particulars (in connexion with observations of a more general character), the author adds the simple statement that he is 'Dionysius, Alexander's son, of Halicarnassus,' and then loses himself in the work which he hoped would perpetuate his name.

In the *Archaeologia* Dionysius makes no sort of allusion to his *Scripta Rhetorica*. It is possible that he would have worked into the above autobiographical sketch a few details of his activity as a rhetorician could he have foreseen the day when his fugitive writings on Greek literature would be more highly prized than his elaborate work on early Roman history. But even in the rhetorical writings themselves it is surprising how little definite information we find as to the literary life, and the literary circle, of Dionysius at Rome.

It is, however, a probable inference from the didactic character of these rhetorical essays, and especially from their habit of viewing the classical writers of Greece as models for imitation, that Dionysius was a teacher of composition. The presumption passes into something like certainty, when, in his *de Compositione Verborum*, he undertakes to explain, to the young pupil he is addressing, certain points of detail 'in our daily exercises' (*ἐν ταῖς καθ' ἡμέραν γυμνασίαις*, *de Comp.* c. 20).

But Dionysius was much more than an ordinary teacher of composition. Together with Caecilius of Calacte, though on slightly different lines from him, he was a leader in that movement for the purification of Greek literary taste which distinguished the age of

Augustus. To CAECILIUS there is only one express reference in his writings, but this is a most cordial one. In the *Ep. ad Pompeium* (c. 3 ad fin.) Dionysius remarks that a certain literary opinion of his own is shared by 'my dear friend Caecilius.'

Though Caecilius survives in fragments only, a fair amount is known, and much has been written, about him. Neither of these statements could well be made with regard to the unidentified Pompeius to whom the Letter just quoted is addressed. The full name of this correspondent of Dionysius appears to have been GNAEUS POMPEIUS GEMINUS. This may be inferred from the opening words Διονύσιος Γναίῳ Πομπηίῳ, when taken together with the incidental address ὁ βέλτιστε Γεμίνε (γεμίνε MB¹: γναῖε Pal s mg B) in c. 2.¹ In the absence of any positive information about Pompeius, we are reduced to conjecture. He may, or may not, have been associated in some way with the house of Cn. Pompeius Magnus, himself a great patron of foreign men of letters. He seems, as may be inferred from certain indications in the epistle inscribed with his name, to have been a Greek rhetorician. At all events, it is there mentioned that he had written to Dionysius a letter in which he criticised what he conceived to be the adverse attitude assumed by Dionysius towards Plato. This letter Dionysius treats as a literary document of importance from which definite quotations are to be made. The following passage (*Ep. ad Pomp.*, c. 2 fin.) is particularly interesting. "It is clear from your own letter, excellent Geminus, that you yourself entertain the same opinion as I with regard to Plato. For you write as follows, to quote your own words: 'In other forms of writing there may well occur something intermediate between praise and blame. But in the elaborate style anything that is not success is utter failure. So that, in my opinion, these men should be judged not by their few most hazardous attempts but by their innumerable successes.' And a little later you add the following words: 'Although I could defend all, or at any rate most, of these passages, I do not venture to gainsay you. But this one thing I strongly affirm, that it is not possible to succeed greatly in any manner without such daring and recklessness; and occasional

¹ Perhaps too much importance ought not to be attached to the accentuation of Γεμίνε in the MSS.

failure is a necessary result of these risks.' This passage shows that Cn. Pompeius Geminus was a great, though not an indiscriminating, admirer of Plato, of whom he writes in terms not unlike those employed by the unknown writer of the *De Sublimitate*. Indeed, if conjecture is to seek an author for that treatise in the age of Augustus, this Pompeius might be named with far more plausibility than Dionysius himself, whose claims were at one time advocated. The matter-of-fact style of Dionysius, his esteem for Caecilius, and his exaltation of Demosthenes above Plato—all these are points which prove (if proof is needed) that he could not have written the *De Sublimitate*, which must have been composed by some ardent worshipper and imitator of Plato.

Another person, AMMAEUS, to whom Dionysius has addressed more than one letter, is as hard to identify as Pompeius. The name Ammaeus, which is consistently thus given without addition by Dionysius, seems to be excessively rare. It is not entered in the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*; and among Greek inscriptions I have noticed it twice only (Boeckh *Corp. Inscr. Graec.* iv. 8947—*Inscriptiones Christianae*), among Latin inscriptions once only (*Inscript. Gall. Cis. Lat.* i. 398). It is not, I think, found in any of the recently published papyri, though I am not without hope that some reader of the *Classical Review* may be able (in this or in some other direction) to throw further light on this and the other names here under discussion. As matters stand at present, we know nothing of Ammaeus, beyond the little we may surmise about him from Dionysius himself. Dionysius addressed two letters to him, those which are traditionally called the *First Letter to Ammaeus* and the *Second Letter to Ammaeus*, the former treating of the alleged dependence of Demosthenes as an orator upon the formal precepts of Aristotle in the *Rhetoric*, the latter discussing and illustrating certain peculiarities in the style of Thucydides. Dionysius also addresses to Ammaeus, who must have been highly esteemed by him, his essays *On the Ancient Orators*. His forms of personal address are: ὦ φίλε Ἀμμαῖε (*Ep. ad Amm.* i c. 3, *Ep. ad Amm.* ii. c. 17), φίλτατε Ἀμμαῖε (*de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 49), βέλτιστε Ἀμμαῖε (*Ep. ad Amm.* i. c. 2), ὁ κράτιστε Ἀμμαῖε (*de Antig. Orat., Proem.*, c. i.; *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 58). In the last-quoted essay—that on Demosthenes—he is the person addressed when (γνώσει and ἀξίως in c. 13) the second person singular

is used. From a passage of doubtful meaning in the same essay (*de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 49: especially the words οἶμαι μὲν οὖν, ὡς καὶ δόξαν ἐπιεικῇ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔχω, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ σοῦ, φίλτατε Ἀμμαῖε, καὶ ἐκ τῆς εὐμουσίας τῆς σῆς λαμβάνων) it would seem that Ammaeus was a cultivated man whose influence upon Dionysius had been considerable. It was Ammaeus, further, that suggested to Dionysius the actual subjects of both the first and the second of the Letters inscribed with his name, the second being written by Dionysius (somewhat against the grain) at his special request. From the introductory letter in which the essays on the *Ancient Orators* are dedicated to him it seems clear that he took a lively interest in Dionysius' efforts to further the study of the best Greek literature at Rome. Whether he, and the other correspondents of Dionysius, themselves lived or did not live at Rome, is a question about which nothing can well be concluded from the epistolary form, since this had long since become customary and even conventional.

Besides Ammaeus there appear in Dionysius' rhetorical writings two other persons, ZENO and DEMETRIUS, whose identification is impeded by the fact that they bear only one name and are not distinguished by any place-designation such as 'Halicarnassus' or 'Calacte.' Zeno is mentioned once only, at the opening of the *Ep. ad Pomp.*, where Dionysius states that he had received from Pompeius a letter in which 'you (sc. Pompeius) write that you have gone through my works, with which our common friend Zeno has furnished you, and have made yourself thoroughly familiar with them.' Of Zeno we hear and know nothing more than this. Nor can we identify the Demetrius who is mentioned in the same epistle. All we know is that Dionysius had addressed to him his memoirs on the subject of imitation (πεποιήκα τοῦτο οἷς πρὸς Δημήτριον ὑπερνημάτισμαι περὶ μιμήσεως, *Ep. ad Pomp.* c. 3). Can he be the author of the rhetorical treatise which goes under the name of 'Demetrius *de Elocutione*' and which probably belongs to the age of Augustus? The attribution of the treatise to 'Demetrius' may, no doubt, be purely conjectural; but if the name is to stand, the author must certainly not be identified with Demetrius Phalereus, unless the book is to be as much antedated as the *De Sublimitate* is postdated when assigned to the historical Longinus. Possibly, if our information were not so scanty, we might find that men like Caecilius and the other friends of Dionysius, like Theodorus of

Gadara, like the author of the *περὶ ὕψους*, like the author of the *περὶ ἐρμηνείας*, and even like Manilius (for whose date see *Classical Review* xiii. 294), had this in common that they belonged to the age of Augustus or the period immediately succeeding it, and further resembled each other (in some instances) in being freedmen or sons of freedmen attached to the great Roman houses such as that of Pompey, and in having an Eastern or Jewish origin.¹

It may, therefore, for various reasons be conjectured that the correspondents of Dionysius so far mentioned were not of Roman descent. Two names remain, which are unmistakably Roman. The long essay *de Thucydide* is addressed to Q. AELIUS TUBERO (ὦ Κόιντε Αἴλιε Τουβέρων, *de Thucyd.* c. 1: cp. ἐν τῇ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Θουκυδίδου κατασκευασθείσῃ γραφῇ προσιεπὼν τὸν Αἴλιον Τουβέρωνα, *ad Ann.* II. c. 1). This seems to be Q. Aelius Tuberus, jurist and historian, who was consul in 11 B.C. No doubt Dionysius may be addressing this statesman's son (a possible pupil of his) rather than himself; but there are two passages which incline one to the other supposition. In concluding the *de Thucydide*, Dionysius says that he might have written more to Tuberus's liking, but that he could not have written more truthfully (τούτων ἡδῶ μὲν εἶχόν σοι περὶ Θουκυδίδου γράφειν, ὦ βέλτιστε Κόιντε Αἴλιε Τουβέρων, οὐ μὴν ἀληθέστερα, *de Thucyd.* c. 55). These words make it probable that the addressee is a man of mature judgment with opinions of his own upon the writing of history. An earlier passage in the same treatise makes it similarly probable that he was a literary man. 'Once more I beg you and men of letters generally who read this work (δεσθεῖς σοῦ πάλιν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φιλολόγων τῶν ἐντευξομένων τῇ γραφῇ), to consider my aim in the subject I have chosen. I wish to describe the style of

Thucydides in all its aspects that need discussion, for the special benefit of would-be imitators of that writer' (c. 25 *ibid.*). It may be added that it is no less necessary for modern readers to bear in mind this special aim of Dionysius, whenever his observations on Thucydides seem narrow or perverse. He is writing chiefly with reference to the style (in a more restricted sense than *χαρακῆρος*, so translated above) of Thucydides, and he is provoked into antagonism when he recalls the absurdities into which fanatical admirers of Thucydides, who found it easier to reproduce his eccentricities than his essential greatness, were often betrayed. Their mistake had been exposed at an earlier date by Cicero in his *Orator*. Cicero, indeed, went further, recognising as he did that the imitation in Latin of even a plain, straightforward writer like Lysias was ill-judged, inasmuch as it did not make due allowance for the different genius of the Latin language.

The last name on the list is that of MELITIUS RUFUS. This is the youth, just passing into manhood, to whom Dionysius presents his treatise on the arrangement of words as a birthday offering. He is addressed as follows in the first chapter of the *de Compositione Verborum*: ὦ Ροῦφε Μελίτιε, πατρὸς ἀγαθοῦ, κάμοι τιμιωτάτου φίλων. This Melitius Rufus (or, Rufus Melitius) is unknown, the father as well as the son. Two manuscripts give Μελίτιε in place of Μελίτιε. It is thus possible that Metilius Rufus is the correct name, though this does not, I think, bring us nearer an identification. But if we do not know who the youth was, we do know that he was a youth; and from the analogy of the *de Compositione* it may possibly be argued that the *de Thucydide* also was addressed to a younger rather than an older man. The cases are, however, not really parallel. The former subject is better suited than the latter for young men, and the tone which Dionysius adopts in the two treatises is correspondingly different. In the *de Compositione* he is instructing a young learner; in the *de Thucydide* he seems to be holding his own, courteously but firmly, with a man of some standing.

Dionysius' attitude in the *de Thucydide* suggests a wider question. It has sometimes been supposed that the life led by these Professors of Rhetoric, or Professors of Literature, at Rome must have been a distressingly narrow one. So perhaps it might have been but for their association with Roman men of affairs. In the proem

¹ The following passage of Pliny the Elder might help us if only it were a little more explicit: 'Alia creta argentaria appellatur nitorem argento reddens. est et vilissima qua circum praeducere ad victoriae notam pedesque venalium trans maria advectorum denotare instituerunt maiores, talemque Publilium Antiochium mimicae scaenae conditorem et astrologiae consobrinum eius Manilium Antiochum, item grammaticae Staberium Erotem eadem nave advectos videre proavi. Sed quid hos referat aliquis litterarum honore commendatos? talem in catasta videre Chrysogonum Sullae, Amphionem Q. Catuli, Hectorem L. Luculli, Demetrium Pompei, Augenque Demetri, quamquam et ipsa Pompei credita est, Hipparchum M. Antoni, Menam et Meneratem Sexti Pompei aliosque deinceps quos enumerare iam non est sanguine Quiritium et proscriptionum licentia ditatos,' C. Plin. *Sec. Nat. Hist. Lib.* xxxv. 199, 200 (ed. Diefelsen).

(c. 3) of his *Ancient Orators* Dionysius has paid a warm tribute to the part played by the governing classes of Rome in that improvement of Greek literary taste which he had himself so much at heart; and it is not difficult to imagine the healthy influence which contact with active public men in a great city must have had upon Greek rhetoricians prone to pedantry. That he had personally been made welcome at Rome, is expressly stated by Dionysius in the passage in which he describes his *History of Ancient Rome* as a thank-offering in return for the manifold kindnesses he had received during his residence in the capital (*Archaeol.* I. 6). In particular, he wished to disabuse the Greek mind of derogatory ideas as to the origin of the Romans and as to the means by which they had gained their ascendancy (I. 4, 5 *ibid.*). In so doing he desires, he protests, not to flatter the victors but to tell the truth (I. 6).

The widening influence to which Dionysius refers was all the more needed that men of his class and nationality do not seem, as far as we can discover, usually to have taken any interest in Latin literature for its own sake. It is true that, in a passage already summarised from the opening of his *Archaeologia*, Dionysius refers to his acquisition of Latin and to the use he made of the language in consulting historical authorities. Again, in the introduction to his *Ancient Orators* he alludes, in general terms, to the 'many fine works' which had been produced, both by Romans and by Greeks, in his own day. But of a genuine literary interest in particular Latin books we find no evidence, whereas there are many indications (of a negative kind) to the opposite effect. It is probable that his own knowledge of Latin was not very deep and thorough. Attempts made by Greek rhetoricians to deliver their lectures in Latin had met with official discouragement, and the provinces of the 'grammaticus Graecus' and the 'grammaticus Latinus' were (as we know from

inscriptions and from other sources) kept carefully apart. The Greeks themselves, without doubt, acquiesced readily in this arrangement when, in course of time, their Roman friends and patrons came to speak Greek fluently, and to converse by preference in that language with their Greek preceptors. These preceptors, feeling a natural pride in their own language and literature, and also feeling on safer ground when writing in the former and about the latter, composed in Greek (as Dionysius has himself done) the literary essays they addressed to their Roman pupils. Caecilius, indeed, had the courage to break with tradition so far as to draw what now appears an obvious comparison between Demosthenes and Cicero. In this he seems to have found but one Greek follower, the author of the *Treatise on the Sublime*, who may also have borrowed from Caecilius his reference to the sublimity of Hebrew literature. For his temerity in hazarding an opinion about a Latin author Caecilius was afterwards criticised by Plutarch, who compares him to a 'fish out of water.' In the attitude of Plutarch—that of prudent abstention—we may perhaps find the clue to the silence observed in regard to Latin literature by Dionysius, who in his essays on the *Ancient Orators* never mentions Cicero, in his *Early Roman History* never mentions Livy, in his treatise on the *Arrangement of Words* never mentions Horace. The absence of any allusion alike in Dionysius to Horace and in Horace to Dionysius seems the strangest thing of all, since the life of the author of the *Ars Poetica* extended to the year 8 B.C., by which time Dionysius (who in that year brought out his *History*) must have been at the height of whatever reputation he enjoyed in the capital as a learned Greek critic. As a matter of fact, the only contemporary reference to Dionysius is to be found in Strabo. It is not till the time of Quintilian that he meets with recognition in Latin literature.

W. RHYS ROBERTS.

ON STRABO XII. 3, 38: P. 560.

AFTER describing the castle of Sagylium in the territory of Phazemon in Pontus (possibly the ruin on a pinnacle of the Tavshan Dag visible from Vezir Keupru) Strabo continues, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἕλω καὶ διεφθάρη ὑπὸ τῶν Φαρνάκου τοῦ βασιλέως παίδων Ἀρσάκης,

δυναστεύων καὶ νεωτερίζων, ἐπιτρέψαντος οὐδενὸς τῶν ἡγεμόνων· ἕλω δὲ οὐ βίᾳ τοῦ ἐρέματος ληφθέντος ὑπὸ Πολέμωνος καὶ Λυκομήδους βασιλέων ἀμφοῖν, ἀλλὰ λιμῷ· ἀνέφυγε γὰρ εἰς τὸ ὄρος παρασκευῆς χωρὶς εἰργόμενος τῶν πεδίων κ.τ.λ.

There is a certain difficulty here in distributing the parts played by 'the sons of King Pharnaces' and by 'Polemo and Lycomedes, both of them kings.' I think that an unprejudiced reader would naturally suppose that Polemo and Lycomedes were the sons of Pharnaces. But as a matter of history they were not. Who then were these sons of Pharnaces? and who was Arsaces? Strabo gives us not the slightest hint. He thrusts these persons upon us without the scantiest introduction. The date indicated by the mention of Polemo and Lycomedes must lie between 37 or 36 B.C., when the former became king of part of Pontus, and 31 or 30 B.C., when the latter ceased to be high-priest of Comana. No Arsaces seems to be known who could be supposed to have attempted a revolution in Pontus at that time. We learn from Appian (Bell. Civ. V 75) that Dareius, a son of Pharnaces, was made king of Pontus by Antony about 39 B.C. Probably he was the immediate predecessor of Polemo. Pharnaces' daughter Dynamis is an important figure in history, but no other son is named to us. How any sons of Pharnaces came to be fighting in Pontus under Polemo or Lycomedes between 37 and 30 B.C. is not explained.

I would suggest that all difficulty and obscurity may be removed from the passage simply by striking out *ὑπὸ* before *τῶν Φαρνάκου τοῦ βασιλέως παίδων*. Arsaces then becomes one of the children of Pharnaces,

no longer a casual adventurer but properly introduced to the reader. His capture and death are ascribed wholly and without complication to Polemo and Lycomedes, and a plausible interpretation of the incident becomes easy. Arsaces, we may suppose, claimed to succeed his brother Dareius, and attempted to seize or retain his kingdom without authority from any of the heads of the Roman state. Polemo, who held Antony's commission, had to oust him by force with the aid of his neighbour Lycomedes. If this interpretation be accepted, the incident probably took place at, or soon after, Polemo's appointment.

It is true that the offensive *ὑπὸ* is found in all the manuscripts—at all events Falconer, Kramer, and the Didot edition mention no variance here—but the text of Strabo is notoriously corrupt, and *ὑπὸ* might well have been inserted by an early copyist, who did not understand the genitive, and perhaps imagined that Polemo and Lycomedes were sons of Pharnaces. The words *ὑπὸ Πολέμωνος καὶ Λυκομήδους βασιλέων ἀμφοῖν* would certainly tempt an ignorant scribe to interpolate *ὑπὸ* before *τῶν Φαρνάκου τοῦ βασιλέως παίδων*. The reference 'Arsaces ... Pharnacis filius 560' in the index to Meineke's Teubner edition does not appear to be derived from any older text with a different reading, but may be traced back through Kramer to Groskurd's index to his German translation.

J. ARTHUR R. MUNRO.

NOTES ON THE TEXT OF PLUTARCH'S *QUAESTIONES CONVIVALES*.

THE references are to the pages of vol. iv. of Bernardakis' edition of the *Moralia*.

P. 26, 2. <κοσμιώτα>τον δέ μοι δοκεῖ τοι<οὔτο>ς ὦν τὸ συμπόσιον <διαφυλ>άζειν. The supplements of the lacunae in the MS. are Bernardakis'. <εὔκρα>τον suits the context better than *κοσμιώτατον*.

P. 27, 23 *κεραμίου στενοῦ κομισθέντος, εἰς τοῦτο τὸν ἀσθενῆ πόδα καθέως ἐξέπιε τὸ ποτήριον*. *στενοῦ* is Amyot's correction of *κενοῦ*; but it is unnecessary. All wine jars (and this could only have been a wine *κεράμιον*) had narrow necks, not large enough to admit an ordinary foot and leg. Large numbers of these (chiefly found in the sea by divers) are preserved, and the width of the neck varies but little. *κενοῦ* is not superfluous. *He asked for an empty jar to be brought*.

P. 34, 4. When Mithradates was a baby a thunderbolt singed his swaddling-clothes but did not touch his body *πλὴν ὅσον ἔχνος τι τοῦ πυρὸς ἐν τῇ μετώπῳ κρυπτόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς κόμης <διαμέν>ειν αὐτῷ παι<δί> καὶ> ἀνδρὸς ἥδη πάλιν* another thunderbolt fell in the room where he was sleeping, &c. Here *κρυπτόμενον* (for *κρατουμένῳ*) and *διαμένειν* are Bernardakis' correction and supplement. The supplement of the other lacuna is due to Turnebe. *διαμένειν αὐτῷ παιδί* is obviously wrong; the mark could not have lasted during his boyhood and then have disappeared. We must write *διαμένειν αὐτῷ παι<δὸς δ' ἢ> ἀνδρὸς ἥδη*. There was, it seems, some doubt as to the date of the second incident.

P. 39, 18. *Λαμπρίας δ' ὁ <ἀδελφὸς> τὴν Ἰερωνύμου* *lac. 6 litt. οὐκ ἀνέγνωκεν* *lac. 7 litt.*

εὐφύιαν ἐμπεσών *lac.* 2-3 *litt.* ὅτι. Bernardakis says of the last lacuna in the Vienna MS. that propter proximam marginem nulla esse videtur. There is no doubt about the sense of the mutilated passage, which is given in the restoration suggested by Bern., in place however of which I suggest the following.

Λαμπρίας δ' ὁ <ἀδελφὸς εἰς> τὴν Ἱερωνύμου, <καίπερ> οὐκ ἀνεγνωκώς, ἐν<νοίαν δι'> εὐφύιαν ἐμπεσών <εἶπεν> ὅτι.

P. 43, 4. ὁρῶ γὰρ ὅτι καὶ τέφρα καὶ λίθοις, κἂν μὴ παρῇ δὲ ταῦτα, κονιορτῷ πολλάκις παχύνουσι τὸ ὕδωρ. The MS. has λίθοι, λίθοις being the correction of the Aldine editor. If he or any subsequent editor had had any practical acquaintance with the art of washing clothes, he would not have allowed λίθοις to stand. Washerwomen, fortunately for the clothes, do not put stones in the water. We should restore λίτρω. λίτρον is the same as νίτρον, and is not nitre but soda. See L. and S.

P. 45, 21. Neanthes of Cyzicus in his Κατὰ πόλιν μυθικά narrates that the tribe Aeantis had the privilege that its chorus should never be given the last place. The speaker continues *lac.* 3 *litt.* μὲν οὖν προ *lac.* 8 *litt.* ξὺν ἱστορίας ὁ ἀνα *lac.* 9 *litt.* εἰ δὲ τοῦτό γ' οὐ νοθεύει, προκείσθω τῆς αἰτίας ἐν κοινῷ πᾶσιν ἢ ζήτησις. Plutarch obviously places no general reliance on Neanthes, but what is his criticism of the historian? Dühner has supplied in the second lacuna πρὸ<ς ἀπόδει> ξὺν ἱστορίας; but I think that πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν ἱστορίας 'to show off his historical knowledge' is more probable. We may restore more or less as follows. *Enia>* μὲν οὖν πρὸ<ς ἐπίδει> ξὺν ἱστορίας ὁ ἀν<ήρ ἐπλασεν> εἰ δὲ τοῦτό γ' οὐ νοθεύει κ.τ.λ.

P. 53, 23. καὶ ταῦτ' οὖν ἐρωτῶντες χαρίζεσθαι. χαρίζονται Meziriac; ἐρωτῶντας ἔστι χαρίζεσθαι Bernardakis. An easier correction is ἐρωτῶν τις χαρίζεται. When ἐρωτῶν τις had been corrupted to ἐρωτῶντες, χαρίζεται was changed to χαρίζεσθαι owing to the infinitive προέσθαι immediately preceding.

P. 55, 5. ἡ διον δὲ καὶ περὶ κυνῶν ἄνδρα θηρευτικὸν ἐρωτᾶν. This does not give the required sense, for which ἐρωτᾶσθαι would be necessary. Restore ἡ δίων ν δ' ὁ καὶ περὶ κυνῶν ἄνδρα θηρευτικὸν ἐρωτᾶν.

P. 57, 3. <ὄνειδι> σμὸς γάρ ἐστι τῆς ἀμαρτίας παρε<σχηματισμένος τὸ> σκῶμα κατὰ τὸν Θεόφραστον· ὅθεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τῇ ἱπποπόλει προστίθησιν ὁ ἀκούσας τὸ ἐλλείπον ὡς εἰδὼς καὶ πιστεύων. παρεσχηματισμένος is quoted from this passage by L. and S.; but

it is a supplement of Turnebe's and is certainly wrong, as it does not imply the existence of any ἐλλείπον to be supplied by the hearer. I thought of παρεμφαινόμενος, i.e. a σκῶμα is a reproach incidentally apparent in the phrase used.

P. 75, 17. τὸν οὖν τόπον, ἐν ᾧ γυμνάζονται πάντες οἱ ἀθληταί, παλαίστραν καλοῦσι, τῆς πάλης τοῦ νόμα κτησαμένης τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα καὶ τοῖς αὖθις ἐφευρεθῆσιν ἐμπαρὰσχεῖν. The defects of the sentence are obvious. If we write ἀπὸ τῆς πάλης τοῦ νόμα κτησάμενον τὸ πρῶτον, all is clear so far, but it is impossible to find any satisfactory continuation. I think we should exclude τοῦ νόμα and write τῆς πάλης κτησαμένης τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα καὶ τοῖς αὖθις ἐφευρεθῆσιν ἐμπαρὰσχούσης ἀσκήν.

P. 81, 10. δι' ἣν μόνον τῶν φυτῶν τὰ ἐλαιώδη δέχσονται τὰς τοιαύτας ἐπιμιξίας οὐ πέφυκεν. The cypress, fir and pine, which are quoted as instances, are not ἐλαιώδη, but δαδῶδη. Cp. *infra* p. 104, 23.

P. 82, 1. λεπτόν γὰρ ὄντα—κολλώμενον. This difficult sentence has been satisfactorily corrected and explained by Bernardakis, but instead of excluding ὄντα after τὸν φλοῖον we should change it to ἐνούντα or ἐνέντα.

P. 86, 2. ὁ δὲ πατὴρ ἡμῶν ἦκιστα περὶ τὰς ἰσηγορίας αὐτοσχέδιος ὢν. προσηγορίας Herwerden; ἱστορίας Bernardakis; but I have little doubt that we should write εὐρησιλογίας. The corruption belongs to the large class which arise from mistakes in writing from dictation.

P. 95, 21. ὥσπερ ἐπὶ λειμῶνας οἰκίους καὶ νομάς ὑπὸ φιλολογίας προερχόμενον. Surely προαγομενον.

P. 97, 13. οὕτως αἱ μὲν περὶ τὴν ἐδωδὴν καὶ πόσιν ἡδοναὶ κεκλημέναι ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ταῖς ὀρέξεσιν ἐπόμενα τόπον ἔχουσι, ταῖς δ' ἄλλαις ἀκλήτοις, καὶ σὺν οὐδένι λόγῳ φιληδονίαις ἀπηλλάχθαι <προσῆκει>. So Emperius. The MS. has φιληδονίας ἀπηλλάκται followed by a small lacuna. As Bernardakis points out, a participle is required after σὺν οὐδένι λόγῳ. We should write φιληδούσαις for φιληδονίας.

P. 98, 18. σκόπει δ' ὅτι τοῖς φυομένοις καὶ βλαστάνουσι τὰ μὲν φύλλα σωτηρίας ἕνεκα τοῦ καρποῦ καὶ ὅπως ὑπ' αὐτῶν [τὰ δένδρα] θαλπόμενα καὶ ψυχόμενα μετρίως φέρη τὰς μεταβολὰς γέγονε· τοῦ δ' ἄνθους ὀφελος οὐδὲν ἐπιμένοντος, πλὴν εἰ τι χρωμένοις ἡμῖν ἐπίτερπες ὁσφρέσθαι καὶ ἰδεῖν ἡδὺν παρέχει, θαυμαστὰς μὲν ὁσμάς ἀφίεντα ποικιλίαν δ' ἀμιμήτοις χρώμασι καὶ βαφαῖς ἀνοιγόμενα. There is no difficulty in this sentence if we exclude τὰ δένδρα as an interpolation and take τὰ

φύομενα καὶ βλαστάνοντα as the subject of παρέχει.

P. 101, 8. ἀλλ' ἀοίνω καὶ ἰδαρεῖ τὴν κράσιν οἶνω προσεικός. ἀλλ' ἀοίνω is the Basle edition's emendation of ἀλλανίνω. We should, I think, write ἀλλ' ἀνθίνω. ἀνθος is a particular shade of purple, ἀνθίνα dresses of this shade. If my correction here is right, this passage shows that ἀνθος was the shade of the amethyst. I have no access to Pauly-Wissowa, where I see from a reference that ἀνθίνα are said to be dresses with bright patterns. Is this certain?

P. 107, 18. Read τὰ δ' ὑδρενόμενα <δεχόμενα> αἰετὴν τροφήν.

P. 112, 13. Women are being compared with men. ἔπειτα μέντοι καὶ τὸ σπέρμα μὴ προγεγονέναι τὸ γόνιμον διὰ κατάψυξιν, ἀλλ' ὕλην μόνον καὶ τροφήν παρέχειν τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρρενος. As τῷ (sc. τῷ σπέρματι τῷ) ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρρενος shows, τὸ σπέρμα above is the seed of the female. We must therefore restore ἔπειτα μέντοι <δοκεῖ> καὶ τῷ σπέρματι μὴ προγεγονέναι τὸ γόνιμον.

P. 141, 14. τῶν ποικίλων τὰ ἀπλὰ μᾶλλον εἵπετ' ἐστὶ καὶ εὐπόριστα. Simple dishes are of course more εὐπόριστα than elaborate ones, but this is quite beside the point here, where a doctor recommends them. εἰαπόκριτα 'easily secreted' should, I think, be restored.

P. 147, 10. A correct estimate of the tradition here enables us to restore with some approach to certainty two lines of Empedocles and to recover a lost adjective. The text of Empedocles' lines in Plutarch is

ὥς γλυκὺ μὲν γλυκὺ μάρπτε, πικρὸν δ' ἐπὶ πικρὸν ὄρουσεν,
ὀξύ δ' ἐπ' ὀξύ, δαλερόν δαλεροῦ λαβέτω.

Macrobius (vii. 5) gives the second line thus

ὀξύ δ' ἐπ' ὀξύ ἔβη, θερμὸν δ' ἐποχεύετο θερμῷ

It has in consequence been supposed that Macrobius' version is a variant of the line, and that Plutarch's text should be under-

stood and restored in the same sense. We therefore find δαλερός in L. and S. quoted from this passage with the meaning *hot*. There is of course no √δᾶλ to justify this meaning. It is on the face of it more probable that Macrobius' ἔβη, θερμὸν δ' ἐποχεύετο θερμῷ is the end of another line wrongly appended to ὀξύ δ' ἐπ' ὀξύ. Assuming this to be so, we have to restore Plutarch's text without any attempt to adapt it to Macrobius'. Here on the one hand the tradition does not point to δαλερόν δαλεροῦ, but to αλερόν δ' αλεροῦ, since a δὲ is necessary; on the other hand the three flavours sweet, bitter, sour, should be followed by the fourth, salt. An adjective ἀλερός is a quite legitimately formed equivalent of ἀλμυρός ἀλυκός. The line therefore ended αλερόν δ' αλεροῦ λάβετ' . . The complete line was probably

ὀξύ δ' ἐπ' ὀξύ <σπεῦ> δ', αλερόν δ' αλεροῦ λάβετ' ὥκα.

To return to Macrobius' ἔβη θερμὸν δ' ἐποχεύετο θερμῷ there is no difficulty in finding the real beginning of the line. The complete line was

ψυχρὸν ψυχρὸν> ἔβη, θερμὸν δ' ἐποχεύετο θερμῷ

The meaning of βαίνειν 'to cover' is exactly equivalent to that of ἐποχεύεσθαι. This parallelism is lost in the mongrel ὀξύ δ' ἐπ' ὀξύ ἔβη, as, although ἐπιβαίνειν ἐπὶ is used in the sense of βαίνειν, neither ἐπιβαίνειν with accusative nor βαίνειν ἐπὶ bears this meaning. The words which follow the quotation in Plutarch's text may be restored thus

εἴ> δὲ καὶ ἄλλον <ότουουν> ἐπὶ <τὸ> πρόσφορον μεμηνότος.

The MS. has μένοντος. μεμηνότος is not too strong a word, in view of the language in which Empedocles described the rut of the elements.

W. R. PATON.

Calymnos

CRITICAL NOTES ON PAUSANIAS.

READING Pausanias rapidly with the help of Mr. Frazer (critical notes at end of vol. 1) and, as far as they go, of Messrs Hitzig and Blümner (vol. 1: Books 1-3), I have found a few alterations of the text occurring

to me. These often consist in the insertion of a word. Readers of Pausanias know how often something has been lost from his sentences. When it goes beyond a word or two, the loss is irreparable, even though we

may be sure of the general sense. There are so many ways of saying the simplest thing.

1, 2, 2. εἰσι δὲ τάφοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν γνωριμώτατοι Μενάνδρου τοῦ Διοπέθους καὶ μνήμα Εὐριπίδου κενόν.

Has not another name been lost after M. τοῦ Δ.?

1, 2, 3. ἡ συγγενέσθαι βασιλεύειν ἠτύχησαν ἢ ἐκόντες ὠλιγόρησαν.

An infinitive may be possible after these verbs, but the construction requires illustration. It would be easy to insert τοῦ after the first ἢ. So in 5, 27, 12 ἐγγύτατα ἀφίκετο ἀπατήσθαι με may be right, but τοῦ would easily be lost after το.

In the words that immediately follow here πλάνης seems badly to want some such addition as ὢν or γερόμενος.

1, 2, 5. ἔστι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ Πουλυτίωνος οἰκία, καθ' ἣν παρὰ τὴν Ἑλευσίνι δρᾶσαι τελετὴν Ἀθηναίων φασὶν οὐ τοὺς ἀφανεστάτους.

This refers to the alleged profanation by Alcibiades and others (Andocides 1. 12). For the corrupt Greek παραδρᾶσαι and παραποιῆσαι have been conjectured. But passages in Plutarch and Lucian suggest another line of emendation altogether: Plut. *Alcib.* 19 μυστηρίων παρ' οἷνον ἀπομιμήσεις: Luc. *Amores* 24 (also of Alcibiades) τὴν ἐν Ἑλευσίνι τελετὴν αἱ παρὰ πόντον ἐξωρχοῦντο φωναί. One or other of these words may have been omitted here after παρά; or (as Dr. Postgate suggests to me) μέθην, its last letters having been lost before τήν. Παρὰ <τὸν νόμον> would also make good sense.

1, 6, 2. αὐτὸς μάλιστα κ.τ.λ. and then αὐτὸς δέ seems impossible. For the first αὐτὸς read οὗτος, or as Dr. Postgate writes 'perhaps μόνος, as αὐτός and μόνος are liable to be confused; cf. Cobet *Variae Lectiones*, p. 111.'

1, 8, 4. After κείται words have probably been lost, specifying the sculptor.

1, 9, 1. Hitzig's parallels for the construction offer no real analogy and support. The clause beginning with πρότερον δέ seems to have lost its verb.

1, 21, 1. λέγεται δὲ Σοφοκλέους τελευτήσαντος ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ σφῶν τὸν ἡγούμενον ἰδεῖν ἐπιστάντα οἱ Διόνυσον κελεύειν...τὴν Σειρήνα τὴν νέαν τιμᾶν.

1, 30, 3. Σωκράτης τῇ προτέρᾳ νυκτὶ ἢ Πλάτων ἐμελλεν ἔσσεσθαι (read γενήσεσθαι) οἱ μαθητὴς ἐσπτήναι οἱ κύκνον ἐς τὸν κόλπον εἶδεν ὄνειρον.

Are we to suppose that ἰδεῖν and εἶδεν ὄνειρον in these two passages govern an accusative and infinitive and mean *dreamt*?

Such a use would be, I think, unparalleled. To the best of my knowledge it is not to be found in the *Oneirocritica* of Artemidorus, where we might certainly look for it, if it was an established phrase. P. has ὄψιν ἰδεῖν and ὄνειρατος ὄψιν ἰδεῖν in other places (4, 19, 5 and 26, 3: 7, 5, 7: 10, 2, 6), but his phrases do not take an accusative and infinitive. What we should expect is δόξαι and ἔδοξε *dreamt*, as for instance in these two very parallel passages from P.'s contemporary Lucian: 19, 9 ἔδοξεν ὄναρ ἐπιστάντα οἱ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον κελεύειν κ.τ.λ.: 24, 2 ἔδοξεν...ἐπιστάντα οἱ τὸν Σκύθην κελεύειν κ.τ.λ. In the very curious records of the temple at Epidaurus (see now Dittenberger's *Sylloge*, ed. 2. 802, 803), we find over and over again the set phrase that some one ὄψιν or ἐνύπνιον εἶδε· ἔδοκει (ἔδοξε) κ.τ.λ., though ἔδοκει there is not always literally *he dreamt*. The same or some very similar phrase is found in literature, e.g. Xen. *An.* 3, 1, 11 εἶδεν ὄναρ· ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ κ.τ.λ.: *Cyr.* 8, 7, 2: Plut. *Mor.* 109 c ἰδεῖν ὄψιν τοιάνδε· δόξαι κ.τ.λ.

I should therefore be inclined to conjecture that P. wrote something like the following: in 21, 1 ἰδεῖν <ὄψιν· ἔδοξεν> ἐπιστάντα, and in 30, 3 μαθητὴς εἶδεν ὄνειρον· <ἔδοξεν> ἐσπτήναι. It is curious that the passages should both have been corrupted, but surely there can be no doubt of the fact, though restoration can only be conjectural.

In 30, 4 we have another εἶδε which is somewhat puzzling. P. mentions the tower of Timon the misanthrope, πύργος Τίμωνος, ὃς μόνος εἶδε μηδένα τρόπον εὐδαίμονα εἶναι γενέσθαι πλὴν τοὺς ἄλλους φεύγοντα ἀνθρώπους. Two reasons show εἶδε to be wrong: (1) that the infinitive after it is extremely questionable, (2) that it would commit Pausanias to agreeing with Timon, for Timon could not see a thing to be so unless it was so. Coraes' εἶπε would be worth adopting, if we could only deal with μόνος, which is as out of place as εἶδε. Is μόνος by chance a repetition of the final syllable of Τίμωνος?

1, 21, 2. τὴν δὲ εἰκόνα τὴν Αἰσχύλου πολλῶ τε ὕστερον τῆς τελευτῆς δοκῶ ποιηθῆναι καὶ τῆς γραφῆς ἢ τὸ ἔργον ἔχει τὸ Μαραθῶνι.

Several MSS. omit καί. It is not at all clear that the words are wrong, τε being perhaps misplaced, as it not unfrequently is, and as indeed is almost regular when it occurs with a preposition. But if we adopt τι (or τινί) for τε, as is proposed, we might perhaps go on and read κατὰ τὴν γραφήν, understanding that the statue was taken

from the painting. The confusion of *καί* and *κατά* is familiar.

1, 23, 10. I take this opportunity of withdrawing my conjecture, published in this *Review* 12, 28, that *παρέχεσθαι* should be changed to *παρέρχεσθαι*. The use of *φρόνημα παρέχεσθαι* in 25, 2 and 3, 4, 8, cited by Hitzig, shows me to have been wrong. Hitzig follows Herwerden in reading *ἐκπλεύσεσθαι* for *ἐκπλεύσαι*, to which I suggested the addition of *ἄν*. Possibly P. used the late future *ἐκπλεύσειν*.

1, 24, 3. εἴτε αὐτοῖς ὄμβρου δεῖσαν Ἀθηναίους, εἴτε καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἑλλήσι συμβὰς αὐχμός. The nominative absolute cannot stand. Add or insert *ἔτυχε* to go with *συμβὰς*. Cf. note on 9, 1 above.

1, 24, 4. γράφω here, and in 29, 12, should, I think, be *γράφω*. Cf. Hitzig's note on 2, 2, 7.

1, 29, 3. Ἀθηναίους στασιάζοντας διαλλαγῆναι καὶ συνθεμένους ἔπεισε μέναι.

Herwerden conjectured *μὴ μνησικακῆσαι* for *μέναι*. Read rather *ἔπεισεν ἐμμέναι*, which is the technical word. Ἀθ. Πολ. 40, 2 and Xen. *Hell.* 2, 4, 43 (of the same events) have τοῖς ὅρκους ἐμμένειν.

1, 30, 3. τῇ προτέρᾳ νυκτὶ ἣ Πλάτων ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι οἱ μαθηταί.

Read *ἔμελλε γενήσεσθαι*. An *ἔσεσθαι* in the line before may have led to the mistake. In Plat. *Rep.* 502 D I have pointed out that *ἐνέσονται* is a blunder for *ἐγγενήσονται*.

1, 39, 4. Ἐλευσῖνι δὲ ἦδη πλησιόχωρος καλουμένη Μεγαρίς. Surely <ῆ> καλουμένη: and make the same addition in 3, 12, 10, <ῆ> καλουμένη Σκιάς. κ and η often get confused through resemblance. In 5, 16, 1 read <ῆ> ἐργασία μὲν δὴ ἐστὶ τοῦ ναοῦ Δωρίου, as in 5, 10, 2 τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ Δωρίου μὲν ἐστὶν ἡ ἐργασία.

2, 2, 1. οὐδεμία ἐστὶν οἱ μηχανὴ διαφυγεῖν τοῦ ὅρκου.

It seems equally unsatisfactory to acquiesce in the genitive (Hitzig) and to omit it (Frazer after Herwerden). Probably P. wrote something like <τὴν δίκην> διαφυγεῖν τοῦ ὅρκου.

2, 28, 2. στρεπτῆς καλουμένης ἐλαίας φυτόν, αἰτίου τοῦ περιαγαγόντος τῇ χειρὶ Ἡρακλέους ἐς τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα. Some MSS. αἰτίων.

For αἰτίου or αἰτίων read *ἄξιον*, comparing the present volume of this *Review*, p. 101.

2, 31, 1. τοὺς ἀποθανόντας seems to need the addition of τοὺς ἄλλους or πάντας. The following clause I suppose to have run something like this: τό τε ἐκ λαβυρίνθου δυσεξόδου <σωθῆναι> καὶ λαβόντα ἀποδρᾶναι κ.τ.λ.

2, 32, 1. ἐκείνον <τὸν> Ἰππόλυτον.

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2, 34, 1. λουσαμένῳ δὲ ἐνταῦθα (in the hot spring) οὔτε ὕδωρ ἐστὶν ἐγγύς ψυχρόν οὔτε ἐμπροσθέντα ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀκινδύνως νήχεσθαι.

Perhaps an infinitive, such as *εὐρεῖν*, should be inserted to govern *ὑδωρ*.

3, 4, 3. τὴν τε ἐν Δελφοῖς πρόμαντιν ὠνήσατο, Λακεδαιμονίους αὐτὴν ὅποσα αὐτὸς ἐδίδασκεν ἐς Δημάρατον χρῆσαι.

χρῆσαι alone might have stood after ὠνήσατο, but hardly with αὐτὴν added; cf. below on 6, 5, 2. I imagine *πείσας* has been accidentally lost; cf. 5 below, τῶν δώρων ἕνεκα ὧν τῇ προμάντιδι ἔδωκεν, ἀναπείσας ἐψεύσμένα εἰπεῖν ἐς Δημάρατον.

4, 3, 2. τοῖς δὲ καὶ μάλιστα ἦδη βεβαιοῦνται τὸν ἐς τοὺς Ἀσκληπιάδας λόγον, ἀποφαίνοντες ἐν Γερηνίᾳ Μαχάονος μνήμα καὶ τὸ ἐν Φαραῖς τῶν Μαχάονος παίδων ἱερόν.

Read οἷς for τοῖς with Bekker, but also change ἀποφαίνοντες to ἀποφαίνονται, comparing Herod. 5, 45, 4 ταῦτα μὲν νῦν ἐκάτεροι αὐτῶν μαρτύρια ἀποφαίνονται. The words then meant 'And—what is their strongest evidence—they adduce, etc.' In Plat. *Rep.* 430 E ἀποφαίνοντες should probably be restored for φαίνονται.

4, 11, 8. Perhaps *πείθομαι* δὲ εἶναι καὶ αὐτοὺς (for αὐτὸς) πολλοὺς is all we want. The dead are contrasted with the wounded (τοῖς τραύμασιν ἀπαγορευόντες).

4, 12, 2. πέμπουσιν ἄνδρας ἑκατὸν ἐς Ἰθώμην συνιδόντας ἃ μηχανῶνται.

Read *συνειδόμενοι*.

ib. 4. ἔτεσι δὲ ὕστερον οὐ πολλοῖς ἀναφαίνειν τε καὶ ἐς τέλος ἄξειν ἔμελλεν ὁ θεός.

Read *ἀναφανεῖν* and in 6 (ἐκφαίνουσα ἦκω καὶ παύσουσα) ἐκφανοῦσα.

4, 30, 5. Ἀρτεμιν δὲ γυναικῶν ὥδισιν εἶναι φοβερᾶν.

Read <ἐν> γυναικῶν (probably written ἐγ γυναικῶν). So Eur. *Bacch.* 842 μὴ γελᾶν stands in the MS. for μὴ ἐγγελᾶν.

5, 12, 7. τὸ δὲ ἤλεκτρον τοῦτο...σπανίζεται τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ τίμιον πολλῶν ἐστὶν ἕνεκα.

Ἀνθρώπῳ here is absurd. Remembering that ἀνθρώπος was often represented in MSS. by the compendium *ἄν*ος and therefore liable to be confused with ἄλλος (cf. Cobet, *N.L.* p. 612), we may perhaps read ἄλλως or ἄλλων. Besides rarity many other things made amber valuable.

5, 21, 5. Εὐπώλου δὲ ὕστερόν φασιν Ἀθηναῖον Κάλλιππον ἀθλήσαντα πένταθλον ἐξωνήσασθαι τοὺς ἀνταγωνιζομένους χρήμασι.

Read *ἀθλήσοντα*, which in better Greek would have been ἀθλήσειν μέλλοντα.

5, 24, 10. ποιεῖσθαι, following on ὁμνύουσι, should be *ποιήσεσθαι*, and we actually have *φυλάξειν* joined with it.

6, 2, 5. τὸν δὲ εἶναι παῖδα Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ λαβεῖν μαντικὴν φησιν ἐν ᾄσματι Πίνδαρος.

Something like παρ' αὐτοῦ is wanted with λαβεῖν. cf. 9, 5, 8 Ἑρμῇ βωμόν φησιν δρῦσασθαι πρῶτον Ἀμφίονα καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ λύραν παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν.

6, 5, 2. γυνάικας δὲ ἀπέδοτο καὶ παῖδας, μισθὸν εἶναι τὰ χρήματα τοῖς ξένοις. The accusative and infinitive can hardly stand thus; cf. above on 3, 4, 3. Probably some word like βουλόμενος has been lost, or we might insert a ὥς or ὥστε before μισθόν.

6, 10, 2. καὶ οἱ τὸν πατέρα βοῆσαι φασιν, ὦ παῖ, τὴν ἀπ' ἀρότρου. ἐπ' for ἀπ' would seem to me more likely.

6, 13, 4. Mr. Frazer changes ὥς to ὅπως ἄν. Should we not be content with ὥς <ἄν>?

6, 18, 3. Change ἐργάσασθαι to ἐργάσεσθαι after ἡπείλει and again after κατομόσασθαι; cf. on 5, 24, 10 above.

7, 8, 7. Keeping ἐν λόγοις with the MSS., I should conjecture that an οὐκ has been lost before those words. Philip's defeat was real and decisive, not nominal and ambiguous. A similar antithesis is found in the ἔργῳ μὲν and κατὰ μέντοι τοῦ λόγου τὸ εὐπρεπές at the beginning of the two §§.

The μὲν after δέησιν in 8 cannot be right. Μὴν would however be strange, and μέντοι very awkward after the μέντοι just preceding.

7, 9, 5. λαμβάνειν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἀχαϊκῷ ὑπέχειν τὰς κρίσεις.

The sense needed appears to be that, whether as prosecutors or defendants, they should appear in a federal court. If so, ἐν τῷ Ἀχαϊκῷ must be put earlier or later so as to go with both verbs.

7, 11, 7. ὑπισχνούνται δέκα ταλάντων δόσιν, ἣν σφισιν ἐπικουρεῖν Ἀχαιοὺς ἄγῃ.

Greek idiom requires ἀγάγῃ, *si adduxerit*, if he *shall have* brought. Ἦν ἄγῃ would mean (1) if he is bringing, or (2) if from time to time he brings.

7, 13, 8. καὶ Μεναλκίδα μὲν τέλος τοιοῦτον ἐγένετο, ἄρξαντι ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ νῷ τότε μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων..., πρότερον δὲ ἔτι τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνους...

For the corrupt ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ νῷ various conjectures have been made, of which Madvig's ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐνιαυτῷ or ἐντὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ seem the best. Now in 8, 16, 5, where it is said of a door made to shut of itself that οὐ πολλὴ ἐπισχούσα συνεκλείσθη δι' ὀλίγης, Prof. J. E. B. Mayor has very happily emended δι' ὀλίγης to δι' ἑαυτῆς (EAYTHΣ-ΟΛΙΓΗΣ). This suggests the reverse corruption here, ἐντὸς ὀλίγου (χρόνου).

7, 14, 6. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἄνδρα βασιλέα καὶ πόλιν

ἀνελεῖσθαι πόλεμον καὶ μὴ εὖτυχῆσαι συνέβη φθόνῳ μᾶλλον ἐκ του δαιμόνων ἢ τοῖς πολέμιασσι ποιεῖ τὸ ἔγκλημα.

It is surprising that ποιεῖται has been preferred by good scholars to ποιεῖ τό. Ποιεῖσθαι ἔγκλημα, as in 1, 13, 2 etc. (compared by Hitzig), = ἐγκαλεῖν and can only be used of persons. Ποιεῖν (τὸ) ἔγκλημα means to *cause*, *entail* etc. a reproach and is alone applicable to things and events, as here.

With συνέβη we miss some limiting word like ποτέ. P. cannot mean that failure in war is usually due to divine φθόνος.

7, 15, 1. ἐποιεῖτο σπουδὴν εἰ ἐπιθεῖς αὐτὸς πέρασ τῷ πολέμῳ φανῇ πρὶν ἢ Μόμμιον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀφίχθαι.

φθάνῃ has been conjectured and adopted, but we require the optative φθαίῃ. The deliberative subjunctive is wholly out of place. φθαίῃ lost its θ and was then corrected to φανῇ.

7, 16, 4. In ὅμοιος ἢ καὶ omit ἢ or change it to ὥς.

7, 24, 10. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ὄχετῶν κατασκευῆς, καὶ εἰ δὴ τι ἄλλο ἐπὶ ὕδατος ῥοαῖς προάγει, καὶ τούτων συνδέει τὰ διεσπασμένα.

I have thought of προεάγῃ, but it does not quite convince me. Cf. 13 κατεάγῃ. In the latter place I take ἰδέα to be an accidental repetition of the word ἰδέαν, and it therefore stands for something quite different.

8, 1, 1. τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἐπίδανρον καὶ Τροίξηνά τε καὶ Ἑρμῖονα ὁ κόλπος ἐστὶν ὁ Ἀργολικὸς καὶ ὅσα ἐπιθαλάσσια τῆς Ἀργείας.

Either καὶ ὅσα... Ἀργείας should follow Ἑρμῖονα, as Mr. Frazer's translation suggests, or we might perhaps read καὶ <ἐς> ὅσα.

8, 1, 4. εἰκὸς δὲ ἔχει τοῦ λόγου κ.τ.λ. Read <τὸ> εἰκὸς δέ. Cf. 12, 7 τοῦ λόγου τὸ εἰκὸς.

8, 7, 3. ὥς μὴδὲ τοῦτο τὸ ὕδωρ ἄργον εἶναι ἀλλὰ σφισι λουτρὰ θερμά.

Something like παρέχειν is wanted with the last words.

8, 8, 3. πρόνοιαν περὶ αὐτῶν τοιάνδε ἐλάβανον.

Probably ὑπόνοιαν. Πρόνοιαν is quite inappropriate.

8, 24, 11. Change δέ after γεγόνاسι to γάρ.

8, 36, 5. ὃν οὐδὲ τυραννούντα ἀφείλοντο μὴ ἐπονομάσαι χρηστόν.

The active ἐπονομάσαι can hardly be right. Read ἐπωνομάσθαι. Cf. 52, 2 ἀφείλετο εὐεργέτην μὴ ὀνομασθῆναι.

8, 37, 5. Add φάμενος, or an equivalent, to govern θεοὺς κ.τ.λ.

8, 42, 7. ἐς πλέον τιμῆς ἢ τὰ πρότερα τὴν Δήμητρα ἦγον.

Probably ἐν πλεονί τιμῆς. Cf. Frazer's critical note to 36, 6. Ἄγειν τινα ἐν τιμῇ is the regular phrase and very frequent in Pausanias (Hitzig *ad* 1, 5, 3), whereas ἐς τιμὴν ἄγειν would give ἄγειν quite another sense.

9, 1, 4. ἐκ μὲν γε τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς πόλεμος πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους οὐκ ἦν συνεστηκώς, ἀλλ' οἱ Πλαταιεῖς μένιν τὴν εἰρήνην σφίσις ἔφασαν.... Θηβαῖοι δὲ κ.τ.λ.

The δέ with Θηβαῖοι does not answer to the μὲν after ἐκ, but to a μὲν which we should insert after Πλαταιεῖς and which fell out through μένιν following it. With ἀλλὰ we require the two parallel clauses, giving the views of the two parties. The antithesis to ἐκ μὲν γε τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς is, as often, not expressed.

9, 21, 1. παρέχονται δὲ ιδεάν οἱ Τρίτωνες.

Add τοιάνδε, not with Frazer τοιαύτην. Cf. 8, 8, 3 quoted above and innumerable other places.

9, 23, 5. For διαπεσόντας we should read ἐκπεσόντας.

10, 4, 2. ὑπῆει τε ἐπὼν ἡμᾶς τῶν Ὀμήρου μνήμη.

ὑπῆει may be right, but ἐπῆει would be much more usual. Cf. on 22, 4.

10, 12, 2. Δῆλοι δὲ καὶ ὕμνον μέμνηνται τῆς γυναικὸς ἐς Ἀπόλλωνα.

An accusative with μινμήσκομαι *speak of* is so rare that probably we should read ὕμνον.

10, 22, 4. ταῖς δὲ οὐ μετὰ πολὺν ὑπάρξειν τὸ χρεὼν ἔμελλεν ἢ τε ἀσιτία καὶ ἡ ἀϋπνία.

ὑπάρξειν should be ἐπάξειν. Cf. 2, 6

Ὀνομάρχῳ μὲν τέλος τοῦ βίου τοιοῦτον ἐπήγαγεν ὁ δαίμων.

10, 24, 3. ταῦτα ἡμεῖς ἀκούσαντές τε καὶ ἐπιλεξάμενοι τοὺς χρησμούς, ἰδίᾳ δὲ οὐδένα αὐτῶν λόγον οὔτε ἐς πατρίδα οὔτε περὶ ἡλικίας Ὀμήρου γράφομεν.

Read οὐδένα αὐτῶν λόγον <ποιούμενοι> and probably γράφομεν. Cf. above on 1, 24, 4.

10, 26, 9. παιδίον δὲ ἐν τοῖς γόνασιν ἔχει γυμνόν· τὸ δὲ τὴν χεῖρα ὑπὸ δείματος ἐπίπροσθε τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν πεποιήται.

Insert ἔχον before πεποιήται. So 29, 1 πεποιήται πλέκων. At present τὴν χεῖρα has no construction.

10, 28, 1. καὶ ἀμυδρὰ οὕτω δὴ τι τὰ εἶδη τῶν ἰχθύων, σκιὰς μᾶλλον ἢ ἰχθὺς εἰκάζεις.

This construction (which is curiously like our own, 'so faint, you would think them shadows') need not be doubted. Pausanias' master, Herodotus, has (3, 12, 2) αἱ δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων (κεφαλαί) οὕτω δὴ τι ἰσχυραί, μόγις ἂν λίθῳ παίσας διαρρήξιας. Cf. also *ib.* 108, 3.

10, 30, 2. Insert καὶ before Ἀφροδίτῃν μὲν. Perhaps the *vai* of διδαχθῆναι caused the loss. Again in 8 καὶ seems to have been lost before the final letters of κατεαγότες, unless it is a δέ that has been omitted.

10, 36, 7. ὁ μὲν μέλας αὐτοῦ χωρεῖται ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἔστι γαστρὶ καθάρσιον.

In default of evidence for χωρεῖσθαι we may read χωρεῖ τε.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

ON PROPERTIUS II. 28, 11.

As Dr. Waldstein in referring to the above place in the present issue of the *Classical Review* cites my opinion, it will be convenient if I set it forth with the proper qualifications in some detail.

The subject of the poem is an illness of Cynthia which Propertius suggests is the punishment of some impiety. I quote the passage from line 5.

sed non tam ardoris culpa est neque crimina
caeli

quam totiens sanctos non habuisse deos.
hoc perdit miser, hoc perdidit ante
puellas :

quicquid iurarunt, uentus et unda rapit.
num sibi collatam doluit Venus ipsa ?
peraeque
prae se formosis inuidiosa dea est.

an contempta tibi Iunonis templa Pelasgae
Palladis aut oculos ausa negare bonos ?
semper, formosae, non nostis parcere
uerbis :

hoc tibi lingua nocens, hoc tibi forma
dedit.

Here, it will be observed, Propertius puts forward two reasons for the visitation. The first is that Cynthia's illness is a punishment for perjury in breaking her sworn vows to him, the second is that her boastings have roused the ire of one of the trio of jealous goddesses—Venus, Juno and Minerva.

The slightest attention to the general sense of this part of the passage reveals a considerable difficulty. Cynthia's offence consists in her want of prudent reticence : in

personal charms she is not inferior to those goddesses, she knows it and she has said so. The words which I have italicised in the text above show this indisputably. What then of *templa Pelasgae*? Why, in the case of one of the jealous three, is Cynthia's sin the disparagement of a temple, and that in Greece? For answers to these questions we search the annotations of the editors and the excerptors of Propertius; but search in vain.

In the critical annotation on the place in my text of Propertius I suggested that *templa* was a corruption due to *con-tempta*; and in a letter to me the late Prof. Palmer approved of the suggestion. Corruptions of this kind are no rare phenomena in manuscripts, nor absent from the manuscripts of Propertius. It will be enough to quote some words I wrote formerly with a different object in view. On 21 of this very poem 'Andromede monstris fuerat deuota marinis' (so N, O *monstrata*) I said 'when, as here, one word swallows another, the victim's features disappear entirely as in I. ii 26 'cultā' 'una' Φ iv. 19 'nec te' 'post hec' N (*sed corr.*), II i. 19 'Ossan' 'Titan' Φ and many other places.'¹ If we are to emend *templa*, by far the best proposal is Waardenburg's *membra*. This would contain a reference to the white arms of Juno (λευκώλενος Ἥρη): *membra* might well be understood in this sense; see Lucan. 7. 623 (with my note).

The adoption then of Waardenburg's correction would offer a satisfactory solution of the difficulty: but it remains to ask if it is a necessary one. Literally understood, as we have seen, the line is irrelevant:

¹ *Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society*, vol. 4, pt. 1, p. 72.

can it be made relevant by being regarded as allusive? If the questionable words are, so to speak, only the label of a legend with which Propertius presumes his readers are acquainted and from which they can themselves draw the relevant fact, that would be a defence of them, and, as far as I can see, the only defence possible. The insanity which attacked the daughters of Proetus, King of Argos, and of which they were healed by the seer Melampus, was attributed by some writers (e.g. Hesiod and Diodorus, 4, 68) to the anger of Dionysus, but by others to that of Hera. The latter account is given by Bacchylides 11, 43-46 (quoted by Dr. Waldstein below), in Apollodorus 2, 2, 2 αἰται δὲ, ὡς ἐτελειώθησαν, ἐμάνησαν ὡς μὲν Ἡσιόδος φησιν, ὅτι τὰς Διονύσου τελετὰς οὐ κατεδέχοντο, ὡς δὲ Ἀκουσίλαος, λέγει διότι τὸ τῆς Ἡρας ξόανον ἐξηυτέλισαν, the scholiast on *Od.* 15, 225 διὰ τὴν ἐκ νεότητος ἀνεπιλογιστίαν ἁμαρτουσῶν εἰς Ἥραν παραγεγόμεναι γὰρ εἰς τὸν τῆς θεοῦ νεὸν ἔσκωπτον αὐτὸν λέγουσαι πλουσιώτερον μᾶλλον εἶναι τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς οἶκον, Servius on Virg. *Ecl.* 6, 48 'Proetides...hae, se cum praetulissent Iunoni in pulchritudine uel ut quidam uolunt, cum essent antistites, ausae sunt uesti eius aurum detractum in usum suum conuertere, illa irata hunc furorem earum immisit mentibus ut putantes se uaccas in saltus abirent et plerumque mugirent et timerent aratra.' To this legend, and to that version of it which is mentioned first by Servius and may well have been that of Acusilaus ('they depreciated the image,' that would be the personal charms of the goddess), I think it is clear that both in *Pelasgae* and the preceding word Propertius makes learned allusion; and this whether the reading of the manuscripts be altered or be retained.

J. P. POSTGATE.

NOTE.

SOME MODERN ILLUSTRATIONS OF CLASSICAL AUTHORS.

Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, xiii. 33, 4 (dcccxxvi in Messrs. Tyrrell and Purser's *Correspondence of Cicero*, vol. v.). Venit enim ad me, et quidem id temporis, ut retinendus esset, sed ego ita egi, ut non scinderem paenulam.

The Dublin editors have not compared Swift's 'Polite Conversation,' Dialogue I. (*Miscellanies*, vol. ix. ed. 4, 1751 p. 157). Colonel. Madam, I must needs go home for half-an-hour . . . Miss. Nay, let him go; I promise him, we won't tear his Cloaths to hold him.

Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, i. 3, 1 (viii in Professor Tyrrell's edition, vol. i.).

Auiam tuam scito desiderio tui mortuam esse et simul, quod uerita sit ne Latinae in officio non manerent et in montem Albanum hostias non adducerent.

If the decease of Atticus' grandmother be an agreeable fiction of his distant correspondent (a view, however, rejected by Prof. Tyrrell), then Cicero's vein of jesting in this passage is remarkably like Charles Lamb's (to Thomas Manning, No. clvii. in vol. i. of Canon Ainger's edition of the *Letters*). 'Mary has been dead and buried many years; she decided to be buried in the silk gown you sent her...

Coleridge is just dead, having lived just long enough to close the eyes of Wordsworth.'

Tacitus, *Ab Excessu Divi Augusti*, i. 81.—Plerumque eos tantum apud se profectos disseruit, quorum nomina consulibus edidisset; posse et alios profiteri, si gratiae aut meritis confiderent: speciosa uerbis, &c.

'Tiberius' practice of producing a list of candidates for the consulship whose number, apparently, coincided with the number of the vacancies to be filled, finds a curious parallel in the life of Richard Bentley. 'At the election of scholars in 1717, he allowed none to be candidates but those previously selected by himself, and their number was exactly the same as

that of the vacancies. Some young men, not included in his list, having entered their names, he immediately ordered them to be erased. This continued afterwards his ordinary practice; and that there might be no doubt of the Master being the sole fountain of honour and reward, he gave the candidates this subject for a theme, *Nemo ex hoc numero mihi non dotatus abibit*' (*Monk's Life of R. B.*, 2nd ed., ii. 28).

Nominally, at any rate, the Roman Princes would appear to have been less autocratic in this matter than the Master of Trinity.

EDWARD BENSLEY.

*The University,
Adelaide, S. Australia.*

REPORTS.

OXFORD PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

A meeting was held in Oriel College on Friday, November 2.

Mr. H. RICHARDS read a note 'On two Greek adverbs of place, *αὐτοῦ* and *ἐθού*.'

Mr. GREENIDGE read a paper on 'A limitation of the Tribune in the reign of Nero' (*Tac. Ann.* xiii. 28, 2). He interpreted the tribune's interference with the consuls and praetors, which was checked in 56 A.D., as a perfectly legitimate and regular employment of the veto of civil jurisdiction against the praetor's right of deciding on the competence of the courts of the municipal towns, and perhaps against the consul's right of *Komam revocatio*. He pointed out modes in which the veto, when pronounced against the magistrate in Rome, might have the effect of forcing cases to be tried at Rome when the municipal courts were

really competent ('vocare ex Italia cum quibus lege agi posset,' and he attempted to show that, if even the veto operated outside the walls, this was a necessary result of the fiction which, after the Social War, made all municipal jurisdiction a part of urban jurisdiction. He thought that the *vocare* of this passage had no reference whatever to the tribunician right of *vocatio*, but was merely a positive result of the negative effect of the intercession.

The meeting announced for Nov. 9 was unavoidably postponed.

A meeting was held in Oriel College on Friday, November 16.

PROFESSOR ROBINSON ELLIS read 'Suggestions on disputed passages of Apuleius *de Magia* and *Florida*

CAMBRIDGE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

At the meeting of October 18, part of a paper by Dr. C. TAYLOR, Master of St. John's College, on the sources of *Hermæ Pastor* was read. The thesis of the paper was that one of the main sources is *Cebetis Tabula*.

Dr. WALDSTEIN read a paper on Bacchylides xi. 43 sqq.

At the meeting of November 1, Mr. J. A. NAIRN read a paper of notes on various passages of Pindar.

REVIEWS.

SANDYS' DEMOSTHENES.

Demosthenes: On the Peace, Second Philippic, On the Chersonese and Third Philippic. With Introduction and Critical and Explanatory Notes by J. E. SANDYS, Litt.D. Macmillan & Co. 1900. 5s.

WITH this volume Dr. Sandys brings to an end his admirable edition of the Philippic orations of Demosthenes. The book has all the merits which we expect to find in the

work of Dr. Sandys: it is accurate, careful and complete; no difficulty has been passed over and no source of information has been neglected. To all students of Demosthenes the edition will be indispensable.—In Part VI. of the Introduction Dr. Sandys discusses the textual criticism of the Third Philippic. He accepts the theory of a double redaction. 'In four passages we have clear indications of a double redaction and there

appears to be no sufficient reason to doubt that, in each case, both of the alternative versions are due to Demosthenes himself.' If this is right does it not follow that in some of our classical authors there may not have been such a thing as an original text, without a *varietas lectionum*? In his text Dr. Sandys takes up a very cautious attitude toward the alterations which Blass admits in order to avoid three short syllables in succession. Thus in *De Pace* l. 41 he will not alter *πώποτε* into *πω*, and in *Phil.* 2 l. 97 he retains *ὁ τι συνοίσει κούῃ*, yet in *De Chers.* l. 18 he cannot resist *ἐπισχοῦσιν* for *ἐπιωχοῦσι* (before *περί*). In *De Pace* § 7 οὐδὲ εἰς γὰρ ἦν he observes that οὐδὲ εἰς 'must surely mean *ne unus quidem*, rather than *non unus*, which is οὐχ εἰς.' Yet 'not even one' implies, as Dr. Sandys says, that no one supported the speaker, and we get the result that no one supported Neoptolemus because he was so favourably received, and no one (apparently) supported his opponent (Demosthenes) because he was so ill received—which is strange. In *Phil.* 2 § 12 οὐδ' ἐν μὲν τῇ μεσογείᾳ τιν' ἀρχὴν εὗρηκεν τῆς δ' ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ τῶν ἐμπορίων ἀφέστηκεν, Dr. Sandys supplies γῆς or χώρας with ἀφέστηκεν as preferable to ἀρχῆς. But is not ἀρχῆς almost unavoidable? The word need not be translated 'empire': 'his

sphere of rule on the sea coast, and his ports' is what is meant. In *Phil.* 2, § 15 συλλαμβάνειν is read after Weil for the συμβάλλειν of the MSS. 'The Act. συμβάλλειν in the sense of making a contract is naturally (?) confined to ten passages in the *Private* speeches, in only three of which is it followed by the dative and in none by ἐπὶ.' If the word is supported by ten passages, and the construction with the dative by three, is not that enough? Why should the word be confined to the *Private* Speeches? In *ib.* § 17 Dr. Sandys reads ἡγείται after Cobet for ἡγέιτο. I take the connection to be: Philip is secure in the rest of his acquisitions, because he has retained towns belonging to Athens, and he retained them because he thought that he would not be safe in Macedonia, if he gave up Amphipolis and Potidaea. Philip's action falls in the past, and was due to what he thought in the past.....These are very slight matters and opinions may differ about them. About the excellence of this edition there can be no difference of opinion. Is it possible that Dr. Sandys may be induced to edit the three 'Hellenic' speeches, of which an English edition is certainly a desideratum?—On p. 208 there is a misprint, *Clabrias* for *Chabrias*.

EVELYN ABBOTT.

USENER AND RADERMACHER'S *DIONYSII HALICARNASEI OPUSCULA*.

Dionysii Halicarnasei Opuscula. Ediderunt HERMANNUS USENER et LUDOVICUS RADERMACHER. Volumen prius. Lipsiae: in aedibus B.G. Teubneri. MDCCCXCIX. pp. xliv, 438. M. 6.

THIS important book forms the fifth volume of the Teubner edition of the remains of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. The four volumes which precede it contain the *Antiquitates Romanae*. As Dionysius himself clearly held the *History of Early Rome* to be his *opus magnum*, it seems natural enough to apply the term *Opuscula* to his essays in literary criticism. They are certainly shorter in length, and their author no doubt regarded them as inferior in value. But authors are not always the best judges of the comparative merits of their own works; and like many historians since his day, Dionysius is seen to less advantage in the great effort of his life than in his minor

writings. Historical criticism is not his strong point, and in this respect he suffers sorely by comparison with his Greek predecessors Thucydides and Polybius, whose true greatness he seems hardly to have realised. In literary criticism, on the other hand, he excels. Writing chiefly as a teacher of composition, and paying special attention to the practical needs of students of oratory, he has left behind him a valuable collection of *Scripta Rhetorica et Critica*. Such is the older and traditional title; and we may hope that it will not fall entirely into disuse. It has distinct advantages of its own. It invites no comparison between works of a different order. It is also sufficiently descriptive, since the writings in question are either rhetorical or critical, if they do not (as is often the case) partake of both characters at once.

The contents of the present volume are arranged as follows by its editors, whose

guiding principle is rather the connection of the subject-matter than any conjectural order of publication: *De Antiquis Oratoribus Lib. I,—de Lysia, de Isocrate, de Isaeo. De Antiquis Oratoribus Lib. II,—de Demosthene, Reliquiae. Ep. ad Ammaeum I. Tabulae Criticae Orationum Atticarum, Reliquiae Librorum Perditorum, Libellus de Dinarcho. De Thucydide. Ep. ad Ammaeum II.* Roughly it may be said that all the writings thus enumerated have reference either to the Attic orators or to Thucydides. For a second volume there remain the *de Compositione Verborum*, the *Epistula ad Pompeium*, the fragments of the *de Imitatione*, and the *Ars Rhetorica*. This last work, the attribution of any part of which to Dionysius is doubtful, was edited separately by Usener in 1895 under the title *Dionysii Halicarnasei quae fertur Ars Rhetorica*. Previously (in 1889) Usener had brought out *Dionysii Halicarnassensis Librorum de Imitatione Reliquiae Epistulaeque Criticae Duae*, one of the two epistles thus denoted being the *ad Pompeium*. Consequently he has already edited, in a separate form, the entire contents of the second volume with the exception of the *de Compositione Verborum*. And although he has not actually edited the *de Compositione*, yet he has given, in an *Index Scholarum* published as far back as 1878, an admirable classification of the manuscripts of this treatise and an equally admirable specimen of a reconstructed text. These facts warrant the expectation that the second volume will follow the first at no long interval.

As editors of the critical works of Dionysius, Usener and Radermacher stand in a distinguished line of succession. Among their predecessors may be mentioned R. Stephanus, H. Stephanus, F. Sylburg, William Holwell, and J. J. Reiske. The editions of Sylburg (1586) and of Reiske (1774–1777) are especially notable as containing the whole extant work, historical and critical, of Dionysius. Reiske's six volumes have, indeed, continued to be the standard edition till our own time, when they have been superseded in the historical portions by the texts of Kiessling and of Jacoby, and in the critical portions by that of Usener and Radermacher. Even now the supersession is only partial, for the student will often turn gladly to the *Variorum* notes which Reiske embodied, with valuable supplements of his own, in his great work.

Modern scholars can but rejoice in the happy association, to which we owe the

present edition, of Hermann Usener with his pupil at Bonn, Ludwig Radermacher, a writer already favourably known by those studies in the history of Ancient Rhetoric which he has contributed to recent volumes of the *Rhenish Museum*. In the severity of a critical edition like this it is not often that personal details emerge; but we cannot hear without sympathy of an 'affection of the eyes' from which the older scholar has suffered, or read without interest of his younger colleague's failure (in one slight particular) to keep fully abreast of the current literature of his subject while working at his task in the 'lonely Eifel country.' Their co-operation must have been an advantage to both workers; and it is a pleasure to think that the tradition of profound classical learning is still unbroken in the great university beside the Rhine. In 1858 Usener was presenting at Bonn his *Analecta Theophrastea* as a graduate's dissertation; and five years later Friedrich Blass of the same university wrote on a similar occasion his *De Dionysii Halicarnassensis Scriptis Rhetoricis*. The work done by Radermacher may be regarded as an indication that these two eminent Hellenists are influencing the younger generation of students as effectively as Otto Jahn once influenced them.

In the volume before us Usener is more immediately responsible for the two *Letters to Ammaeus* and for the treatise *On Thucydides*; the text of the remaining portions has been edited by Radermacher. Usener himself writes the *Praefatio*, which deals with the history of the text. The general conclusion reached, after a discussion which is as masterly as it is minute, may be briefly stated. For the *Second Letter to Ammaeus* the Paris manuscript 1741 (tenth or eleventh century) is the sole independent authority.¹ The *de Dinarcho* depends entirely on the Florence manuscript lix. 15 (twelfth century). The remaining works included in this volume fall, from the textual point of view, into two sets. For the *First Letter to Ammaeus*, the *Letter to Pompeius*, and the essays on *Thucydides* and *Demosthenes*, there are available a number of manuscripts (none of them older than the fifteenth century) which Usener regards as derived from a rhetorical *Sylloge* (S) now lost. For the

¹ This manuscript contains not only the *Second Letter to Ammaeus*, but also the *Ars Rhetorica*, the *de Compositione*, and the fragments of the *de Imitatione*. The text of the *de Compositione* has been recently discussed, with special reference to Oxford MSS., by Mr. A. B. Poynton in the *Journal of Philology*, Vol. xxvii. No. 53.

de *Lysia*, de *Isocrate*, de *Isaë*, and for the *Proem*, there is a double tradition, that of S and that of the Florence manuscript above-mentioned. Thus does Usener, on the basis of collations made by himself or supplied by his friends, sift and determine the claims of the numerous manuscripts of Dionysius. To none except those above indicated will he allow any independent value.

It need hardly be said that their prolonged study of the Greek rhetoricians often leads the present editors to retain a manuscript reading with which others might be tempted to tamper. Though not the men to shrink from conjectural emendation when they are face to face with a manifest corruption, they show that wise conservatism which is the offspring of knowledge. They know the later rhetorical language too well to fall into those traps which await the unwary. The nature of these pitfalls may be illustrated by an example. Not long ago it was stated, with a confidence which would have been admirable had it been justified, that *Δημοσθένης ἐπέστραπται* (in the sense 'Demosthenes is condensed, displays concentrated force') is impossible Greek. But when, in editing Dionysius, Usener and Radermacher find *συνέστραπται* similarly used of Lysias, they never dream of altering it. To do so would be no less gratuitous than to quarrel with Quintilian because he speaks of the Attic writers as 'pressi et integri,' or with Cicero because he describes Thucydides as 'verbis aptus et pressus.' Almost as soon might Jane Austen be taxed (on the ground that Ben Jonson applies the word 'concise' not to persons but to style) with bad English when, in *Mansfield Park*, she says 'if he wrote to his father, no wonder he was concise.' Points so obvious as this Usener and Radermacher, naturally, do not feel called upon to establish. But in cases of more serious difficulty they have a convenient habit of giving a reference, or a morsel of exegesis, by way of defending the manuscript reading. Instances may be found on pages 179, 189, 245, 329, 342, 373 of this edition. May we anticipate that, when Usener comes to re-edit the fragments of the *de Imitatione*, he will find himself able now to retain at least one reading, which he challenged eleven years ago? In the second book of the *de Imitatione*, P 1741 gives: ἐξήλωσεν δὲ πρῶτον μὲν τὸ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἀτελῆ καταλιπεῖν τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνῳ τρόπον. The reference is to Philistus as an imitator of Thucydides; and although Usener prints ἀπλήν, ἀτελῆ is abundantly confirmed by *de Thucydide*, c. 16 and by *ad Pomp.* c. 3.

Admirers of Thucydides were supposed by the later Greek critics to have been so carried away by fanaticism that they left their histories unfinished in imitation of him!

As among the best of the conjectural emendations in this volume may be mentioned *πελαγίσῃ* for *πολλάκις* in *de Isaë* c. 14, ἐφ' οἷς εἰσιν ἀνθρώπῳ σπουδαῖ for ἐφοῖς ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ[α]ς τοῦ δέ in *de Isocrate* c. 6, τοτὲ δὲ τὸ μελιχρόν for τό τε λεγόμενον ἐχθρόν in *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 48. Less happy conjectures are: δάν in *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 11, Πλάτων as a vocative c. 24 *ibid.* (if so here, why not also in c. 31 fin. ?), θηρώσης *de Thucyd.* c. 1 (cp. *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 40). In *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 13 Radermacher seems right in preferring ἀναγκαῖον to Usener's Ἀνακόν. In c. 5 of the same essay it might have been well to write μῆγμα rather than μῖγμα, since the manuscript reading δέγμα in *ad Pomp.* c. 2 (where this passage is reproduced) seems to point to the original presence of the diphthong.

The manuscripts of Dionysius not infrequently themselves indicate lacunae in the text. To the number of these gaps the editors, beginning with Sylburg, have steadily added; and Usener and Radermacher have certainly furnished their full quota. The words 'hiatum indicavi' or 'lacunam indicavi' are a constantly recurring feature of their critical notes. Occasionally supplements are attempted. Some of these are successful, as in *de Thucyd.* c. 25 τὸ γὰρ 'συγγενές' καὶ τὸ 'ἐταιρικόν' <ἀντὶ τῆς συγγενείας καὶ τῆς ἐταιρίας> κείμενον μετέιληπται, where a scholium gives the hint for the insertion made; others unnecessary, as in *de Dinarcho* c. 1 ὥστε τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους αὐτοῦ λόγους σχεδὸν πᾶσι ὑπὲρ ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ὄντας <πάντας> ἀγνοεῖν συμβέβηκε, where πάντας is inserted by Radermacher *de suo*.

In typography and general appearance the volume is worthy of the house of Teubner. The misprints are rare. I have noticed few beyond the wrong letter on the top of p. 7, the wrong numeral on the fifth line of p. xxxii., and the doubtful punctuation on p. 362 l. 20 and on p. 235 l. 1. For certain small inconsistencies in the method of dividing Greek words at the end of lines, and in the writing of modern proper names, the dual editorship is probably responsible rather than the printers.

Of the work as a whole it may be said that it needed doing and that it has been done well. More than a century has passed

since the appearance of Reiske's edition, and the non-existence of a modern critical edition of the rhetorical writings has been often lamented in Germany and elsewhere. The want has now been excellently supplied; and not only the reader of Dionysius, but also the editors of Thucydides and of other writers whom Dionysius quotes can feel full confidence that they have before them a trustworthy and discriminating report of the best manuscript evidence available. The task accomplished has entailed great

labour and demanded the most varied erudition. The second volume will, it is to be hoped, reach the same high standard; and the two volumes together will then form an invaluable aid to the study of Dionysius as a literary critic, and should do much to make him better known in this his true sphere. It is as an interpreter of Greek literature, rather than as an authority on Roman history, that he shines and illuminates.

W. RHYNS ROBERTS.

TWO BOOKS ON LUCIAN.

- (1) *Lucian, The Syrian Satirist.* By Lieut.-Col. H. W. L. HIME. Pp. 95. (Longmans, 1900). 7s. 6d.
- (2) *Lucianus.* Recognovit JULIUS SOMMERBRODT. Pp. 306. Vol. III. (Berlin, Weidmann, 1899). 6 Marks.

COLONEL HIME's short study of Lucian's life, works, and character is marked by a certain freshness of interest and by a genuine effort to come close to his subject and see clearly the man and the author. But the result is marred by narrowness of previous study and by a readiness to be contented with insufficient evidence. Apart from children's books and stories, probably no author can be quite understood and appreciated without a full study of his age and surroundings; and Lucian's relations to religion and philosophy can neither be grasped nor explained to a reader without a much fuller survey of the position of sects and of the vitality of pagan religion than that which Col. Hime has undertaken. He gives no clear general view of the schools of philosophy among which Lucian found himself, and his account of the religious circumstances of the day is contained in little more than two pages. It is hard that a man whose mind has ripened upon other subjects cannot turn to a classic author and make a study of him *per se* without more ado, but so it is.

All the learning in the world, too, would be of little use if it were not supported by judgment and by an eye for the value of evidence. We should have an interesting, and even a valuable acquisition, if it could be proved that Lucian showed some familiarity with Latin literature. But, though not impossible, this is *a priori* not to be expected of a Greek writer; and Col. Hime's

attempt to prove it is the thinnest of argumentation. Lucian no doubt knew some Latin (*De Electro* 2, *Pro Lapsu* 13); it would be odd if he did not, after living and travelling in Rome and Gaul: but Col. Hime adduces no real proof that any phrase in his writings is to be traced back to a Latin author. The argument is that, as Lucian used the *Odyssey* at least six times without acknowledgment, so he may have used Latin writers. So he *may*: but this carries us forward but little, unless we find undoubted cases of borrowing: and, if we had them, we could do without the parallel use of the *Odyssey*. But Col. Hime gives us no undoubted cases: the phrases cited are either too vague and general (as the resemblance between Lucretius 4,365-75 and Lucian's *Nekyom.* 11) or may well go back to a common original (as likenesses between the *Nekyom.* and *Aeneid VI.*). Lucian describes how Europa on the bull τῇ ἐρέρα [χείρ] ἡνεμομένον τὸν πέπλον ξυνείχευ *Dial. Mar.* 15). But if it is argued that this detail must be drawn from Ovid's *laeva retinebat amictus* (*F. V.* 305), why not push on further and recognise an earlier source for both in Greek sculpture?

A more promising field for study about Lucian is the suggestion that his was an "Asiatic mind" (p. 39).

"The wild luxuriance and lavish prodigality of imagery displayed in the 'Vere Historiæ' [sic], and elsewhere, are not astonishing when we reflect that Lucian was a Western Asiatic. He possessed the imagination of his race, the imagination of Firdousi's 'Shahnama,' and the 'Arabian Nights,' of Job, Isaiah and the Apocalypse" (p. 89).

The line of thought thus suggested is, however, pushed no further.

But it is the humorous and satirical side of Lucian's genius with which Col. Hime is least in sympathy. He does not always know when his author is joking (see e.g. p. 49); he talks of his fine and sombre manner (p. 18); and he rates him low as a moralist because he was a satirical moralist. With Sommerbrodt, he blames Lucian for being "entirely negative in his morality, thinks he saw but two faces of life—the foolish and the vicious, and holds that he makes a mean figure in morals (pp. 35–9). Lucian "was quite incapable of building up. His mind was shallow, his views were narrow, and his ideals were low." All this is an exaggeration and an embittering of Croiset's temperate judgment, that Lucian's disposition was not a philosophic one and that there is a certain lack of tenderness or sentiment in his writings. Lucian "had not the heart to be a moralist," says Col. Hime. "He shows no generosity." This kind of sweeping ethical verdict makes by no means disagreeable reading for the many, but the real student is constantly checked by wondering how far it is true. Such things should only be said of the great figures of literature after a very full and independent study of the writings and a complete exposition of the relevant passages, and Col. Hime's book is not large enough or thorough enough for that. Moreover, it was not Lucian's *métier* to be constructive or tender—at any rate in his writings. The man who has made his name by witty criticism will not publish his constructive views, if he has them, for his victims to wittily criticise in return, and he will be the very last to let any one suspect where is his soft place. Lucian's profound respect for Demonax and his appeal on behalf of the young people in *Philops.* 37 suffice, however, as indications that there was a fund of earnestness hidden somewhere in his nature. But, asks Col. Hime, "would an amiable man have bitten the mountebank Alexander?" Lucian bit the mountebank much more effectively on paper, and we never heard it seriously urged that the attack was undeserved. Iconoclasm has generally used rough methods.

P. 15 puts into the mouth of Lucian what is really said by Hermotimus (*Hermot.* 13) and thereby creates what would be a datum of great importance for Lucian's history. The passages translated from the Greek, though easy and spirited, are not always free from oversights.

On the whole, we think Col. Hime must let Lucian teach him to be more sceptical. He must learn to distrust first appearances and scanty evidence, and take up Lucian's motto *Νῆφε καὶ μέμνησ' ἀπιστεῖν* (*Hermot.* 47).

The other volume before us is of a very different character,—a text, merely accompanied by some materials for a judgment on the editor's choice of readings. I have not had the opportunity of using Herr Sommerbrodt's earlier volumes (published in parts at intervals from 1886) and have not seen any general statement of his principles or methods. (I gather, however, "*codicum Lucianeorum condicionem eam esse, ut familiæ non satis certo discerni possint.*") Vol. III (which is not the last) contains nineteen of Lucian's writings; *Codicum lectiones* (pp. 195–261); and *Adnotatio critica* pp. 264–306). I have not worked all through these materials, but from consulting them and Sommerbrodt's text while reading Lucian, I come to the general conclusion that he is most convincing where his own readings aim at improving the sense or bringing a sentence true to fact; less so, where the Greek is merely mended. Lucian's Greek, full of what another editor calls "monstrous *μή*" and other solecisms, can probably not be corrected much further without ceasing to be Lucian's Greek. Section 24 of the *Rhetorum Præceptor*, which I understood Herr Sommerbrodt to have formerly condemned as interpolated, is here restored silently to its place, but the *Adnotatio* makes no remark on it. In § 9 the old-fashioned form of the sculptors' name, *Ἥγησιον* still stands in the text side by side with *Κριτίον*, and I do not understand the very abbreviated *Adnotatio* on the passage.

FRANKLIN T. RICHARDS.

THE AMHERST PAPYRI.

The Amherst Papyri, being an Account of the Greek Papyri in the Collection of Lord Amherst of Hackney. By BERNARD P. GRENFELL and ARTHUR S. HUNT. Part I. Frowde, Quaritch. 1900. 15s. net.

THE volume here noticed contains the theological texts which have been recently obtained in Egypt for Lord Amherst by that distinguished pair of Oxford scholars, who discovered at Oxyrhynchus the so-called *Logia* and the new poem of Sappho. The collection includes some Biblical fragments, of which perhaps the most interesting is No. VIII., a vellum leaf of the fifth or sixth century containing the greater part of Acts ii 11-22. In ii 13^a the fragment lends some support to a singular reading of Codex Bezae ([δὲ] ἐχλεύαζον λέγοντες), but does not agree with it in its insertion of οἱ two words lower down.

More noteworthy is No. III., a letter from Rome about the end of the third century to some Christians living in the Arsinoite nome. This writing 'is amongst the earliest Christian documents from Egypt that have come down to us, but its condition is unfortunately so mutilated that little connected sense is attainable' (p. 28). It is clear however that the letter is about a sum of money which was to be paid in Alexandria to the writers. On the back 'in a hand of the time of Constantine' (pp. 30, 31) is written the first five verses of Genesis, first according to the lxx. and then according to the version of Aquila. This singular extract (? from the Hexapla) is very well reproduced in facsimile in the frontispiece and carefully edited by Mr. Grenfell and Mr. Hunt, but the ancient scholar who noted it down does not seem to have aimed at a high standard of accuracy, omitting among other things the last half of verse 2. In the main, of course, the fragment agrees with what Field has edited: it begins ἐν κεφαλῇ ἐκτίσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.

No. II. in this volume is also a curiosity, being a Christian Acrostic Hymn, the lines or stanzas of which begin with the twenty-four letters of the alphabet in succession, three times repeated in each stanza. Chapter iii. of the Book of Lamentations is constructed on the same plan, but the resemblance is probably accidental. The metre is rather elastic, the chief rule being that the penultimate syllable of each short line is

accented and generally short. The acrostic form combined with marked inattention to quantity reminds one of the work of a contemporary author, the Latin rhythmist Commodian. The papyrus itself is assigned to the first half of the fourth century.

But the editors have rightly given the place of honour in this first volume of the Amherst Papyri to fourteen papyrus leaves containing a considerable fragment of the *Ascension of Isaiah* in a Greek uncial hand of the fifth or sixth century. This apocryphal work has hitherto only been known from the Ethiopic version and some Latin fragments. It consists of two main parts: chapters i.-v. relate the martyrdom of Isaiah in the days of wicked king Manasseh, while chapters vi.-xi. tell of Isaiah's Vision, when he was taken up alive into the Seventh Heaven and prophetically witnessed the Descent of Christ through the seven heavens to the earth to be born of the Virgin Mary at Bethlehem. This second part is frankly Christian, but the story of the martyrdom appears to be based on Jewish legend, though here also is a very interesting section (iii 13 - v 1) which may be described as a kind of Christian Apocalypse. The piece preserved in the newly recovered papyrus extends from ii 4 to iv 4, thus containing the first part of the Christian section. Indeed the primary interest of the papyrus lies in the fact that it tells the story of the Resurrection of Christ in a form not unlike that found in the Akhmim fragment of the Gospel of Peter. The resemblance was traceable in the Ethiopic version, but now that we have the original Greek it is decidedly closer.

The translation given by the editors of this important passage runs as follows (p. 16): 'For Beliar was in great wrath against Isaiah on account of the vision and on account of the revelation, because he revealed Samael, and because through him was manifested the coming forth of the Beloved from the Seventh Heaven, and His transformation, and His descent, and the form into which He must be transformed, even the likeness of man, and the persecution wherewith He shall be persecuted, and the punishments wherewith the children of Israel must punish Him, and the teaching of the twelve, and that He must be crucified with men who are evildoers, and that He shall be buried in a tomb, and that the twelve with Him shall

be offended by Him, and the guarding of the guards of the tomb, and that the descent of the angel of the church which is in heaven . . . in the last days, and that [Gabriel] the angel of the Holy Spirit and Michael the chief of the holy angels on the third day shall open His tomb, and the Beloved seated on their shoulders shall come forth, and that He shall send out His disciples and they shall teach all nations and every tongue unto the resurrection of the Beloved, and those shall be saved who have believed on His cross and on His ascent into the Seventh Heaven whence He also came.' The coming out of Christ from the tomb supported by angels (*Ev. Pet.* § 10) and His immediate ascent thither whence He was sent (*Ev. Pet.* § 13) are features especially characteristic of the Gospel of Peter.

A new critical edition of the Ethiopic version of the *Ascension of Isaiah* by Prof. R. H. Charles is announced, in which the origins and affinities of the book will no doubt be thoroughly examined. Meanwhile a few remarks on some of the proper names in the earlier sections may not be out of place. The work of transcribing the papyrus fragment, it is almost needless to say, has been admirably done by Mr. Grenfell and Mr. Hunt. Only in two places is there any reasonable doubt about their readings.¹ But the forms of the proper names which they have preferred in their accented text and in their notes are here and there open to some question. These names present some interesting features, as being untouched by the Hexaplaric influences which have smoothed down many of the names in codices of the Greek Bible: it is also important to find the right forms, because it will be much easier to illustrate these traditions from other sources, if we can get at the names apart from accidental corruptions affecting only MSS. of the *Ascension*.

In the first place τῆς Βάαλ in ii 12 is not 'a curious error' (p. 18), but the correct form, as may be seen from Rom. xi 4, and from the Prophets (e.g. Zeph. i 4). The meaning of the feminine may be seen from 3 Kings xviii. 19, 25, where the 'prophets of Baal' are called in the lxx. 'prophets τῆς αἰσχύνης,' and no doubt *bosheth* ('shame') used often to be substituted for 'Baal' in reading the Hebrew, in accordance with Hosea ii 17.

¹ Col. III. line 4, read Χ Ἀ Ν Ἀ Μ Ι (a mistake of the scribe himself for *Xavav*); in Col. V. line 1, is it not possible to read Ε Ν Τ Η Χ Ω Ρ Α Ι (*i.e.* ἐν τῇ χόρῳ) at the end of the line? It is true that iota adscript does not occur elsewhere in the fragment.

Another instance where the reading of the MS. of the *Ascension* needs no correction is Σαδδουκ in ii 5. This spelling, familiar to us from the name 'Sadducee,' is to be preferred to the Σαδωκ of the Massoretic text and later Jewish tradition. Σαδδουκ is not common in the leading codices of the lxx, which in this as in other matters must have been influenced by Origen's epoch-making correction of the text, but it is still found in 2 Ezr. vii 2 (= 1 Ezr. viii 2), and in the Lucianic recension *passim*.

There are also some corrections to be made connected with the name of the father of the false prophet Bechira or Belicheiar. Bechira is the villain of the piece. Zedekiah son of Chenaanah, the opponent of Michaiah in the days of Ahab, was his uncle (ii 12), but when Samaria was captured by the King of Assyria, he, being a youth, escaped and settled in Jerusalem, where he lived a reputable life during Hezekiah's reign (iii 2, 3).² When Manasseh came to the throne Bechira threw off the mask, and denounced Isaiah as one who made himself greater than Moses, for Isaiah had dared to say that he had seen the Lord and lived (iii 6-9). Now in ii 15 we read of a certain Jallerjas, a teacher of false prophets. The MS. adds καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ Βεχείρ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Σεδεκίου. Here ὁ Βεχείρ is intrusive. It is found also in the Ethiopic, but the ancient Latin fragment in the Vatican (which seems to give by far the purest text of the *Ascension*) omits the name, whereby the clause quoted above refers to Jallerjas. This is very well pointed out by the editors (p. 19). Jallerjas is therefore brother of Zedekiah son of Chenaanah, and so is probably meant for the father of Bechira. That he is the father and not another uncle we shall see later. But a name like Jallerjas is absurd, though it is attested by the Ethiopic. The Latin calls him Gamarias, which is a good Biblical name, in Hebrew *Gemariah*. A Gemariah is mentioned in Jeremiah xxxvi 12 in company with a certain Zedekiah son of Hananiah: this collocation of names may have suggested 'Gamarias' to the author of the *Ascension*. It is easy to see how Ἰ Ἀ Λ Ἀ Π Ι Ἀ C may have arisen from Γ Ἀ Μ Α Π Ι Ἀ C, in fact, it is not certain that the first letter should not be read Γ.

Further on (in iii 3) there is a corrupted sentence, again best preserved in the Latin. It says that when Bechira fled to Jerusalem,

² The chronology is worthy of the author of the second Targum to Esther.

non ambulabat in [uia] Samariae patris sui. Here again the point of the confusion lies in the proper name, for by reading *G* for *S* we get the genitive of Gamarias. The Greek text at this point is confused and unintelligible.

A somewhat similar confusion occurs in ii 16, where the false prophets are said to have stirred up Ahaziah βασιλεα Γομόρρων to kill Michaiah. This is understood to mean 'King of Gomorrah.' The editors of the *Ascension* say (p. 19): 'That the King of Israel should be called the King of Gomorrah is probably due to the influence of iii 10 (*cf.* Isaiah i 10), where Isaiah is accused by Belchira of having called Jerusalem Sodom, and the rulers of Judah and Israel the people of Gomorrah,' and I see that this explanation is accepted by Schürer (*Theol. Litztg.* for 1900, p. 604). But as Mr. Grenfell and Mr. Hunt themselves point out, the genitive of Gomorrah in

Greek is Γομόρρας, which actually occurs in the *Ascension* (vii 25). Is it not therefore better to read C for Γ and consider the doubling of the P as a scribal error? We then get COMOPΩN, the more accurate name of the town of Samaria (2 Chron. xiii 4; *cf.* 3 Kings xvi 24), a word which I suspect also underlies CEMMΩ.. in *Ascen.* ii 13. But if this be so the corruption was earlier than the Vatican fragment, which is said to have *Gomorrae* in ii 16.

Where the author of the *Ascension* got the name of 'Belchira' (or 'Belicheiar,' or 'Bechira') is uncertain. The scribes seem to confuse the word with Beliar 'the angel of lawlessness who ruleth this world.' This at least explains the spelling ΒΕΛΙΧΕΙΔΑΡ in ii 12. Possibly the name was invented by the author of the *Ascension*.

F. C. BURKITT.

BURY'S HISTORY OF GREECE.

A History of Greece to the Death of Alexander the Great. By J. B. BURY. Macmillan, 1900. Pp. 883. 8s. 6d.

PROFESSOR BURY's new History of Greece is a serious attempt to combine two objects which are commonly kept apart, the compilation of a school Text Book, and the presentation to the world in general of the personal impressions of a specialist. 'So far as History is concerned' he says in his Preface 'I venture to hold the opinion that those books which are capable of enlisting the interest of mature readers are best also for informing younger students.' It is no light task that is thus undertaken, but it is justified by success. A single volume of 883 pages cannot enter into all the arguments for and against conflicting theories, and we do not look for the fulness of a Grote or a Busolt. None the less the 'Notes and References' at the end of the book, giving primary and secondary authorities, and suggesting justification for most of the newer views propounded in the body of the work, will make it of real value to advanced students, as representing the judgment of a distinguished specialist. The educated public will also find in it a fair and accurate statement of the advance made in Greek History by the work of the last two

decades. Yet in spite of this, the book is primarily just what it was intended to be, an admirable School Text-book. We have not here that most misleading of productions, the book which sails under the cover of a School Series, but is in reality as far removed from the beginner as the professedly learned Octavo. In their laudable desire to give us of their best, more than one of Messrs Macmillan's recent editors have sinned in this direction, and while as Scholars we are duly grateful for the low price at which we obtain magna opera of erudition, we have an uneasy feeling as Teachers that we are only enabled to do so at the expense of our pupils. Professor Bury is true to the traditions of Graves and Page. He does not think it necessary to tell us all he knows, and is superior to the temptations of ἐπιδειξις. Whether he is dealing with the latest combinations of Wilamowitz-Möllendorff—who, it is interesting to note, is almost as completely the W-M to him that he is to Mr. G. G. A. Murray—or whether he is touching ground on which he is himself our boldest researcher, we find the same sense of proportion, the same self-control in presentation. For one of his own most ingenious theories for instance, that on the shield episode of Marathon, he refers his readers back to the

Classical Review without giving even a hint as to its nature.

If then, from the point of view of the young student, the first chapter of the book is not so satisfactory as the rest, it is not because the point of view is too advanced, or the learning too elaborate. There is a special difficulty with which the writer of a Text-book is confronted when dealing with the beginnings of Greece, and that is the fluid state of our present knowledge of the subject. Excellent as many parts of the chapter are, Professor Bury cannot be said to have altogether surmounted this difficulty. We must be satisfied that his Preface shows that he has at least realised its force. He has doubtless already persuaded his publishers to let no consideration of stereotype hamper him in bringing these pages up to date for each fresh edition. Let us hope that he may see his way to go a step further, and somewhat modify their general plan. 'The ablest investigators' he tells us, "differ widely in their views. Fresh evidence may any hour upset tentative conclusions.' Is it wise then to give us so many of them? Are tentative conclusions worth stating at all except where from the nature of the subject-matter they can only occur at rare intervals? In the Fifth and Fourth Centuries they are delightful. No one can fail to admire the skill with which Professor Bury steers his way through such intricate problems as the amount of the *φóρος*, or the evolution of Temple Architecture on the Akropolis. But they add brightness to the narrative instead of obscuring it, because the main lines of that narrative are firmly fixed on good evidence. From the Persian Wars onwards the clear duty of the handbook is to tell the whole story, and where that is the object aimed at nothing can be more interesting to beginner and advanced student alike than the filling in of gaps, the answering of questions, by suggestion of probable motives or ingenious combination of incidents.

For much, however, of the early History of Greece there is little or no fixed background. The remains of Aegean and Mycenaean civilisation can be fully described, and Professor Bury does describe them admirably. Yet it is clear that a good deal more is required to give an adequate impression of the importance of the period itself, and of the work done on it during the last two decades. The fifty-three pages which he devotes to the correlation of evidence of remains with evidence of tradition, to the Migrations, to the Homeric question,

are not a page too much. Yet the long series of tentative conclusions, of which they mainly consist, given though it confessedly be 'with implied reserve,' cannot justly be called good teaching. Much detail, especially in regard to the migrations, might be altogether omitted, and the space given to making broader and more luminous the few definitely established lines of national development. The relations of the Hellenes to the earlier inhabitants could be stated with less danger of misconstruction if there were frankly no attempt made to 'tell the whole story.' As it is, the 'Greek Conquest' and the 'Hellenizing of Greece' will be confusing to beginners, and further investigations may not improbably show that they overstate racial differences. The old mistake of translating *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι* by 'the Greeks,' will be replaced by a new one, that the secret of Athenian success was that they were not Greeks at all! Surely better to work out at length, such fresh and yet certain points as that hinted on p. 52, that the bloom of Ionian culture and art, first on the Asian coast and then at Athens, was no mysterious leap out of nothing, but a true Renaissance.¹

It is not, however, only the more vigorous use of that art of rejection in which John Richard Green still stands supreme, that this chapter seems to need. For periods where much first class work is being done, but conclusions are still tentative, method is more important than results, the history of opinion more stimulating than the statement of facts.

In the section entitled 'Greek Reconstruction of Early Greek History,' with which he closes this chapter, Professor Bury does in fact partially adopt this mode of treatment. Why not for the Migrations and the Homeric question? It would be a mistake to suppose that the beginner would find it dull or difficult. If the problems chosen were in themselves striking and important, if they were few in number and were neither hurried over nor crowded one after another, if above all they were discussed simply and in untechnical language, to treat them in the manner of Niebuhr's *Lectures on the History of Rome*, Pelham's *Outlines of Roman History*, or G. G. A. Murray's *History of Greek Literature* would arouse the scientific interest and give an impulse to historical study. One would not feel as he is so often tempted to feel when a student presents his impressions of a dog-

¹ See Mr. Hogarth's and Prof. Ernest Gardner's *Essays in 'Authority and Archaeology,'* pp. 244, 273.

matic Text-book, that, from the point of view of mental training, it was of no use for him to learn the right view till he had previously learnt the wrong one.

What for instance will the beginner make of Professor Bury's section on Homer? What does it profit him that 'Achilles was a sea god,' but that 'the capture of Bresa was an actual event'? What impression will it make on him as it comes to him in that first paragraph, without a hint as to who Achilles and Briseis *are*, to the ordinary reader of the Text of Homer? Were ἀπλῶς and ἡμῖν ever less clearly distinguished? What too of the next page, with its eleventh century first Homer, its ninth century second Homer—the real man perhaps with a 'hostage' etymology—and its eighth century Odyssey writer who must not be called Homer because it was not his name! Is this an unfairly gloomy prophecy of the impressions of our beginner? Seriously—what value have these conclusions when not backed by a suggestion of method? What conclusions could be found on which there is less general agreement? Those of us who remember Cauer's temperate estimate of the importance of nature myth theories for the historical problem (*Grundfragen*, p. 218 *seq.*), and are not convinced (pace Mr. J. A. Nairn, *Od.* xi. p. xii) that Eduard Meyer has annihilated Cauer and Rohde on the worship of Ζεὺς Ἀγαμέμνων at Sparta, may doubt whether the Godhead of the Homeric Heroes would be a good example to take even to illustrate method. To see how admirably a similar question can be treated when relatively important and not hurried over, one has only to turn to Professor Bury's own criticism of the Lycurgus story on p. 135. The existence of a personal Homer would on the other hand be an excellent problem to select for treatment. But the moral to be drawn should surely be agnostic, the point of view that of Cauer.¹ The student should be confronted with analogies, not the analogies of other Epics, which can seldom be more than names to him, but the analogies of the Psalms and the Prayer Book, of Faust and Hamlet. He might be shown how much and how little could be proved by what is,

¹ The ability with which Cauer presents his general point of view is so conspicuous that it will be justly always associated with his name. Something like it however was in the air before his *Grundfragen* was published in 1895, and was not a little due in this country to the impression made by certain chapters of Mr. Andrew Lang's *Homer and the Epic*. See Professor Platt's review of Mr. Lang's book, *Class. Rev.* for 1893, pp. 318-322.

I think, a new, but scarcely less instructive parallel, the two versions that Rudyard Kipling 'sang to two cities,' of the ending of 'The Light that Failed.'² What positive dogmatic conclusions of a far-reaching character can the higher criticism claim to have established at the present moment? Cauer's modification of Fick's Aeolic Theory, Busolt's Evolution of Geographical Terms. Is there anything else? All along the line we have won much; but it is not a body of conclusions: it is an attitude of mind. We see hope in culture-strata and double versions, we think in terms of 'early' and 'late' and are impatient of 'genuine' and 'spurious,' we have passed beyond the stage of triumphant reconstruction, and are not ashamed to use the arguments of the Literary Conservatives against the Athetizers who occupied our camp before us. No condition of things could better lend itself to fruitful teaching. Where he is trained die Dinge als werdend anzuschauen the Werdender will not lack interest. Where he is warned that scepticism is only thorough if it be sceptical of itself, there is no risk that his ingenuity will be developed at the expense of his judgement.

To criticize in detail a few sections of a good book is only justifiable if the word good is underlined. It is difficult to speak too highly of this History as a whole. The greatest pains has been taken throughout to maintain the sense of proportion. The Fifth Century does not overshadow the rest, nor Athens all Hellas. The name Peloponnesian War, it is remarked (p. 397) is of itself

² First published *Lippincott's Magazine*, Jan. 1, 1891. Later in the same year Messrs. Macmillan published an edition with the following Preface. 'This is the story of the Light that Failed as it was originally conceived by the Author.' On comparing the two we find (a) that Chapter VIII. in the body of the book was cut out for Lippincott and the connections botched, and (b) that the ending, which, as originally conceived *ἐἰς δυστυχίαν τελευτᾷ*, was rewritten and greatly abridged to suit the 'Family' character of its Public. The Author clearly took no interest in the Family Version, and the botching is badly done and carries no conviction. His method too is arbitrary. Where two incidents of the ending as originally conceived had to be incorporated into the new happy ending, a few alterations were made which do not seem to have been required by the situation. Was it carelessness in copying out his own work that led Mr. Kipling to write 'a formless scarred blur of paint' . . . 'Dick heard the sob and took it for tribute' (*L.* p. 96), for 'a scarred formless muddle of paint' . . . 'Dick heard the little hysterical gulp and took it for tribute' (*M.* p. 259)? Or in spite of the inferior work he put into the happy ending could he not refrain from slight improvements in style? Or is the alteration the other way on and does the Macmillan Text here represent the later work?

enough to show 'how Athenian the sympathies of historians have always been. From the Peloponnesian point of view the conflict would be called the Attic War.' Neither Sparta nor Macedon can complain of its latest historian. But there is one enemy of Athens that needed righting more than either. 'So deep is the pity which the tragic fate of the Athenians excites in us that we almost forget to sympathize with the sons of Syracuse in the joy of their deliverance' (p. 483). One of the best things in the book is the way in which this point is brought out. There is no want of sympathy with Athens. Professor Bury, as every one else, has come under the spell of Thucydides, and in his narrative of the last struggle his style is equal to the occasion. But it was an admirable thought to challenge what has come to be with most of us an almost personal bitterness against Syracuse by ending the section with an account of the coins struck in honour of the Assinarian games. 'Perhaps there is nothing' he says 'which enlists our affections for Syracuse so much as her coins. And it was at this very period that she brought the art of engraving coin dies to perfection. Never in any country, in any age of the world, was the art of engraving on metal practised with such high inspiration and such consummate skill as in Sicily. No holy place in Hellas possessed diviner faces in bronze or marble than the faces which the Sicilian cities circulated on their silver money.' The same attempt to correct false perspective is seen in his attitude to Sicilian history as a whole, which he imposes on us as an integral part of the general narrative, not as a disconnected chapter or two that interrupt 'the real thing.'

The 302 pages, again, devoted to the Fourth Century are full of good work. One would imagine that nothing had cost Professor Bury more labour than to put life and meaning into some of its obscurer periods. The personality of Epaminondas is not, as in some modern histories, the only thing that interests us for fifty years. The careers of Jason and Mausolus, the constitution of the Arcadian League and the site of Megalopolis, the position of Isocrates, the politics of Pre-Demosthenic Athens, are all made real and vivid to us. The Macedonian period itself is discussed fully and with great ability. Professor Bury's general attitude is not unlike that of Mr. Hogarth in his 'Philip and Alexander of Macedon,' but his treatment of Demosthenes is, perhaps, less sympathetic. He is indeed no Bismarckian.

Even of Pericles we read (p. 365) that 'It is pleasant to find that voices were raised against his unscrupulous Imperialism.' But, to the historian of the Graeco-Roman Empire the Hellenizing of the East means so much that he can raise no enthusiasm for the forces that endangered it. His eyes are not on the combatants, but on the results of the combat. 'In these two speeches in the matter of the Crown' he says (p. 824) 'the most interesting passage is where Aeschines reflects on the changes that had recently come to pass over the face of the earth. We want to know what the Greeks thought of these startling changes, what they felt as they saw the fashion of the world passing, and the things which had seemed of great worth and weight in Hellas becoming of small account.' The last chapter is so arranged as to bring out this point dramatically, in true Thucydidean fashion. A brilliant description of Alexander's Empire ends with two pages on the *Politics* of Aristotle. 'We may wonder,' says the concluding paragraph (p. 835), 'whether Aristotle divined before his death that the Hellenic cities were not to have the last word in the history of men. More probably the untimely end of Alexander reassured him that the old fashion of things would soon go on again as before. The brilliant day of the Greek city states had indeed drawn to a close so suddenly that they could not be expected to grasp the fact; and no people that has ever borne the torch of civilization has been willing, or even able, to recognize that the hour of relinquishing sovereignty has come. The Greeks may well be excused if they were reluctant to acquiesce in the vicissitude which forced them to sink into a subordinate place. But it is thus that the austere laws of history reward the meritorious. The republics of Greece had performed an imperishable work; they had shown mankind many things, and, above all, the most precious thing in the world, fearless freedom of thought.'

It only remains to mention one of the most attractive features of this History, the large number of excellent illustrations. Maps and plans we expect to find clearly and carefully drawn. But it is a new departure to adorn a Handbook which is not avowedly artistic with nearly 200 finely executed views of places or reproductions of coins and statues. Professor Bury only professes to consider literature and art, philosophy and religion 'when they directly illustrate or come into some specially inti-

mate connection with political history.' But he interprets this principle so liberally in letterpress and illustrations alike that as a matter of fact there is no side in which the book is stronger. It is not

merely a record of the facts of Greek Politics. It is a stimulating introduction to the study of Greek Life.

RONALD M. BURROWS.

HOLMES'S *CAESAR'S CONQUEST OF GAUL*.

Caesar's Conquest of Gaul, by T. RICE HOLMES. Pp. xlii + 846. Macmillan & Co. 1899. 21/- net.

WHEN readers of the admirable 'History of the Indian Mutiny' heard that Mr. Holmes was publishing a work on Caesar's Conquest of Gaul they were prepared for an eloquent narrative based on a careful study of the existing sources, but it is safe to say that they were not prepared for the remarkably learned and exhaustive work that Mr. Holmes has given them. Some perhaps would scarcely have thought that the subject could admit of a volume of nearly 850 closely printed pages. Yet large as the book is, such is the vigour and vivacity of Mr. Holmes' style that there is not a page in it that is devoid of interest, though in one or two portions a certain amount of excision and compression would be desirable. To review the book properly one would need to be what Mr. Holmes himself is, not merely a scholar but a trained historian and antiquarian, as well as a competent authority on the art of war. All that I can do is to indicate the general plan of the work and to call attention to a few leading points.

Mr. Holmes begins with a disquisition on the busts of Caesar, and expresses a decided preference for the bust in the British Museum, while he admits that there is no evidence for the authenticity of this or of any of the so-called busts of Caesar. He claims however that this bust, whether Caesar's or not, 'represents the strongest personality that has ever lived,' and he proceeds to dilate with considerable ingenuity on the qualities that must have been possessed by the original. I doubt however whether physiognomy is so true an index to character as it is often assumed to be. After some other preliminary matter we come to Part I in nine chapters (the first chapter being introductory) which gives an extremely well written and interesting narrative of the Gallic campaigns, the British episode being scarcely touched as foreign to the

main subject of the work. This portion occupies 162 pages. I venture to suggest that this part might with advantage be published in a separate form; it would make an excellent book for schoolboys to read in connexion with their study of the text, for it would help them more than any book that I know to realise the ever present interest and the military and political significance of this great period of Roman expansion. In accuracy it is superior to Mr. Froude's narrative, and I think it is not inferior to it in style.

The second part comprising the rest of the book deals with questions of Gallic and Gallo-Roman History relating to the foregoing narrative. Of this the first section consisting of about seventy closely printed pages is concerned mainly with the credibility of Caesar's narrative; in this section Mr. Holmes deals with every attack that has been made on Caesar's veracity, and comes to the conclusion which naturally commends itself to unbiased readers of the Gallic war that Caesar had no adequate motive for misrepresenting in any important particular the events of his Gallic campaigns, and that in fact he did not misrepresent them. It is in this section that I think more compression was desirable; Maissiat, Sumpff, Eichheim and others seem to be scarcely worth the space devoted to the refutation of their peculiar views.

The next section of nearly eighty pages treats of the ethnology of Gaul. This is one of the most important parts of the work and can be adequately reviewed only by a professed ethnologist. If the results are somewhat nebulous the fault must lie with the inherent difficulty of the problem and must not be charged to any lack of patient investigation or critical sagacity on the part of the writer. The task is one that, as Mr. Holmes pathetically observes, requires 'such a combination of moral and mental qualities as is hardly to be found in any one man—enthusiasm, indefatigable zest for research, sagacity, judgment, common sense, perfect

clearness of head, lucidity in exposition'; and even if these qualities could be found combined in a single person, some of the ethnological problems would, he adds, still remain insoluble for want of evidence.

The third section is purely geographical and occupies over 180 pages. All the tribal and other local names occurring in the Gallic War are treated alphabetically, some of them at great length. It may suffice to state that Mr. Holmes provisionally identifies the Aduatucorum oppidum with M. Falhize, he discusses fully the site of Alesia and concludes with the statement that 'no sane man who has studied the subject will ever again deny that Alesia stood upon the plateau of M. Auxois,' he identifies Bibracte with Beuvray, Cenabum with Orléans, Gorgobina doubtfully with S. Parize-le-Châtel, Portus Itius with Wissant, Uxellodunum with Puy d'Issolu. I merely add that though I find it hard to abandon my former view that Boulogne is Portus Itius I fully admit the strength of the arguments that Mr. Holmes adduces in favour of Wissant.

Section IV (pp. 515-547) deals with matters 'social, political, and religious,' and contains much that is of interest. I may refer particularly to the articles on the Druids and on the supposed democratic aspirations of the Gauls.

Section V (pp. 548-562) relates to various matters suggested by the introductory narrative of Chapter I, the most important being the chronology of the Celtic invasion of Italy, and the history of the Cimbri and Teutoni. Mr. Holmes agrees with Professor Rhys that the word Cimbri has nothing to do with Cymry, and with respect to their nationality he accepts with the necessary limitations the orthodox view that the Cimbri were a Teutonic race. He discusses the date of Caesar's birth and agrees with most modern scholars in assigning it to the year 102.

Section VI (pp. 563-606) is military. The most important articles in this section are those on that thorny subject the position and advancement of the centurions, on the agger, and on Caesar's order of battle. The first of these contains an exhaustive criticism, marked by Mr. Holmes' usual acuteness and common sense, of the different views that have been proposed. He accepts with some hesitation the theory of Rüstow, the main features of which are that there were ten classes of centurions and that the *primi ordines* were the six centurions of the first cohort. Mr. Holmes also holds the reason-

able view which has the support of Mommsen that a centurion had not in practice, whatever the theory may have been, to pass through every grade in the list of centurions before reaching the highest place. I have only space to refer the reader to his discussion of Caesar's order of battle and of the construction of the agger, both points of much interest.

The next section is the last and the longest occupying 216 pages. It contains a number of articles—about 80—discussing various points relating to the narrative of Caesar's campaigns. This section by itself would almost furnish matter for a commentary on the Gallic war. I may briefly refer to the article on Caesar's bridge over the Rhine as this subject has given rise to an endless controversy in which I have taken a slight part. Mr. Holmes' criticisms are acute, as always, but he fails to arrive at any certain conclusion on many of the points involved. He thinks that downstream 'there were two *sublicae* to each couple of piles, both sloping forward and at the same time obliquely against the stream,—one from right to left, the other from left to right,' and with regard to the arrangement upstream, he is inclined to agree with Napoleon that piles were driven in vertically in a triangular form. It seems to me that Mr. Holmes is very probably right about the lower *sublicae*, but that the V-shaped arrangement of the upper *sublicae* is not borne out by Caesar's language, as I have remarked elsewhere (*Class. Rev.* xiii. 462). I notice that in referring to my remark in my edition of Book iv. that I did not understand what meaning Long attached to the word *aries* Mr. Holmes says that if I had read Schneider's note I should have known what Long meant. I can only say that the words *pro ariete subiectae* undoubtedly denote some kind of prop or buttress, and in Long's diagram there is no prop or buttress of any kind whatever. Schneider's note is quite beside the mark. To say that a triangular arrangement of piles driven into a river has any resemblance in form or action to an *aries* is to my mind absurd.

In the chapter on Caesar's campaign against the Helvetii Mr. Holmes discusses at unnecessary length the phrase *latus apertum*. It is quite certain that *latus apertum* was a recognised phrase for the right flank because the shield was worn on the left arm, but it is equally clear that the phrase might be used in a more general sense of either flank which from the

configuration of the ground or other obvious cause was exposed to attack. At Pharsalus Caesar's right flank was *apertum* from both points of view. In his comments on the particular meaning of the words in B.G. i. 25 I fear that, owing possibly to dulness of perception, I fail to see what distinction Mr. Holmes proposes to draw between the MS. reading *latere aperto* and the conjectural reading *ab latere aperto* (see pp. 617 and 619). To me they both mean exactly the same thing, just as *dextra* and *ab dextra* can be used indiscriminately. Whether the *latus* in this particular case was the right or left flank is a different matter which I do not propose to discuss.

I observe that in two quotations Mr. Holmes has adopted a wrong reading, B.G. vi. 38 (p. 582 line 15) *ad* for *apud*, and B.G. iv. 17 (p. 701 line 16) *certius* for *artius*; in his translation of the latter passage for 'clearly' read 'closely.' On p. 712 I regret to see that he tries to defend the corrupt

reading *erant et virtute et numero pugnando pares nostri* (B.G. v. 34). Most MSS. have *pugnandi* and some editors propose *studio* for *numero*; I suggest that Caesar wrote *et virtute et numero et studio pugnandi* and that the words *et studio* were omitted by accident at an early stage of the MS. tradition.

In concluding this brief and inadequate notice of Mr. Holmes' work I must again express the great admiration that I have for the service that he has rendered to all students of Caesar. His grasp of the whole subject is extraordinarily comprehensive; he has a considerable knowledge of military science and military history; he displays a singular power of acute and penetrating criticism and a strong faculty of common sense, while the lucidity and vigour of his style lend a charm even to the least interesting portions of his subject.

A. G. PESKETT.

CORPUS POETARUM LATINORUM, FASC. III.

Corpus poetarum Latinorum a se aliisque denuo recognitorum et breui lectionum varietate instructorum edidit IOHANNES PERCIVAL POSTGATE. fasc. III. pp. xi, 195. London, G. Bell & Sons, 1900. 9s.

In this third instalment of the new *Corpus Poetarum* there are seven poets with an editor apiece: Grattius revised by Dr Postgate, Manilius by Mr Bechert, Phaedrus by Dr Gow, the *Aetna* by Prof. Ellis, Persius by Mr W. C. Summers, Lucan by Mr Heitland, and Valerius Flaccus by Prof. J. B. Bury. These tasks are as various in difficulty as in length. The MSS of Persius and Lucan may almost be called good; Grattius is mutilated, but otherwise his plight is none of the worst; Manilius' corruptions are multitudinous but not profound; Valerius has nearly as many, and they are very much deeper; in Phaedrus the scribes have behaved as they always did behave when they had the popular iambic given them to copy; and in the *Aetna* they have proved that it is possible to copy hexameters as disgracefully as any one ever copied iambs.

In a few places where the text of Grattius is generally altered Dr Postgate adheres to it, sometimes well, 123 and 231 *neu*, some-

times ill, 390 *amaram*; but he oftener alters it where others retain it. Among these changes the punctuation of 100 (*stat fama*) is good so far as it goes, but not sufficient; the stop at the end of 99 must be abolished to let *dic* govern the accusative *Arcadium . . . senem . . . Dercylon*. The conjecture *stent* for *sic* at 421 would be very probable if Mr H. Schenkl's *duc* were not more probable still. Some of the rest, e.g. 400 *falso*, are neither necessary nor desirable; and others I do not clearly understand. At 291-5 the note says 'interpunximus,' but the punctuation differs in no essential particular from Wernsdorf's: the punctuation of 530-2 on the other hand is new to me, except that I had hit on it myself, but is not assigned to any author. Mr Ellis contributes one good emendation, 304 *fetus*. Several deleterious changes are adopted from Baehrens and others: I take the first, which lies across the threshold of the poem: '*prius omnis in armis | spes fuit, et nuda siluas uirtute mouebant | inconsulti homines*' is altered to *inermis*, Barth's conjecture, which Barth himself withdrew. Primitive men, before Diana taught them *artes*, put all their trust in weapons, *omnis in armis spes*, and roused the woods with prowess unhelped by skill, *nuda uirtute*; '*manuum mira freti*

virtute pedumque | consecrabantur siluestria
saecla ferarum | missilibus saxis et magno
pondere clauae': compare 157 'sive . . .
hostes | nudo Marte premas seu bellum ex
arte ministros.' In process of time, 6, 'te
sociam, ratio, rebus sumpsero gerendis'; and
then their *spes* was no longer *omnis in armis*
and their *virtus* was no longer *nuda*. What
inermis spes would mean I cannot imagine:
it certainly is no counterpart to *nuda virtus*,
such as *inermis vis* might be.

Mr Bechert's Manilius is the most important part of the book, because Manilius has never hitherto possessed a proper apparatus criticus. We had already a full collation of G by Mr P. Thomas, voluminous excerpts from M by Mr Ellis in vols. vii and viii of this *Review*, and a fairly adequate selection of readings from V₂ in Jacob's edition. Mr Bechert has collated G and V₂ anew, and has added L, of which Bentley and Jacob told us too little. Beyond these four chief MSS there is only one whose readings I should care to know, V₁; and Mr Bechert has collated it, but he quotes it only here and there. On the other hand he is for ever citing the Cusanus, which is next-door to useless, and a certain villainous Florentine MS on which the early editions were based. Half the work of Scaliger and Bentley consisted in getting rid of the rubbish derived from this source; and here is Mr Bechert ladling it back again with 'F libri memoria interdum una ueram seruans scripturam,' just like Stoeber and his precious Parisinus. How to employ the various MSS and families of MSS (G L on the one hand and V₂ and now M on the other) the editors of Manilius might learn from Bentley if they would; but no. It is fatiguing to stand erect like him and adjust the balance: they, like King James I, must always be lolling on the neck of a favourite: it is V₂ with Jacob, G with Mr Bechert, Manilius with neither. Mr Bechert, like Jacob, has a relish for the uncouth and is not dismayed by the hideous; he mistakes this taste, as Jacob mistook it, for a peculiar insight into the diction of Manilius; he finds in G, as Jacob found in V₂, a great deal to gratify it; and he uses G, as Jacob used V₂, to corrupt the text. Look for instance at i 358 sqq. And as Jacob neglected G and L Mr Bechert neglects V₂ and M. At iv 756 sq. 'post brachia fratris | ultimus et solidos Ganges et transcolit India Cancer' he says '757 us. nondum sanatus.' It is little likely to be 'sanatus' if you conceal the fact that MV₂ have *host* for *post*: without that clue it would not be easy to restore 'uos Thracia, fratres, | ultimus et

sola uos tranans colit Indica Ganges.' The most notable of all the lections peculiar to M is ignored by Mr Bechert. At ii 471-4 Manilius is saying that certain signs of the zodiac have private sympathies and antipathies which cause exceptions to the general rules: 'idcirco aduersis nonnumquam est gratia signis, | et bellum sociata gerunt; alienaque sede | inter se generant coniunctos omne per aeuum, | utrique sorti pugnant fugiuntque uicissim.' Fayus tries to explain *utrique sorti*, Scaliger more prudently refrains: interpolated MSS botch the metre with an *et*. It was easy to detect *orti*, answering to 'generant' above, and to see that the letters *utriques* concealed something like *coniunctissimisque*, answering to 'aliena sede'; but I daresay I should never have guessed the truth if M did not present *utrique trisorti*. There is *triquetris*, and the rest is simple: a *triquetrisq. orti* (better so than *et triquetris*): for Q, absorbed by O see Lucr. v 342 at *oppida* for *atq. op.* The *signa trigona*, which Manilius calls *triangula* ii 282 and *triquetra* here, are the most firmly united and engender the closest friends (ii 352, 679 sq.); yet Virgo and Capricorn, signs of the same *trigonum*, are at enmity (552 sq., 561-3).

Mr Bechert's text is better than Jacob's of 1846, but it is not so good as Pingré's of 1786. He says that he has paid especial attention to the studies of recent critics. But it would have been better to pay especial attention to the studies of Bentley and Scaliger. He says that he has been the more cautious in altering the text in proportion to his growing acquaintance with the style of Manilius. I hope it will continue to grow, for his alterations of the text are sometimes very far from cautious. What is to be said of a critic who changes i 693 'Centauri alterius' to *ulterius*? or who subverts the arithmetic of a whole paragraph by altering *deducat* to *diducat* at iii 396? A few of his conjectures are right or probable: i 130 *summa* (but Dr Postgate *silu*. Man. p. 3 says that this is in the Cusanus), ii 294 *diducere*, iv 478 <*tibi*>, v 195 *fastidit et*, 499 *patriam poterit magnis* (but this is in Stoeber's Parisinus), 578 *maritam* (but this was proposed by Mr Kraemer in 1890), 631 *primum*. At iii 89 his *positu* is not so good as Mr Rossberg's *cursu*. Mr Immisch has one certain emendation, ii 768 *artem*: the most part of his conjectures, as of Mr Bechert's, are unprofitable. Following the example of W. E. Weber in his *Corpus*, Mr Bechert has sprinkled his apparatus with some short explanatory notes: that at i 520

is correct; the majority are perverse enough to be Jacob's or even Stoeber's own. But neither explanation nor emendation is what one expected from Mr Bechert: one expected an apparatus criticus deserving the name, and here it is: he has executed a very laborious and a very serviceable task.

Phaedrus was edited in 1895 by the most vigilant critic he has ever had and the most egotistical he can ever possibly have. Dr Gow has naturally set aside the great majority of Mr Havet's alterations; but among them he has perhaps rejected some which should have been retained: thus iii prol. 20 *Phoebi* for *paene* seems to me not merely true but necessary. Of his own proposals Dr Gow prints only three: i 5 8 *consors*, which is really further from the MS *fortis* than Withof's *socius* (*fotius*), 19 9 *ubi illa coepit*, which is well enough in itself but rendered unsure by the unusual metre and doubtful reading of the line above, and v 1 16 *cevere*, which is better indeed than Mr. Chauvin's *uenari* but not so probable as the vulgate. Dr Postgate contributes about twenty conjectures, most of which are accepted by Dr Gow. Among these the punctuation of v 2 10 sq. is evidently right; app. 6 13 *exagitate* is very attractive and would indeed be certain except for the bottomless unfaithfulness of the tradition; iv 24 14 *grana*, v 9 4 *tu quam*, and app. 13 16 *perspicit* are improvements, and app. 29 1 *prope* is as good as Mr Stowasser's *prae*. Two of them, i 5 8 and app. 12 4, break the rules of the metre: the second foot cannot consist of a spondaic word, nor can it have a pyrrhic word for its first half. As regards iv 7 20 'iustoque uindicauit exemplo *impiam*,' apart from the unexpectedness of this mythological detail, I do not know, and the lexicons do not say, what authority there is for the construction *uindico impiam* in the sense of *uindico in impiam* or *uindico impietatem*. Two emendations of Phaedrus which I always marvel to see neglected are in this edition neglected yet again. One is Gudius' 'et laude *multa*' for '*inuita*' iii prol. 22: I admit that Heinsius' '*nec laude inuita*,' which Dr Gow adopts, is the next best conjecture and much better than the usual *inuicta*. The other is Bergk's *tabulae Pausian* (= *tabulae dauxian*) for *fabulae exaudiant* v prol. 6, where Dr Gow like every one else prints Bentley's much more violent *tabulae Zeuxidem*: in the same verse Bergk's *Myn* for *Myronem* seems quite as likely as Bongarsius' *trito* (not *torto* as Dr Gow says) for *detrito*. One generally accepted emendation, Bentley's *Lacon* v 10 7,

Dr Gow refuses, and prints the false quantity *lātrans* with nothing to mark it as corrupt: I know that Auienus says *lātrantis*, but Auienus says *quasi*. *Lacon* must needs be right: *-con* was absorbed, as it frequently is, by the following *non* because the verses of Phaedrus were run together in the MSS like prose.

All editions of the Aetna have one feature in common: they are illegible. Mr Sudhaus admitted very few alterations of the text, Prof. Ellis has imported very many; and in each case the result is an edition of the Aetna. But I have found here one certain and excellent emendation, 431 *pingui scalet ubere*, another conjecture, 96 *ex solidost*, which seems to be right, and two more, 233 *suo derrent...gyro* (*gyro* is Schrader's) and 626 *sequentem*, which are not at all improbable. Dr Postgate's *telum* at 608, which is only mentioned in the note, seems to me a true correction: compare Germ. frag. iv 105 sq., Sil. i 253, Verg. Aen. vi 592 sq.

When I first open an edition of Persius I turn to vi 51 to see if the editor knows what part of speech *adeo* is. I regret to say that Mr Summers thinks it is a verb. But this funeral augury is not fulfilled: at other places, as in the punctuation of v 73-5, he generally shows sound judgment. In accordance with recent fashion he inclines, in his choice of MS readings, to P(C) rather than to A and B; but he is no fanatic, and does not shirk the work of thinking: there are only one or two places where I should call him certainly wrong. At v 59 he has attempted to prefer *fregerit* to *fecerit*, but the printer, with just sarcasm, has preferred *regerit* to either. In v 90 such a form as *uetauit* ought not to stand in the text without any indication that *notauit* and *uetabit* have been proposed. There are no novelties, except that the stop at the end of v 169 is removed and 'ne uelis' becomes a dependent clause: the punctuation of iii 96 however remains unaltered. I have noticed no inaccuracy in the apparatus, save that a figure has fallen out from the note on prol. 4, and that Mr Summers, in telling us where P places the prologue, forgets to tell us where A and B place it.

In the first book, which I have specially examined, Mr Heitland's text of Lucan differs little from Mr Hosius', and generally differs for the better (101 *mare*, 295 *pronus*, 322 *auso*, 398 *Lingonas*): not always, for at 687 it is very unlikely that *Enyo* should be the corruption and *Erinyes* the original, and

so too with *errantis* and *uolitantis* at 588. But it ought to differ more: Mr Heitland, like Mr Hosius, is too little concerned with the sense of what Lucan is supposed to be saying. Caesar, to invade Italy, withdrew his troops from all parts of Gaul: 463-5 'et uos, crinigeros *bellis* arcere Cayeos oppositi, petitis Romam, Rhenique ferocis deseritis ripas.' Never mind the plural number: what of the sense? The Romans had no wish whatever to restrain the Chauci either from war (compare Tac. Germ. 33) or by means of war: they wished to restrain them, by means of military posts, from attacking the north-east of Gaul; and Claudian cons. Stil. i 225 has 'trans fluium non indignante *Chauco* | pascat *Belga* pecus,' and one of his MSS turns it into *bella*. Yet Mr Heitland never mentions Bentley's *Belgis*. Having occasion to speak of Mr Francken's MSS he adds the words 'cuius in emendando textu consilium non probo.' Neither do I approve it: Mr Francken's faculty for discovering truth is not great; but Mr Heitland and Mr Hosius too would do well to fix their attention less on Mr Francken's faults than on his merits: his disinterestedness, his freedom of judgment, his unwillingness to be duped. On Mr Heitland's hostility to emendation I will say no more, except that he incurs the usual penalty of that temper and after refusing corrections by Bentley and others adopts at viii 861 an injudicious conjecture of Mr. Peskett's. But I remark further on his partiality for that family of MSS which modern critics denominate, for no sufficient reason, the Pauline. He does not indeed accept with Mr Hosius the absurd reading *ausum* at i 322, and I hope I may assume that he understands better than Mr Francken the meaning of *auso*. But he does exhibit at iii 276 this ridiculous verse about the Tanais, 'nunc *huc*, nunc *illuc*, qua flectitur, ampliati orbem.' The crooks of the Tanais no more enlarge the globe than a man enlarges his fortune by shifting half-a-crown from one pocket to the other. What they do is to enlarge Europe and Asia alternately at one another's expense, 'gelding the opposed continent as much': 'nunc *hunc*, nunc *illum*, qua flectitur, ampliati orbem' V. This was the vulgate in the 17th and 18th centuries: benighted ages, when man had not yet invented that substitute for thinking which is now so widely popular under the name of critical method. Again at i 531 Mr Heitland has 'et uarias ignis *tenso* dedit aere formas.' Air is notoriously incapable of tension: Lucan is copying his uncle,

nat. quaest. vii 21 l 'cometas...*denso aere* creari,' and *denso* is in VG. But Priscian attests *tenso*. Yes, and many another false reading does Priscian attest. Thus at iv 131 he has *robore* with V, where the editors rightly accept *uimine* from the other MSS. Or take i 481: when Caesar invaded Italy the Italians expected to see in his train 'inter Rhenum populos *Alpemque* iacentes, | finibus arctois patriaque a sede reuolsos'; and Priscian quotes the verse with *Alpemque* to illustrate the singular number. The Rhine and the Alps are contiguous, and consequently have no peoples between them; and if they had any, those peoples would not be situated 'finibus arctois.' The terror here described could be caused by none but the Germans. Where did the Germans live? between the Rhine and what? Tac. ann. i 59 6 'Germanos numquam satis excusaturos quod *inter Albin et Rhenum* uirgas et secures et togam uiderint,' ii 22 l 'debellatis *inter Rhenum Albinque* nationibus.' And at Claud. nupt. Hon. 278 'iam *Rhenus et Albis* | seruiet' one MS has *Alpis*.

Thilo in 1863 gave a full collation of the only important MS of Valerius Flaccus; the late K. Schenkl in 1871 provided the pattern of an abridged apparatus criticus; and in 1896-7 appeared Mr P. Langen's diligent, intelligent, honest, and unpretentious commentary. Prof. Bury's recension is not unlike Mr Langen's in its merits and defects. He is very alert and attentive, he knows the difference between sense and nonsense, and he does not think nonsense more 'natural and poetical' than sense. But when the text is corrupt, and he has recognised its [corruption, he is too easily contented with conjectures which are only stop-gaps; and when the text is not corrupt he often alters it because he mistakes its meaning or construction. Thus at i 306-8, following Mr Langen and others, he changes *dumque* to *nunc* and *toto* to *tuto*, and having thus rendered the passage unconstruable he proclaims a lacuna between 307 and 308. The MS text is a very characteristic piece of writing, and is correctly explained by Thilo p. xx. No one can call Thilo a good critic; but he did possess, what is very uncommon in the 19th century, a familiarity with the habits of speech and thought which prevailed in the silver age. In the 17th and 18th centuries every one possessed it: the wonderful things which have been written of late years in England Ireland and Germany about iv 130 'reges preme, dure, secundos' are flowers which could not have bloomed in the air of those times. The only

reason why Mr Bury alters the text at v 638 is that he does not catch the drift of what Valerius is saying. Again at i 449 the vulgate '*perderet et pingui miseris Boebeide crines*' is quite right: Apollo, qui rore puro Castaliae lauit crines solutos, ruined the gloss of his luckless tresses by steeping them in the slimy water of Boebeis: see Mart. i 37 l '*uentris onus misero, nec te pudet, excipis auro*'; and in like manner one may say that Mr Bury, by adopting *panderet...mersos, perdidit miserum uersiculum*. Once, as it happens, a misapprehension has led him into the right way. i 63 *externo* has been altered into all sorts of things: Mr Bury retains it and says '*externo V, sc. Colchico*'. If it referred to Colchis at all it could only mean '*non Colchico*'; but it refers to the dragon, and means '*non suo*', venom other than his own. Both Mr Bury and Dr Postgate have contributed a good many conjectures, most of which do not commend themselves to me; but from Mr Bury's I select i 19 *tu si*, iii 670 *ego te*, vii 357 *poenis* and 620 *sequentum*, and from Dr Postgate's i 849 *quot...monstra* and iii 690 *Oenidae surgit* as seeming true or probable. At i 200 the absurd conjecture '*nec Peliae me nota trahunt*' stands in the text with nothing to explain how it got there. Some impossible MS readings are retained, as i 490 *cum*, 535 *cur*, 538 *Tanain*. Mr Bury maintains in the preface that the lost

Sangallensis was an authority independent of the Vaticanus: two of the passages which he quotes to prove this, i 166 and 665, have some weight; the rest are altogether devoid of force, and the citation on which he lays especial stress, 'i 679', appears to be a false reference.

There are several slips of the pen or errors of the press in the notes of this fasciculus, and a few in the text: thus at Manil. ii 230 *commercia* is printed instead of *communia*. There is also much assignment of emendations to those who did not originate them, at any rate in the Manilius and the Phaedrus.

I have spent most of my time in finding faults, because finding faults, if they are real and not imaginary, is the most useful sort of criticism. Now I will find one more. The first instalment of this work appeared in 1893, the second in 1894; for the third, which is much the slimmest, we have waited six years; and there is no news of the fourth. W. E. Weber finished his Corpus single-handed in the four years 1828-32, and equipped it not only with an apparatus criticus, which in his day, true enough, was easier to compile than now, but with brief explanatory notes which often help the reader greatly. So let it not be six years more before we see the completion of a work so long required and so signally useful.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

VAN DER VLIET'S APOLOGIA AND FLORIDA OF APULEIUS.

Lucii Apulei Madaurensis Apologia siue de Magia liber et Florida. Recensuit J. VAN DER VLIET. Teubner, Leipzig, 1900. 202 pp. 4 M.

THIS new contribution to the smaller Teubner series forms vol. II of v. d. Vliet's edition of Apuleius, vol. I contains the *Metamorphoses* of the same author. Of the two works, the *de Magia* is incomparably the more interesting, for the *Florida*, a mere collection of Apuleian extracts that have but slight connexion with each other, has little to attract most readers. I have, indeed, found more satisfaction in all the other works of Apuleius than in this, notably the *de deo Socratis*, and the *de Mundo*; this latter a translation from the pseudo-Aristotelian *περὶ Κόσμου*, and offering a most tempting field to any forthcoming editor, who will present the Greek and Latin texts

side by side. But the *Apologia* (or *de Magia*, as it is more often called) shows us the man Apuleius as he really was, not only as philosopher, or writer of romance, but as orator defending himself against an allegation of heinous crimes, and giving us, in the process, many details of his life.

It was natural that such an oratorical effort, so highly characteristic of the time, and country (Africa) in which it was delivered, and with so many points in which it touches on modern sympathies, should have engaged the attention of scholars from the first. M. v. d. Vliet gives a list of them, p. viii; it includes the names of Casaubon, Salmasius, Gronov, Heinsius, Ruhnken. The emendations of Casaubon and Salmasius were cited by the new editor strike me as among the most felicitous which these great philologists have made;

in our own century not a little has been done to clear up some of the perplexities which the affected style of Apuleius makes inevitable. Perhaps a more frequent reference to the admirable work of Koziol, *der Styl des Apuleius*, might have been looked for. As an introduction to the study of an author not too easy, and full of mannerisms which recur again and again, Koziol's monograph may be pronounced unsurpassable.

As basis of the text of the two treatises contained in this new volume, M. v. d. Vliet exhibits a thorough collation of two Florence MSS. 68, 2 (F), and 29, 2 (φ). F is the better of the two, but φ is very useful as suggesting corrections when F fails. The collation is evidently executed with great care, and as unfortunately neither the *de Magia* nor the *Florida* is included in the new Brussels MS. which Rohde first brought into prominence and on which Prof. P. Thomas bases his corrections of the philosophical works of Apuleius, M. v. d. Vliet's edition will for a long time probably form the foundation of new remarks and criticisms; and on a work like the *de Magia*, which the labours of Price, Bosscha (an admirable critic), Colvius, Hildebrand, Goldbacher, and even Krüger have still left with much that is unexplained, remarks and criticisms are not likely to be few. I cannot but hope that either in this country or America an *English* edition with a commentary like Gudeman's on the *Dialogus de oratoribus* may be eventually possible. Why should America, which has done so much for Petronius (the name of Beck will occur to every Petronian scholar), shrink from the less arduous task of explaining and illustrating Apuleius?

M. v. d. Vliet's edition marks, as compared with that of Krüger, a return to the MS. tradition against the conjectures of modern criticism. In many cases, such is the goodness of the two MSS. on which he founds his text, there can be little doubt that he has wisely done so. Any one who chooses may form his own judgment on the point by examining the conspectus (given on p. iv) of variations from Krüger's text. They amount in the *de Magia* to 164, in the *Florida* to 54. Many, however, of these are of a minute kind, involving only the change of a letter; and for this reason are of less importance. A careful consideration of a large number of them leads me to the conviction (1) that the number of such returns to F φ might be considerably increased (2) that it would still remain a question whether F φ were not wrong.

I take a few instances: p. 38, 12 *ibi etiam de falso invidia deque epistulis mulieris perperam lectis... deque matrimonio meo*. Hildebrand in 1842 returned to *de falso* rejecting Casaubon's *de falsa*, explaining *falso* as an adverb attached to *invidia* like *cotidie umentio, tum mutatio*, etc. The new editor follows him. Yet it is nearly certain, on other grounds, that Casaubon's emendation is right, and that *falso* is an early miswriting of *falsa*. 36, 7 *sin uero... eum isti proprie magum existimant, qui communione loquendi cum deis immortalibus ad omnia quae uelit incredibilia quadam ui cantaminum polleat*, Casaubon emended *incredibili*, v. d. Vliet returns to *incredibilia* (as both F φ agree to give) again following Hildebrand. Yet it must be doubtful whether Casaubon was not right. For (1) *quadam* would more naturally be accompanied by an adj. like *incredibili*, (2) *incredibilia* takes from the force of *omnia quae uelit*. 43, 7 *Neptunus cum Salacia et Portuno et omni choro nerej^[adv]* F, as reported by v. d. Vliet, who prints *Nerei*, against *Nereidum* of former editors and Krüger, citing Met. iv. 31 *adsunt Nerei filiae chorum canentes*; this, however, appears to me rather to support *Nereidum*. 45, 21 *an quicquam stultius quam ex nominum propinquitate uim similem rerum coniectam?* I confess to a belief in the old correction *coniectari* (or possibly *coniectare*).

In other cases the new editor seems judicious in adhering to F, e.g. in restoring *quippe qui* throughout, see note on p. 29; in his explanation of *ut*, p. 44, 5 *ut si helleborum... emissem* against Krüger's view of a lacuna preceding *ut*; in retaining *alumni solent* p. 26, 15, against Casaubon's *alumna sunt*. Yet in this instance v. d. Vliet seems unwise in adding *sese*; *solent* is followed by an accus. elsewhere, as Hild. points out. Bosscha's *olent* is quite uncalled for.

Similarly, whilst very properly returning to F in writing p. 27, 24 *quippe etiam ea si*, in this order, not as Salmasius thought *etiam et si ea*, v. d. Vliet has hardly improved on F by adding *et* before *si*; 53, 1 *philosophi qui illis non ad quaestum, sed ad suppetias usura est F*, and v. d. Vliet retains *qui* accordingly, altering *usura* to *usurus*. This is hardly satisfactory: it would be better to consider *qui* dative, and possibly (more I would not venture to say) one of the revived archaisms of the era of the Antonines. The matter is of more importance than one might at first sight be inclined to admit: for Apuleius tells us that he was held a precisian in language and that if he committed

a solecism, his auditors would not allow it to pass unnoticed. The speech, notwithstanding this remark, bristles with deviations from the language not only of Cicero, but of Pliny and Tacitus; witness the constant position of *enim* at the beginning of a sentence, than which one might almost say σολοικότερον οὐδέν.

Turning to v. d. Vliet's work from a different side, his own conjectural restorations and his discrimination in selecting from those of his predecessors, I have no hesitation in pronouncing, on the whole, favourably. He is as far removed from the unreasonable *rabies emendandi* which has marked some of his countrymen, as from the unscrupulous readiness of the latest German school to admit as possible Latin what will not construe. Very plausible is his suggestion that *comparare*, *comprobare* have been interchanged p. 155, 11, 158, 18; *qua effecisti ut te amare debeant* p. 159, 9 for *qua effectius te amare debeant*; *color non* (Hild.) for *colorum* (p. 161, 10); *perfidus* (Arlt) for *periurus* 169, 15, *leno perfidus* assonating with *amator feruidus*; 172, 20 *certa est ratio qua debeat philosophus ob decretam statuam gratias agere* (Colvius) for *c.e.r. quae debeat philosopho*; 60, 19 *quid didicerit* (v. d. Vl.) for *dicerit* of F; 69, 21 *et* for *aut* of F; 18, 2 *e buxo* (Erasmus) for *euoxo*; 86, 1 *iterum* for *ceterum* (Riese); 81, 8 *uariis* for *uanis* (Lipsius); 81, 16 *desuetudine* for *assuetudine* (Casaubon); *Roma* for *Romam* (Stewech) p. 89, 2; *a conspecti fide* for *a conspecti fide* (Hildebrand) p. 91, 20; *uelut alto barathro calumnia se mergit* for *u.a.b. calumnias emergit* 101, 16 (v. d. Vliet).

In other cases v. d. Vliet hardly carries conviction. 49, 11 where F gives *et ne perose animalium genita pergam* which probably represents *ne operose a. genera peragam* he prints *ne per omnes animalium genituras pergam*, of which Casaubon contributes one

part, Iahn the other: in the corrupt verses of Lucilius p. 50, 16 where F has *mures sunt aenⁱ aspera ostrea plurima abidim* Bährens' weak conjecture *super* for *aspera* is accepted; 51, 1 *caradrungue apud ambracię finis* of F is supposed to represent *c.a. Ambraciai* [*finis*], and no notice is taken of Casaubon's plausible *Ambracienses* (? *Ambraciensis*) although it has found acceptance with Gentilis, Floridus, and Price. 54, 21 it is very doubtful whether *ubi pisces per deucalionis diluvium reperientur*¹ of F is rightly emended *u.p. post D. d. [non] reperiantur*. 63, 13 *molitur igitur* (Rossbach's conj. for *molitus igitur* of F) is abrupt and not quite in the style of Apuleius: possibly *molitus*, [*is*] *igitur*; 69, 11 *albedo* for *dulcedo* of F is very unlikely. 67, 5 *nemo tibi blandiatur, Aemiliane: non <tibi> est in accusando uersutia*, surely the inserted *<tibi>* is unnecessary: 76, 8 *manuum tremorem, ructu spinam* of F is hardly *ructus popinam* (Price); may it not be *ructu spumam*? 77, 4 *quamquam sunt solita audacia et importuna impudentia*, Iahn's *insolita* is open to the objection that it introduces a third *in*. I suggest *stolida*. 43, 4 *Mercurius carminum inuentor* for *c. uector* of F (Stewech) seems problematical; I offer *factor*.

But the really crucial difficulties in these two works of Apuleius are so puzzling as on the one hand to make v. d. Vliet's new edition a most interesting book to study, on the other to tempt new critics to fresh possibilities. It is cheering to reflect that our editor has yet before him a remaining volume to complete his work; and I cannot but hope that for the philosophical writings of the African sage, or as we may almost style him, mage, the Brussels MS. of which Prof. P. Thomas has given some specimens of indubitable value, may be found a not unimportant reinforcement.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

¹ I suggest *ubi uix reperientur pisces super D. d.*

CORRESPONDENCE.

FRENCH FOR GREEK IN CICERO'S LETTERS.

MR. WARDE FOWLER (to whom I would here express my thanks for his kind words about our edition) in his notice of Mr. Shuckburgh's Translation of Cicero's Letters in the last *Classical Review*, classes Prof. Purser and myself with Mr. Jeans as advo-

cating the thorough-going adoption of French expressions wherever Cicero uses Greek. This is the view of Mr. Jeans. To show that it is not ours allow me to quote from our Preface to Vol. V.

'In one point (not of much importance)

we think our aim has been slightly misconceived. When we observed in the Introduction to the first volume that Cicero often uses a Greek word where with us a French term has become almost naturalised, we wished merely to point to a curious coincidence. We added that Greek expressions in the Letters often correspond rather to our slang; and that sometimes Cicero borrows an expression from the Greek where we have recourse, not to Greek nor to any vernacular *argot*, but to some familiar Latin phrase or tag. Some recent translators, especially Rev. G. E. Jeans, whose translation is in most respects a model of vigour and grace, have shown a flattering appreciation of our little remark by always rendering Greek into French. Indeed, we have been accused of negligence in not always finding French parallels ourselves. This, we submit, is asking us to do something which we never undertook, and which, with all our respect for Mr. Jeans' conspicuous tastefulness, we think would be both useless and misleading, if carried out.

When a foreign expression, be it French German or Italian, has won its way into our tongue so securely that we invariably use it in default of an exact English equivalent, *then, and then only, should it be admitted into a translation of the Letters.* To translate ὁδοῦ πάρεργον *en passant*, καχέκτης *mauvais sujet*, σφάλμα *a faux pas*, ἐπίτευγμα *a coup*, ἀπότευγμα *a coup manqué* or a *fiasco*, μείλιγμα *a douceur*, is perhaps felicitous and is at all events natural. But to represent Greek by French expressions which have in no sense won their way into our language, seems to us to misrepresent the character of the Letters. Who would think of writing in an English letter *infaisable, sel attique, l'apotheose d'un consulat, ami de la patrie, pitié de soi-même*? Such employment of unfamiliar and colourless French expressions might even suggest to English readers a pedantry, a want of taste, or a limitation of vocabulary, from which Cicero certainly did not suffer.'

R. Y. TYRRELL.

THE ENGLISH PROSPECTUS OF THE *THESAURUS LINGUAE LATINAE*.

It is probable that all the readers of the *Classical Review* have received, from one source or another, the scandalous piece of 'English as she is spoke' that has just issued ex aedibus B. G. Teubneri. The German Prospectus, or at least the greater part of it, was presumably written by the Committee in charge of the production of the *Thesaurus*. It is inconceivable that any of its members, the leading scholars of five German Universities, Berlin, Göttingen, Leipzig, Munich, and Vienna, had a hand in the Translation that is before us. It is sad that they were careless enough to delegate such important work to an incompetent subordinate. There is scarcely a paragraph that is good English. 'In innumerable questions the μέτρον of judgment will here be found and ultimately firm knowledge will and must take the place of subjective liking and straying phantasy.' 'Certain conjectures were indicated as such with specification as to their tradition,

bannishing doubtful out of the text one preferred to make use of the tradition indicated as corrupt—all this to provide an irrefutable foundation for reliable quotations.'

A want of feeling for style in one foreign language promises badly enough for success in interpreting another. But how are we to feel any confidence at all in a Dictionary whose six-paged Prospectus contains eighteen serious misprints, not counting questions of punctuation? One of these misprints is unpardonable. 'Next follows marked as *audacter* the Statius quotation where *animosus frigus* marks the thrill of ambitious pride namely of a horse.' *Audacter* indeed!

The French Translation that reaches us through H. Welter of Paris seems to be more successful than the English in avoiding misprints. In style it is no better; a French colleague of mine maintains that it is worse.

RONALD M. BURROWS.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

THE ARGIVE HERAEUM AND
BACCHYLIDES XI. 43-84.¹

THE passage in Bacchylides xi. 43-84, is of the greatest importance in its bearing upon the earliest history of the Argive plain as this is now presented to us in its entirety by the American excavations of the Argive Heraeum over which I presided.

It has now become evident from the results of these excavations, and the study of the topography and literary traditions in the light of these, that the Heraeum was not built for Mycenae, still less for the city of Argos, both of which its construction antedates and from which it is isolated in its locality; but holds a more immediate relation to the earlier cities Tiryns and Midea.

But the presumption was a strong one that the Heraeum itself was once the civic (as well as the religious) centre of Argos the country (it is in this latter sense that the term Argos is used in Homer) from the Phoronean city-foundation down to the times at least of Proetus and Acrisius: because (1) it is unusual that the great local sanctuary should be removed miles away from the later successive political centres (the later cities of Tiryns, Mycenae, Argos); unless it was associated as the *ἔδος*, by some sacred natural object or process or event, with the worship of the divinity, or was made permanently sacred by the presence in sepulture of the important local hero,—neither of which conditions exist in the case of the Heraeum.

As in the foundation of a city (this we learn from Od. vi. 10 and from the establishment of colonies in historical times) the building of the temple was one of the first acts, so the temple of Hēra would have formed the natural centre to the early city, and no doubt this was the earliest temple of Ἥρα Πελασγίς (Apollon. Rh. I, 14. Dionys. Per. 534). When, however, this 'city' containing the Heraeum lost its civic and political importance and was no longer a political centre for the Argive district, its sanctuary remained as the chief religious centre during the periods in which Tiryns,

Mycenae and the city of Argos successively became the civic centres of the district.³

(2) The topographical position of the Heraeum, the *τέμενος* consisting of a rocky 'Acropolis,' one of the foot-hills of Mount Euboea, protected on either side by two stream-gullies between which it lies, is one of greatest natural strength; while this tongue of hill juts forward on the northern extremity of the plain, commanding that most important portion of the plain divided by the Inachus—the Heraeum Acropolis, commanding this district towards the sea.

(3) The extant remains of small house walls discovered by us below the Cyclopean supporting wall of the early (burnt) Heraeum, together with the traces of similar earliest peribolus walls are built of smaller stones placed one upon another without mortar and are of an earlier date than the Cyclopean supporting wall, i.e., the walls of Tiryns and *a fortiori* of Mycenae. They correspond to the walls of the lowest layers of Hissarlik. They thus point to an inhabited and rudely fortified Acropolis antedating the Proetean Tiryns and the Perseid Mycenae.

(4) The rich finds of earliest terracottas and vases from this site clearly point to a long period of civilised life there, in which various successive and continuous phases of development are distinguishable—all antedating the Mycenaean period.

Now this conflux of evidence and the conclusion to which it leads, namely, that the Heraeum itself was the earliest civic as well as religious centre for the Argive plain, is strongly confirmed by the passage in Bacchylides xi 43-84.

As an illustration of the beneficent kindness of Artemis extolled in the poem this passage relates the story of the healing of the daughters of Proetus from madness by the goddess. The story of this madness and its cause is seized by the poet to insert as a parenthesis the story of the foundation and fortification of Tiryns, which, by the help of the very crime of the daughters of Proetus, is brought into strong contrast with the older city of Argos, the political and religious centre of previous Argive rulers—namely the Heraeum.

¹ Read before the Cambridge Philological Society, Oct. 18, 1900.

² See *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1900, pp. 40 seq., and the forthcoming official publication of the American Excavations at the Argive Heraeum.

³ When—as appears to have been markedly the case at Knossos in the 'Mycenaean period'—the 'palace' was the centre of the city or citadel, the altar or shrine still formed the centre of greatest importance in the 'palace.'

The importance which the contrast between the older and newer city plays in this story is at once clearly emphasised by the version given of the crime of Proetus's daughters which led to their infliction with madness. With this they are struck by Hera as a punishment for their sacrilege (ll. 43-46). This sacrilege consisted in their disparagement of the wealth they find in the precinct of Hera (whither they have gone) as contrasted with what they have in the city of their father (whence they came).

παρθενία γὰρ ἔτι
 ψυχὰ κίον ἐς τέμειος
 πορφυροζώνοιο θεᾶς;
 φάσκον δὲ πολὺν σφέτερον
 πλούτῳ προφέρειν πατέρα ξανθᾶς παρέδρου
 σεμινοῦ Διὸς εὐρυβία.

Thus were they punished and driven out of the 'city of Tiryns and her heaven-built streets.'

Other versions of the crime of the maidens are, (1) that they did not accept the mysteries and rites of Dionysos, or (2) that they scoffed at the image (ξόανον) of Hera (Hesiod and Acusilaos *ap.* Apollodorus *Bibl.* ii. 2, 2, 2). The version here given by Bacchylides is perhaps (as was suggested to me by Dr. Postgate) further borne out by Propertius (ii, 28, 11)

An contempta tibi Iunonis templa Pelasgae?

That it is not the mere contempt of the image, is clearly expressed in Bacchylides, and that the general term of 'wealth' which forms the substance of the comparison, is fixed to the city, probably the walls and fortifications of the two cities, is indicated by the general construction and drift of the following story as well as by details of expression.

For from l. 58 on the story of the strife between Proetus and Acrisius is told, but manifestly with a view to explaining the building of the fortified Tiryns, with its splendid walls made by the Cyclopes—which again is the epic and dramatic justification of the introduction of the story, as leading to the sacrilege punished by Hera and atoned for by Artemis.

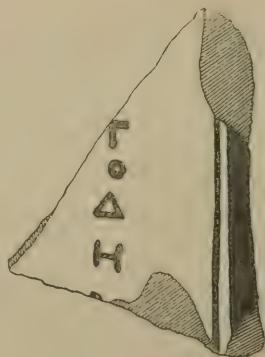
The dissension between the Argive rulers is introduced by the statement that Tiryns had been founded ten years before, they having left 'holy Argos,'¹ the older political

centre, the citadel containing the temple; and this would be the Heraeum (ll. 59-64). And in the following lines telling the story of the dissension, the chief accent is laid upon the building of the Tirynthian walls of fortification. The new city is contrasted with the old city of Argos which is the 'holy' city and not the district; for when the district is meant here, the term Argos is not used, but γῆς as in l. 69. On the other hand the attributes applied to Argos are the same as those used with Tiryns (except l. 80, where the familiar term *ἱππόβοτον* is used); while *Τιρινθιον ἄστυ λιπούσα*, corresponds again to *θεοφιλὲς λιπόντες Ἄργος*, again repeated in l. 81.

This older city disparagingly compared with the Proetean Tiryns had merely the rude walls of small stones of houses and peribolus which we found in our excavations, to which in Proetean times the Cyclopean supporting wall was added.

CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

FRAGMENT OF A DATED PANATHENAIC AMPHORA.



The fragment of a Panathenaic amphora shown in the accompanying figure in two-thirds of its actual size is in my possession. It evidently belongs at the extreme right of the obverse panel, the narrow black line being a border of common occurrence (*e.g.*, *Monumenti dell' Istituto*, I., Pl. xxi.) and the broader stripe of black being a part of the black coating which extended over most of the surface of the vase.¹ To the left of

¹ I do not think that the attribute *θεοφιλὲς* would be the usual term applied to the city unless it contained the sanctuary.

¹ This description applies also, beyond all question, to one of the two fragments bearing the name of Themistocles and dating from 347 B.C. (*Annali dell' Istituto*, 1877, p. 310; *Bulletin de correspondance*

the border are the letters—τοδη—of an archon's name, arranged κιονηδόν. The only archon's name into which they will fit is Aristodemus. He was in office in the year 352-1 B.C.

The interest of the fragment lies in the proof which it affords that the κιονηδόν arrangement of the inscriptions on Panathenaic amphorae was not first introduced in 347 B.C. and did not at once supersede the older arrangement, as some have supposed.² Inasmuch as of the two fragments with the name of Themistocles, dating from 347 B.C., one has the letters placed in the older way, with their bases towards the column, while the other has them arranged κιονηδόν, it appears that the older and newer methods were in concurrent use for a number of years.³ This is just what we ought to have assumed as probable, without special evidence. If the Panathenaic amphorae were all made in a single factory, such a change might indeed be made abruptly; but hardly otherwise, except on the unlikely hypothesis that the change was ordered by legislative authority or by the purchasing official. Changes of fashion in all departments of human life take time for their completion.

Again, it has looked as if the archon's name was not placed to the right of the right-hand column before 336 B.C.⁴ But both on the new fragment of 352 and the two previously known, but misunderstood, fragments of 347 the archon's names have this position. So far as the evidence before us goes, the position on the inside or the outside of the right-hand column may always have been a matter of indifference.

F. B. TARBELL.

Journal international d'archéologie numismatique (Athens). Vol. III. Part I. 1900.

E. D. J. Dutilh. 'Histoire des collections numismatiques du Musée Gréco-Romain d'Alexandrie.' The coins are chiefly of the Ptolemies, of Alexandria,

hellénique, I. Pl. X. 1, and p. 215), where De Witte and Martha saw in the narrow border line the edge of Athena's robe! Nor does it seem possible to explain otherwise the second fragment of the year, published together with the first, although the border seems here to consist of two lines, and these unusually broad.

² See T. W. Heermance, in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, xi, p. 332. This article gives a convenient summary of the epigraphical facts pertaining to the fifteen dated Panathenaic amphorae or fragments of amphorae hitherto published.

³ Hauser has in fact implied this view (*Neu-attischen Reliefs*, p. 160), though on less decisive grounds than are now before us.

⁴ See Heermance, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

and the Nomes.—J. Svoronos. ΣΚΥΡΟΣ. No coins have hitherto been ascribed to this island by trustworthy numismatists. A description is given of various bronze coins found in Skyros; one, of Roman times, is inscribed ΣΚΥΡΙ. A silver coin (fifth cent.), also found in Skyros, is attributed by Svoronos to the island though it is uninscribed. It has the type of a fig-leaf, and judging from the illustration given one might be inclined to suspect its genuineness. Svoronos, however, who has seen the coin, appears to have had no such suspicion.—Svoronos. Νομίσματα τῶν ἐν Δήλῳ Ἀθηναίων κληρούχων εὐρεθέντα ἐν Δήλῳ καὶ Μυκόνῳ.—P. Kastriotes. Εἰσιτήριον τοῦ ἀρχαίου θεάτρου τῆς Μεγαλοπόλεως. A circular clay ticket found near the theatre at Megalopolis, inscribed on obv. ΑΡΕΛΛΙΧΟΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΑΡΧΙΔΑ; on rev. ΛΥΚΑΙΑ ΤΡΙΤΟΥ.—Svoronos. Κοίρανος ὁ Πάριος καὶ τὸ Κοιρανεῖον. Koiranos the Parian rescued a dolphin from some fisherman, and was afterwards, when shipwrecked in the Aegean, himself saved by the same dolphin and brought to Syros. When he died, many dolphins appeared as a mark of respect at his funeral. Svoronos thinks that this story may explain the type of a male dolphin-rider that occurs on archaic silver coins attributed by Head (Brit. Mus. Cat. Caria, p. lix) to Iasos in Caria, where a similar dolphin-story was current. Svoronos would attribute the coin to Syros. The weight and fabric would certainly be suitable to an island of the Aegean, but it is perhaps a difficulty that the type of the undoubted coins of Syros is a goat.—Svoronos. Τὰ χρυσὰ νομίσματα τῶν Λαγιδῶν τοῦ τύπου Ἀρσινόης τῆς Φιλαδέλφου.—Jan Six. 'Biographie de M. J. P. Six, 1824-1899.' (With list of his works and portrait.)

Vol. III. Part II. 1900.

J. Rouvier. 'Numismatique des villes de la Phénicie.' This is the first instalment of an elaborate catalogue of Phoenician coins, which will be followed by a general Introduction. The present part deals with the coinage of *Aradus*.—J. N. Svoronos. Νέα προσκτήματα τοῦ Ἑθν. Νομισμ. Μουσείου. A description of 127 coins of Athens acquired by the National Museum of Greece.—A. Mahler. 'Concerning an Euboian tetradrachme.' Points out the resemblance between the female head in Imhoof-Blumer, *Griech. Münzen*, Pl. I. 20, and the head called 'Apollo' in the Louvre, a work in the style of Polycleitus.—Svoronos. Τὰ πῆλινα εἰσιτήρια τοῦ θεάτρου τῆς Μαντινείας.

Revue numismatique. Part I. 1900.

A. Dieudonné. 'Monnaies grecques récemment acquises par le Cabinet des Médailles.' Among these are:—*Amisus*. An unpublished coin of Sept. Severus representing the river ΘΕΡΜΩΔΩΝ. *Pontus*. A drachm of Mithradates II. resembling his tetradrachm, which, hitherto, was the only denomination known. *Bosporus*. A stater dated A.D. 78, the first year of the reign of Rhescuporis II.; obv. head of Vespasian, rev. head of Titus.—J. Rouvier. 'Le monnayage Alexandrin d'Arados,' continued.—R. Mowat. 'Notes d'onomastique romaine: Valérien; Régalien.'—Th. Reinach. 'Pontica.' The numismatic evidence suggests that the wife of Mithradates II., King of Pontus, was named Laodice. *Taulara* (or Talaúra), of which place there are coins of the time of Mithradates Eupator, is probably to be identified with the modern Ταυρίλα and with the Καυδὸν χωρίον of Strabo xii. 3, 31.

WARWICK WROTH.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

American Journal of Philology. Vol. xxi, 1. Whole No. 81, 1900.

Indo-Iranian Studies, L. H. Gray. *The Two Recensions of Plautus, A and P^A*, W. M. Lindsay. *Chronological Studies in the Greek Tragic and Comic Poets*, E. Capps. *The Wenzelbibel, Cod. Pal. Vindob.* 2759-2764, W. Kurrelmeyer. *Notes on the Newly Discovered Elegy of Poseidippus*, R. Ellis. *Catulliana*, E. M. Thompson.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES. Bennett's *Critique of Some Recent Subjunctive theories* (H. C. Elmer). Allen's *The Treatment of Nature in the Poetry of the Roman Republic* (G. Laing).

Vol. xxi, 2. Whole No. 82.

Horace, *Serm.* 1. 4: *A Protest and a Programme*, G. L. Hendrickson. *Tennyson and Homer*, W. P. Mustard. *Prohibitives in Silver Latin*, W. K. Clement. *Notes on Servius*, R. B. Steele. *Etymological Miscellany*, F. A. Wood. *Some Lucretian Emendations*, W. A. Merrill. *The Source of the So-called Achaean-Doric κοινή*, C. D. Buck.

REVIEW. Patin's *Parmenides im Kampfe gegen Heraklit* (P. Shorey).

Mnemosyne. Vol. 28. Part 3. 1900.

De Ezechiele poeta Judaeo, K. Kuiper. The 269 vv. of the fragments of Ezechiel from Alexander Polyhistor contained in Eusebius (*Præp. Evang.* ix) edited with critical notes, followed by general remarks. *Varroniana*, C. M. Francken. Varro's peculiarities of diction traced to his archaism and use of rustic words. *De variis lectionibus a Rutherfordio et scholiis Aristophaneis crutis* (continued), J. van Ijzeren. *Observationes Miscellaneae ad Plutarchi Moralia* (continued), S. A. Naber. ANHAIΠO(Υ)Σ, H. v. H. Finds the Ionic form ἀνηλιπὸς corresponding to the Doric ἀνάλιπος (*Theocr.* IV, 56) in a late inser. of Prusa ed. Koerte.

Part 4. *De scytala Laconica*, J. H. Leopold. From an examination of the authorities it is maintained that the scytale was used to convey formal and peremptory, not secret, orders, and that these orders were written on the scytale itself not on a strip of leather. In Alexandrian times, when the real use was forgotten, a new explanation was given which has held the ground. *Ad Aristoph.* Av. 1247, J. v. L. Proposes καὶ ἀμφικίονας δόμους comparing Soph. Ant. 285. *Ad Aeschyli Eumenides*, H. van Herwerden. Various notes and emendations. *Præsentio veri*, C. M. F. A quotation from Varro (R. R. I. 12, 2) anticipating the microbe theory of diseases. *Ad titulos quosdam Rhodios nuper reperiōs*, H. van Gelder. *Ad Geoponica*, H. van Herwerden. Critical notes with reference to Beckh's edition. *Varroniana*, C. M. Francken. Continued from the last no. *Ad Xenoph. de Venat.* viii. 1, J. v. L. Suggests ὅταν μὲν ἐπὶ νύκτῃ for ὅταν μὲν ἐπὶ νύκτῃ. *Observationum de iure Romano*, J. C. Naber. *Quomodo fiat litis contestatio*. *Ad Aristoph. Acharn.* 927, J. v. L. Reads δὸς μοι φορυτόν, ἢ αὐτὸν ἐνδῶμα σφόδρα.

Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. Vol. 55, Part 2. 1900.

Griechische Titel im Ptolemaeerreich, Max L. Strack. (1) The Ptolemies and Antigonids followed the example of Alexander in the assumption of the divine title. Philadelphus extended it to his dead wife and sister Arsinoe who was worshipped as σύνναος θεὰ in all temples, and so gifts to the temples

flowed into the royal treasury. (2) The titles of subjects, συγγενεῖς, πρῶτοι φίλοι, φίλοι, ἀρχισωματοφύλακες, διάδοχοι, which we find in the papyri and inscriptions, have nothing to do with offices. Of later origin are the δούτιμοι τοῖς συγγενέσιν. Epiphanes introduced the titles about 190 B.C., but the pattern had been set by the old Egyptian and Persian Kings. Polybius (v, 50, 9) mentions the φίλοι under Antiochus III. and the πρῶτοι φίλοι are found at the courts of Pontus and Parthia. (3) The possessors rose from one grade to another, but the titles were not hereditary. A table is given containing many examples. *Die Widmungslegie der letzten Buches des Propertius*, A. Dieterich. Points out how well this elegy serves as an introduction to this book which is made up of antiquarian and erotic elegies. Also how symmetrically these two kinds of elegies are distributed throughout the book. *Zum zweiten Mimiam des Herodas*, O. Hense. Maintains against Herzog in his recent *Koische Forschungen und Funde* that the discourse of Battaros is not a travesty of Hypereides but a comic contrast to the tone of Attic oratory in general. *Neue Fluchtafel.* II. R. Wiensch. *Ein Prolog des Diphilos und eine Komödie des Plautus*, F. Schutsch. Leo, with many others, thinks that the close of the *Casina* cannot have been the same as that of the *Κληροῦμενοι* of Diphilos. S. gives reasons for not agreeing with this opinion. *Beiläufige Bemerkungen*, H. Usener. (1) Various instances of darkness over the sun at the deaths of celebrated people. (2) Sappho's fragment 'Farewell to maidenhood' is paralleled by songs among Slavonic peoples. (3) The ode of Melinno on Rome in Stobaeus dated between Horace and Statius on metrical grounds. (4) Inscriptions show the decline of the worship of the old gods of Greece in Arcadia in the first cent. B.C. (5) The belief in the intercession of saints compared with the belief in the intercession of Castor and Pollux. (6) Influence of the Stoic doctrine of the unity of the father and son (Zeus—Apollo) in furthering the Monarchian heresy. (7) In Eur. *Andr.* 848 read ἐκ πέτρας. (8) Interpretation of the inscr. on a well at Athens θεὸς κύε ὑπερχύε. (9) The use of enim='therefore' in Umbrian. *Petrorritum* 'a four wheeled carriage' is an Umbrian, not a Gallic word. *Zu den Fragmenten des Euripides*, K. Busche. Various conjectures.

MISCELLAN. *Zu Alkaios*, F. Solmsen. *De Stobaei loco*, H. Usener. *Nachträge zu Plautus*, C. F. W. Müller. *Zu dem Phoenix des Lactantius*, A. Riese. *Brutes*, A. v. Domaszewski. *Die Inschriften des Constantius Gallus*, O. Seeck.

Part 3. *Aus Julian von Halikarnass*, H. Usener. Extracts from J.'s Greek commentary on Job from MS. 454 of the National Library in Paris, with quotations from the elegiacs of Anubion an astronomer to whom Julian possibly refers. *Die neuen Fragmente griechischer Epoden*, F. Blass. On the fragments published by Reitzenstein in the *Monatsbericht der Berliner Akademie* 1899, and by him attributed to Archilochus, but they are probably not by Archilochus. *Zur Topographie von Alexandria und Pseudo-Kallisthenes* I. 31-33, A. Ausfeld. The description of the town furnishes data which point to the composition of the romance in the first half of the second century B.C. Such data are the canals, the heroon of Proteus, the temple of Agathodaimon, the districts A to E. *Studien zu Ciceros Briefen an Atticus*, O. E. Schmidt. A criticism of C. F. W. Müller's edition, finding fault with his constitution

of the text. *Das Alter der griechischen Sternbilder*, E. Bethe. The types were ready to the hands of Aratus and Eratosthenes. The names of the groups of stars are very ancient and are such that the single stars are designated as single beings, such as doves, swine, oxen etc. In the eighth century B.C. the mythological names superseded the agricultural, beginning with Orion and Perseus. *Zur Handschriftenkunde und Geschichte der Philologie*, R. Foerster vi. MSS. of the library of the Pole John Zamoycki. On Simon Simonides and the Metaphysic of Herennius, with a collation of an Ovid MS. *Zur Geschichte des Epaminondas*, H. Svoboda. On the trial of Ep. after the first Peloponnesian campaign in 369 B.C.

MISCELLAN. *Hom. Ilias* Z 168, H 175, J. H. Holwerda, jr. Refers to Greek hieroglyphic writing such as Evans has found on seal-stones. *Der Katalog der Dramen des Aischylos*, W. Bannier. *De Thucydidi* vii. 75, H. Usener. For οὐκ ἄνευ δόλων ἐπιθεισῶν considers as certain the emendation of Stahl οὐκ ἄνευ δολουγῶν the word ἐπιθεισῶν being a gloss on δολουγῶν. *Ad Ciceronis pro Ligario* ii. 5, F. Becher. For hic aequo animo reads sic aequo animo. *Lectiones astronomicae*, P. de Winterfeld. On the text of Germanicus. τοσοῦτος in *Eur. Ion.* 874, L. Radermacher. *Allateinisch* havelod? R. Thurneysen. On the old 'boustrophedon' inscr. The form havelod is a false reading. *Noch einmal die Etymologie von augur*, A. Zimmermann. *Wandel von l zu i im Italischen*, A. Zimmermann.

Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie, 1900.

27 June. F. Weber, *Platonische Notizen über Orpheus* (G. Schneider), favourable. K. Schütz, *Die Schlacht bei Cannä* (H. Stürenburg), unfavourable. R. Ewald, *Exegetischer Kommentar zur XIV. Heroide Ovids* (J. Tolkiehn). 'The whole work much desired.' G. Körtge, *In Suetonii de viris illustribus libros inquisitionum capita tria* (O. Froehde). 'A careful dissertation.'

4 July. J. Schultz, *Zur Ilias-Kritik* (H. Draheim), unfavourable. A. Oeri, *De Herodoti fonte Delphico* (K. Stüttgen), favourable. *Livi ab u. c. libri*. W. Weissenborn's ed. neu bearb. von H. J. Müller. vi. 2 (B. 28-30). 4. A. (E. Wolff), very favourable. C. Pascal, *L'incendie di Roma e i primi cristiani*.

11 July. *Sophokles* erkl. von G. Wolff. I. *Aias*, 5. A. von L. Bellermin (H. G.), favourable. W. Haag, *Ausonius und seine Mosella* (E. Ottmann). 'The ground here prepared for a deeper study.' C. Schuchhardt, *Römisch-germanische Forschung in Nordwestdeutschland*, favourable.

18 July. A. de Bamberg, *Quaestiones criticae in Platonis quae fertur Apologiam* (G. Schneider). 'The work of an esteemed scholar.' *Cicero, Ausgewählte Briefe*, von K. Schirmer (F. Aly), unfavourable. R. Hildebrandt, *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Gedichts Aetna* (R. Helm). 'Rich in suggestions which will further the study of the poem.' W. Greif, *Neue Untersuchungen zur Diktys- und Daresfrage. I. Diktys Kretensis bei den Byzantinern* (G. Wartenberg), favourable.

25 July. Brunn-Bruckmann's *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Skulptur*, fortgeführt von P. Arndt (W. Amelung). 'Has not its like in the world.' A. Franke, *De Pallada epigrammatographo* (H. Stadtmüller), very favourable. A. Cartault, *Études sur les satires d'Horace* (O. Weissenfels). 'The diligence deserves recognition, but good sense is wanting.' *Taciti Historiarum libri qui supersunt*, von C. Heraeus. 2. B. Buch III-V. 4. A. von

W. Heraeus (E. Wolff), very favourable. C. G. Osgood, *The Classical Mythology of Milton's English Poems* (G. D.), unfavourable.

8 Aug. *Sophocle, Antigone*, traduction en vers par P. Martinon (—s). 'Polished and clear.' A. Pintschovius, *Xenophon de vectigalibus V. 9 und die Überlieferung vom Anfang des phokischen Krieges bei Diodor* (A. Höck), very favourable. C. Thulin, *De coniunctivo Plautino. I. II.* (O. Plasberg), favourable. O. Rottmann, *Catholica* (G. Pfeilschifter), on the use of the word in the Fathers where it = ecclesia catholica.

15 Aug. H. Winckler, *Die politische Entwicklung Babylonien und Assyriens* (V. Prášek), favourable. A. Dyroff, *Demokritstudien* (A. Döring). 'Shows learning that is more external than internal.' W. Christ, *Philologische Studien zu Clemens Alexandrinus* (J. Draeseke), very favourable. M. Manitius, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Ovidius und anderer römischer Schriftsteller im Mittelalter* (M. Maas), favourable.

29 Aug. *Aischylos, Die Perser*. Verdeutschte von H. Köchly. 2. A. (H. Draheim), favourable. L. Herbst, *Zu Thukydides*. Erklärungen und Wiederherstellung, mitget. von F. Müller. III. (S. Widmann), favourable. O. E. Schmidt, *Arpinum* (O. Weissenfels). 'A solid piece of learning.' *Apulci apologia et florida*, rec. J. van der Vliet (R. Helm), favourable on the whole.

5 Sep. *Antike Denkmäler*, von C. Müller und F. Wieseler. 4. A. von K. Wernicke. II. 2 (H. L. Urlichs), very favourable. J. Neumann, *Die Grundherrschaft der römischen Republik* (B. Kübler). 'Will arouse general attention.' J. Höpken, *Die Fahrt des Phaethon* (J. Tolkiehn), favourable. *Poetae Latini medii aevi*, IV. 1. ed. P. de Winterfeld (M. Manitius), very favourable. A. Heisenberg, *Studien zu Georgios Akropolites* (F. Hirsch), favourable.

12 Sep. C. Robert, *Der müde Silen* (H. L. Urlichs), favourable. A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Leçons d'histoire grecque* (F. Cauet), favourable. Ö. Rüger, *Oratio de corona navali num a Demosthene scripta sit, inquiritur* (E. Rosenberg). 'Contains nothing new.' C. Pascal, *Studi sugli scrittori latini. Ennio — Plauto — Cicerone — Livio — Orazio — Tibullo* (J. Tolkiehn). A. Gereke, *Studia Annaeana* (W. Gemoll). 'Thorough and comprehensive.' W. Weinberger, *Programm eines Wegweisers durch die Sammlungen griechischer und lateinischer Handschriften und Studien zu spätgriechischen Epikern* (A. Zimmermann). 'The former is an essential help to philologists and grammarians, the latter contains noteworthy contributions.' R. Koldewey, *Die Hettetische Inschrift, gefunden in der Königsburg zu Babylon am 22. August 1899* (J. V. Prášek), favourable. G. Pfeilschifter, *Die authentische Ausgabe der Evangelien-Homilien Gregors d. Gr.* (J. Draeseke). 'Deserves our thanks.'

19 Sept. W. Weber, *De Lysiae quae fertur contra Andocidem oratione* (E. Rosenberg), favourable. A. Uppgren, *De verborum peculiaribus et propriis numeris*, II. (H. Draheim), favourable. F. Gneecchi, 2. Aufl. *Monete Romane*. 'Very much improved.'

26 Sept. *Musici scriptores graeci*, rec. C. Janus. *Supplementum* (H. G.), favourable. Plautus, *The Captivi*, ed. E. Barber. 'A very practical school edition.' A. Baumgartner, *Geschichte der Weltliteratur*. III. *Die griechische und lateinische Literatur des klassischen Altertums*, very favourable. A. Heisenberg, *Studien zu Georgios Akropolites* (J. Draeseke). 'A thank-worthy continuation of his studies of 1894.'

3 Oct. R. C. Kukulka, *Tatians sogenannte Apologie*

(J. Dräseke). 'An excellent work.' M. Voigt, *Römische Rechtsgeschichte*. II. (E. Grupe). From Augustus to the division of the empire (305 A.D.). 'A comprehensive and yet concise work.' J. Marcuse, *Hydrotherapie im Altertum*. Mit einem Vorwort von W. Winternitz (R. Fuchs), favourable.

10 Oct. O. Schmidt, *Lukians Satiren gegen den Glaubenseiner Zeit* (P. Schulze). 'Full of enthusiasm and devotion to his interesting subject.' *Aristeae ad Philocratem epistula*, L. Mendelssohn schedis usus ed. P. Wendland (J. Dräseke), very favourable. H. Breidenbach, *Zwei Abhandlungen über die tironischen Noten* (R. Fuchs), favourable. P. Oltramare, *Les épigrammes de Martial* (B. Kübler). 'Gives an excellent characterisation of Martial.'

17 Oct. F. Hahne, *Über Lucians Hermotimus* (P. Schulze) favourable. C. Bardt, *Ausgewählte Briefe aus Ciceronischer Zeit*. Kommentar. II. Heft (W. Sternkopf) i. *Der Obergermanisch-Rätische Limes des Römerreiches* Lief. 10, herausg. von F. Hettner (M. Ihm).

24 Oct. *Verhandlungen der 45. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Bremen*,

Sept. 1899, zusammengestellt von H. Soltmann (H. Winther). S. Reiter, *Zur Etymologie von Elementum* (O. Weissenfels). 'Learned and acute.' C. Bardt, *Ausgewählte Briefe aus Ciceronischer Zeit*. Kommentar. II. Heft (W. Sternkopf) ii. Favourable on the whole. *Horatius*, Auswahl von M. Petschenig, 3. A. (W. Hirschfelder), favourable.

31. Oct. E. Ardaillon, *Les mines du Laurion dans l'antiquité*, L. Büchner, very favourable. *Stele con iscrizione Latina arcaica*. L. Ceci, *Nuovo contributo alla interpretazione dell' iscrizione antichissima del foro Romano*. A. Emman, *Dionenuntdeckte archaische Inschrift des römischen Forums*. L. Ceci, *La iscrizione del foro Romano e le leges regiae*. L. Ceci, *Nuove osservazioni sulla iscrizione antichissima del foro Romano*. D. Comparetti, *Iscrizione arcaica del foro Romano* (Bartholomae), 'The best restoration of the inscr. is given by Comparetti.' *Horatius*, Oden und Epoden, erkl. von C. W. Nauck. 15. A. von O. Weissenfels (W. Hirschfelder), very favourable. C. Kukula, *Altersbeweis und 'Künstlerkatalog' in Tatians Rede an die Griechen* (J. Dräseke), very favourable.

LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

Aristoteles. *Commentaria in Aristotelem graeca*. Editio consilio et auctoritate academiae litterarum regiae borussicae. Vol. XII. Pars 2. *Olympiodori in Aristotelis meteora commentaria*. Ed. Guil. Stuve. 8vo. xiv, 332 pp. Berlin, Reimer, 15 M.

— Baumstark (A.) *Aristoteles bei den Syrern vom V.—VIII. Jahrhundert*. Vol. 1.: Syrisch-arabische Biographien des Aristoteles. Syrische Commentare zur Εισαγωγή des Porphyrius. 8vo. xv, 323 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. 12 M.

Aurelius Antoninus (Marcus). *Meditations concerning himself*, translated with notes by Meric Casaubon, with introduction by W. H. D. Rouse. 8vo. 244 pp. Dent. 7s. 6d.

Bone (K.) *Lateinische Schulgrammatik*. 8vo. xiv, 174 pp. Cöln, Du Mont Schauberg. 2 M.

Burt's Latin-English and English-Latin Dictionary. 16 mo. 108, 212 pp. New York. 75 cts.

Epistle (The first) of St. Peter. Greek Text, with Introduction and Notes by J. H. B. Masterman. Crown 8vo. 200 pp. Macmillan. 3s. 6d.

Eutuknios. See Oppian: Tüselmann.

Festschrift, Johannes Vahlen zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet von seinen Schülern. 8vo. ix, 700 pp. Berlin, Reimer. 24 M.

Furtwängler (A.) und Reichhold (K.) Griechische Vasenmalerei. Auswahl hervorragender Vasenbilder. (To be completed in 6 parts.) Part I. Imperial folio. 10 plates and letterpress pp. 1-54. Munich. 40 M.

Gusman (P.) Pompei City, Life, and Art. Translated by Flor. Simmonds and M. Jourdain. Folio. 440 pp., 12 coloured plates, 500 engravings. Heinemann. £1 16s.

Hofmann (Harald). *Untersuchungen über die Darstellung des Haares in der archaischen griechischen Kunst*. (Aus 'Jahrbücher für classische Philologie.') 8vo. 52 pp., 3 plates, engravings. Leipzig, Teubner. 3 M.

Holwerda (J. H.) Hellas en Rome. *Grieksche en Romeinsche Archaeologie*. 8vo. Leiden, van Doesburgh. 4 fl. 25 c.

Homer. *Tolkiehn (Jo.) Homer und die römische Poesie*. 8vo. vi, 219 pp. Leipzig, Dieterich.

Hübner (Aem.) Inscriptionum Hispaniae christianarum supplementum. 4to. xvi, 162 pp., engravings. Berlin, Reimer. 24 M.

Incerti Auctoris Epitome rerum gestarum Alexandri Magni, e codice Mettensi ed. O. Wagner. (Aus 'Jahrbücher für classische Philologie.') 8vo. 74 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. 3 M.

Jahrbücher für classische Philologie, herausgegeben von A. Fleckeisen. 26. Suppl. Vol., Part 2. 8vo. 102 pp., plates. Leipzig, Teubner. 5 M.

Jevons (F. B.) History of Greek Literature from the earliest period to the death of Demosthenes. 3rd Edition. With Appendix and Examination Questions. Crown 8vo. 542 pp. Griffin. 8s. 6d.

Lexicographi Graeci. Vol. IX. *Pollucis onomasticon, e codicibus ab ipso collatis ed. et adnot. Er. Beth.* Fasc. 1. 8vo. xx, 305 pp. Leipzig, Teubner. 14 M.

Marchiano (M.) L'Origine della favola greca ed i suoi rapporti con le favole orientali. 16mo. Trani. 7 lire.

Olympiodorus. See *Aristoteles*.

Oppian. Tüselmann (O.) *Die Paraphrase des Eutuknios zu Oppian's Kynegetica*. (Abhandlungen der k. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, New Series, Vol. IV., Nr. 1.) 8vo. 43 pp. Berlin, Weidmann. 4 M.

Osiander (Wilh.) Der Hannibalweg neu untersucht. 8vo. 8, 204 pp., 3 maps, 13 engravings. Berlin, Weidmann. 8 M.

Pollux Onomasticon. See *Lexicographi Graeci*.

Probus. *Le traité du philosophe syrien Probus sur les premiers analytiques d'Aristote*, traduit par A. van Hoonacker. 8vo. 99 pp. Paris, Leroux.

Speck-(E.) Handelsgeschichte des Altertums. Vol. I. *Die orientalischen Völker*. 8vo. viii, 591 pp. Leipzig, Brandstetter. 7 M.

Swete (H. B.) Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek, with an Appendix containing a letter of Aristaeas, ed. by H. St. J. Thackeray. Crown 8vo. 606 pp. Clay. 7s. 6d.

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Tuizen (S. L.) Karaktertegnung i den Graeske Tragedie. 8vo. Kopenhagen. 5 kroner.

CORRIGENDUM.

P. 63.—We regret that Prof. John Adams Scott's 'A Comparative Study of Hesiod and Pindar' was reviewed under the name of Adams. Our thanks are due to the Editor of the *American Journal of Philology* for pointing out the error.

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Note.—In the General Index names of actual contributors are printed in heavy type. The references marked thus *, incorrectly printed in the text, should be corrected from the Index.

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